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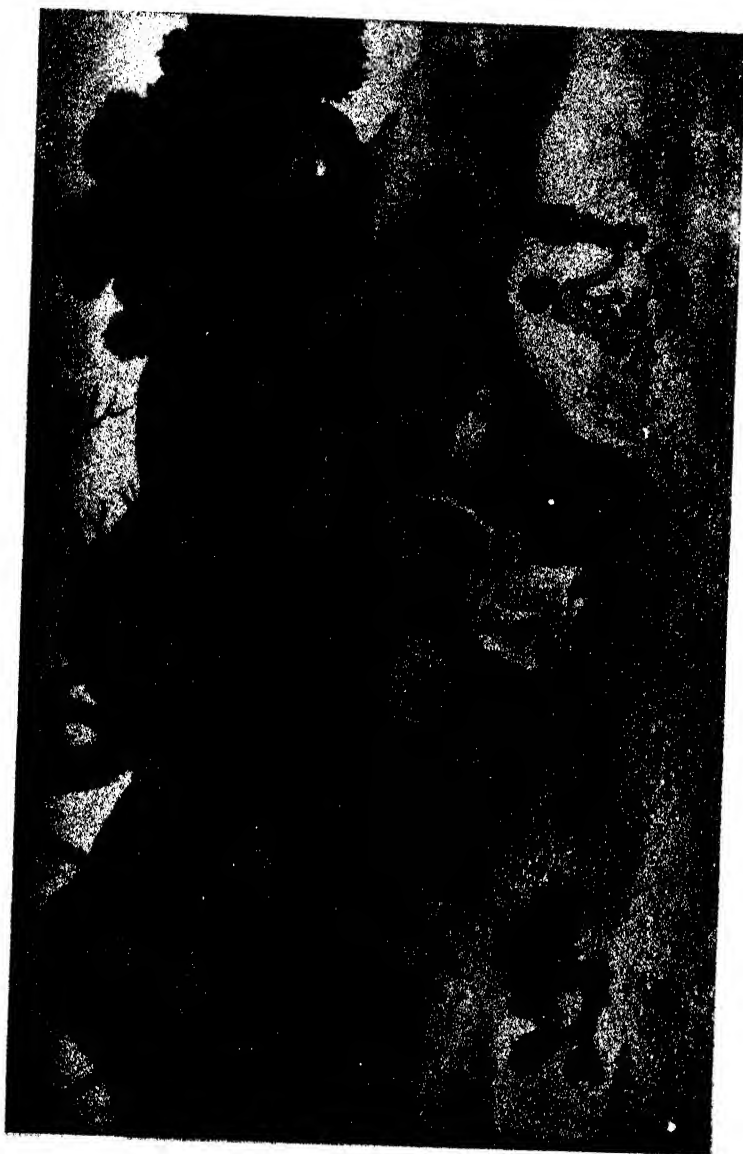
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NOTES

Mr. Amery's "Infinite Capacity" for Repetitions

It was Carlyle, if we are not mistaken, who defined genius as an infinite capacity for taking pains. Whether his definition or explanation of genius be correct or not, some British politicians seem to think that statesmanship consists in an infinite capacity for making repetitions. Mr. Amery repeated himself again at Oxford on the 4th of June last.

LONDON, June 4.

The British method of commonwealth was compared with the other two types of empire-building by the Secretary for India, Mr. Amery, in a speech to the Oxford Union to-night (Thursday). "At first sight compared either with the method of empire by domination or with that of federation it may seem that ours is hopelessly weak and incapable of determined action but who can say in the face of experience of the two great wars that it has been a failure."

A man would require great cheek indeed to assert that there was no element of domination in British empire building.

If Mr. Amery really believes and thinks that he can persuade others to believe that the British method of empire-building has not been a failure during the present war in Malaya and Singapore and in Burma, he must be adjudged to hold the record for self-delusion.

In the cable of which we have quoted a part above *Reuter* says, "Mr. Amery was speaking in special reference to India." How can he avoid repeating himself when speaking in relation to India? Formerly it was the August (1940) offer and now it is the Cripps Mission

which gives full scope to his "infinite capacity" for repeating himself.

"Our aim, publicly declared and sincerely held, is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions," he said adding, "while also like them maintaining the bond of free association with the rest of the commonwealth. We have given India unity, internal peace and reign of law. We have inspired in her a passionate demand for democratic self-government. The question still to be answered is: have her leaders enough spirit of tolerance and compromise without which self-government would inevitably destroy her peace within and invite danger from without. That was in effect the question Sir Stafford Cripps went out to ask. The immediate answer has no doubt been discouraging but I, at any rate, refuse to believe that she will not sooner or later give the right answer."

Mr. Amery compared the British method of empire-building with other methods. He took it for granted that the British method of empire-building was equivalent to the method of commonwealth-building. To prove this, he mentioned the oft-repeated but never yet fulfilled promise to make India a Dominion. Has promise been identical with or equivalent to performance in the history of Indo-British relations? The promise to make India a Dominion or equal to a Dominion is more than a quarter of a century old. During this period, revolutionary changes have taken place in Europe and Asia. Empires have fallen and republics have risen in their place. But India has continued in bondage to be a part of the British *Empire*, not of the British *Commonwealth of Nations*.

So the British method of empire-building is

not the same as the method of commonwealth-building.

Have the Dominions come to possess "complete and unqualified independence" even after the passing of the Westminster Statute? We row not. But whether they possess it or not, he promise to give it to India *stands*, and stands till. It is a stagnant promise: it will never move towards fulfilment.

The past "We have given India unity, order, peace and reign of law," has been repeated *ad nauseam*. We have had to examine it in detail on previous occasions, and refrain from doing so again. We have only to observe that if Britain gave unity to India, she has given "provincial autonomy" and the "Communal Decision," too, to partly destroy that unity, and she sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India with an offer whose acceptance would have involved the complete destruction of India's unity by her vivisection according to something like the Pakistan plan. As regards internal peace, it may be asked, whether the repeated disturbances in Sind, N.-W. F. P., East Bengal, Malabar, etc., are part of that peace. As for the reign of law, are the operations of the "lawless laws," deportations, detentions and internments without trial part of that reign?

If Britishers "have inspired in" India "a passionate demand for democratic self-government", they must have done so believing that democratic self-government is good for India. No well-wisher inspires and teaches another party to ask for a thing which is unsuited and injurious to the latter. If Britain has knowingly taught us to demand democratic self-government, why has she been inventing or trying to discover for years various excuses for denying us the human right of self-rule? Taking credit for teaching us to demand a good thing and keeping us deprived of it under various excuses ill go together.

And one of these specious excuses is that Britain is not yet satisfied that Indian leaders do not have enough spirit of tolerance and compromise to make self-government a success. So Sir Stafford Cripps came out to ascertain whether our leaders have enough of that spirit, says Mr. Amery. We are not going to repeat what Sir Stafford has said about the object of his mission and what our leaders have said on the subject. But we have a word or two on the subject of tolerance or compromise.

"A" says to "B" that in "A"'s opinion "B" should cease to exist. "B" thinks otherwise: "B" thinks he ought to continue to exist. So here is a *little* difference of opinion. "B" can

prove that he possesses the spirit of tolerance by a *little* act of compromise, that is, by ceasing to exist.

Gentle reader, pray do not imagine we are joking.

British Imperialists and their protege Father Jinnah of the Muslim League think that Indian Unity (which is a gift of Britain!) should cease to exist. Indian Nationalist leaders, who are the mouthpiece of United India, hold a different opinion: they think that India one and undivided should continue to exist. So here there is a *little* difference of opinion. This difference ought to be tolerated. This difference can be eliminated by a *little* compromise—by India ceasing to exist as India and being metamorphosed into Pakistan, Hindustan, Dravidistan, Khalistan, Anglistan, etc.

Mr. Amery says, United India's immediate answer has been discouraging. Through the mouth of her spokesmen, the Indian leaders, she has made it known that she is not tolerant enough to accept the terms of compromise, consisting in her vanishing from the surface of the earth and being replaced by Pakistan, Dravidistan, Anglistan & Co. Unlimited. How very intolerant and uncompromising! Why should not India show a *little* spirit of tolerance and compromise by just dying? How very obstinate and unreasonable she is!

Mr. Amery refuses to believe that India "will not sooner or later give the right answer." That is to say, he expects that ere long India will agree to die. We have no such fear. India will not agree to die.

Mr. Amery is full of admiration for the Commonwealths, and at the same time he has preached a sort of sermon on the value of the spirit of tolerance. We have nothing to say against tolerance. We are entirely for it. But what tolerance is there in the treatment which Indians receive in the British Dominions? Tolerance, it seems, is a virtue which Indians must practise but which the white people of the Dominions need not practise towards Indians.

Looking ahead Mr. Amery expressed his conviction that the development of the commonwealth method of free co-operation was capable of far-reaching improvement in the future and said, "once we have defeated the present attempts to build up world empires of aggression we should aim in conjunction with the great free unions of America, Russia and China at encouraging the development, in Europe and elsewhere, of wider nation groups based on free co-operation on the principle of the commonwealth."

We wish every success to the efforts being made by the United Nations to defeat "the present attempts to build up world empires of

aggression." But we go further. We think that those nations which in the past built up empires of aggression, should restore freedom to those peoples in their empires by whose subjugation these empires were built up.

"Free co-operation on the principle of the commonwealth" is good. But Mr. Amery seems to take it for granted that India is already a Dominion with which other Dominions have been freely co-operating, which is not true. When any British statesman holds forth on great ideals while speaking in relation to India, he should show that these ideals have been made realities in India. If he cannot do that, he should keep quiet. Talk of great ideals and self-complacence in relation to the actuality of British rule in India go ill together.

Mr. Amery added a warning to those who "fondly believe that international socialism will herald a new era of world peace." Socialism in opposition was no doubt internationalist and pacifist in its outlook but with socialism in power "its whole tendency will be nationalist and may well become exclusive or even aggressive."—*Reuter*.

Is this warning meant only for those who expect great things from British socialists when they may be in power? Or is it meant for those also among Indians who expect great things from Russian socialists or communists who are now in power and who, Mr. Amery possibly imagines, may become aggressive?

Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference in Calcutta

The Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference held last month in Calcutta under the presidentship of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, who is not an aspirant for any party leadership or spoils of office, was an important gathering. Leading men of all political parties and of no party took part in it. It adopted the following resolutions:

1. "India and more particularly Bengal and Assam are facing today the gravest of perils. Foreign aggression threatens not only our security but also our hearths and homes, our hopes and aspirations, our social, economic and cultural stability, in a word everything that we hold dear and inviolable. In view of the daily deterioration of the international situation it has become imperative to harness all our available forces to fight despair and defeatism and prevent a breakdown of our social and economic structure. For such consolidation of our resources of men and money, of intellect, character and energy and to hold ourselves ready against all contingencies, the first condition is the establishment of better communal relations and the creation of an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and co-operation. The need for unity and solidarity of the people of Bengal has never been so pressing and immediate as today and it is only on the basis of such unity that we can hope to

overcome the perils which threaten to engulf us. While conscious of the differences in political programme and outlook among the different sections of the people of the province, this conference of the Muslims and the Hindus of Bengal is, therefore, of opinion that the people must unite in the common task of safeguarding internal security and order, storage and distribution of foodstuffs and other essentials, and the provision of medical and other relief irrespective of differences in caste, community, creed or political affiliations, and for the purpose carry on an intensive propaganda to stress the overwhelming identity of interests of the people in this crisis and also constitute peace brigades for despatch to areas where there is any apprehension of communal trouble.

2. "This conference is of opinion that in order to create an atmosphere of communal harmony and co-operation, work must be carried on both on a long-term and a short-term policy and for the purpose a permanent, Trust Fund must be created for publicity through speeches and pamphlets, creation of a literature of communal harmony and dissemination among the masses of greater knowledge of the common achievement of the communities in the fields of cultural and spiritual activities.

3. "In order to carry on the work of creating an atmosphere of communal harmony and co-operation and the consolidation of the people in the tasks of safeguarding internal security, storage and distribution of foodstuffs and other essentials and the provision of medical and other relief, resolved that a permanent non-party and unpolitical organisation be set up and for the purpose the Council of the Hindu-Muslim Unity Association be formed with direction to frame the constitution and work out a plan and programme of action for the organisation."—A. P.

The promoters of the Hindu-Muslim Unity movement have no power to reverse or alter the Communal Decision or to introduce joint electorates in the place of separate electorates. But they can register their verdict against them. And Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Muslim colleagues can put a stop to discrimination on communal grounds in various departments. In the matter of processions in public thoroughfares led by Hindus during festivals, marriages, etc., Hindus have a grievance. This should be removed.

The Hindu-Muslim Unity movement will be successful to the extent that steps are taken to redress communal grievances.

Gandhiji's Letter to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek

It is reported that "Mahatma Gandhi has written a letter to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek explaining his attitude towards China and war. The letter makes a new departure in Gandhiji's view and, according to reports, it indicates that provided India is granted freedom she would offer effective resistance to Japan and render all possible assistance to China to beat down the Japanese and in the scheme of things she would co-operate with the United Nations."

Why Mr. Churchill is Opposed to Self-rule in India

At the third session of the Non-Party Conference held in Delhi on February 21 and 22, 1942, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon. Dr. Mr. Jayakar said in the course of a speech :

At the time of the Round Table Conference, I had an opportunity to cross-examine Mr. Churchill for some time, when he came to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee. I asked him why he opposed the grant of self-government to India. He said : "My opinion is based on my conviction that except the Anglo-Saxon, no race has the capacity to work democratic institutions. Look at Italy," he said, "it tried and failed. Look at Germany, it tried and failed. If this is the position even in Europe, I am not prepared to admit that an Oriental people, thousands of miles away from Europe, can work democratic institutions. That is the root of my opposition." He gave a frank reply free from the venom which many retired I.C.S. and I.P.S. officers, eating the salt of India, had shown. I asked Mr. Churchill how long ago, he was in India. He said about 1894 and that he stayed in India for a few months as a subaltern. I asked him : "Do you wish to suggest that your experience of 40 years ago as a subaltern in an unprogressive part of India should be pitted against the testimony of British officials who retired only recently after record services of 35 and 40 years ? He replied again very frankly, "This is my belief." His reply was frank and honest, but I could see even at that distant date that India was Mr. Churchill's blind spot. But, if he could have a true vision of modern India, he would change his opinion. He is a courageous man and will not be restrained from doing the right thing, if he could get rid of his blind vision.

But none are so blind as those who *will* not see.

Dr. Jayakar continued :

In a recent broadcast, Mr. Churchill appealed among others to "our loyal friends in India and Burma" and warned them that, in order to win the war, it is the duty of all to make sure that a National Government is maintained on solid foundations. May we ask that if a National Government is needed for winning the war in England, ruled by her own people, how much more is such a Government necessary for winning the war in alien-ruled India.

Benjamin Disraeli on Histories of England

The "revolutionary conservative" Benjamin Disraeli wrote in Chapter III of his novel, *Sybil or The Two Nations*, 70 years ago :

"If the history of England be ever written by one who has the knowledge and the courage, and both qualities are equally necessary for the undertaking, the world would be more astonished than when reading the annals of Niebuhr. Generally speaking all the great events have been distorted, most of the important causes concealed, some of the principal characters never appear, and all who figure are so misunderstood and misrepresented that the result is a complete mystification."

This is perhaps much more true of most of the histories of India written by Englishmen.

Gandhiji on the Adoption of Non-violence in a Free India

Gandhiji was asked :

"But what about your non-violence ? To what extent will you carry out your policy after freedom is gained ?"

Answering this question Mahatma Gandhi writes in 'Harijan' :

"The question hardly arises. I am using the first personal pronoun for brevity, but I am trying to represent the spirit of India as I conceive it. It is and will be a mixture. What policy the National Government will adopt I cannot say. I may not even survive it much as I would love to. If I do, I would advise the adoption of non-violence to the utmost extent possible and that will be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order. I expect that with the existence of so many martial races in India, all of whom will have a voice in the Government of the day, the national policy will incline towards militarism of a modified character.

"I shall certainly hope that all the effort for the last twenty-two years to show the efficacy of non-violence as a political force will not have gone in vain and a strong party representing true non-violence will exist in the country. In every case a free India in alliance with the Allied powers must be of great help to their cause, whereas India held in bondage as she is today must be a drag upon the war-chariot and may prove a source of real danger at the most critical moment."—A. P.

Maulana Azad on Gandhiji's Views on Congress and Non-violence

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, replying to the recent statement of Sir Stafford Cripps, referring to a struggle in India between the principles of violence and non-violence, gave the following exclusive interview to the "United Press" for its London subscribers :

"I do not know what Sir Stafford Cripps means by the struggle between the principles of violence and non-violence. We are not at all philosophising over the merits of violence or non-violence. The centre of all our attention at present is how to defend India successfully against the invader who is knocking at the door, and we are convinced that the only way to achieve this end is that India becomes independent without delay.

"During the Wardha talks last week," the Congress President added, "I particularly asked Gandhiji about the application of non-violence under the present circumstances. I am happy to say that this aspect of the problem is quite clear in his mind. As a man of action he cannot ignore the conditions prevailing around him. He told me that his personal views about non-violence need not be re-enunciated and his position remained unchanged, but at the same time he knew that it was not the position of the Congress, nor of other parties, nor of the majority of Indian people

which considers defence to be armed defence only. Therefore, if a free National Government was established in India with an understanding to defend her against the invader, it was obvious that it could be only an armed defence, not a non-violent one."

Economic Distress and National Programme

Cases of looting as apprehended by us months ago in the columns of this journal have begun to occur here and there in the country and this evil may assume serious proportions at any moment. The price of sugar recently rose in Calcutta to Rs. 20/- per maund. Soft coke again sold at Rs. 1/8/- per maund. Standard cloth is invisible and the suffering of poor people on account of the high price of cloth is simply indescribable. All this is due partly to the war with its unavoidable disadvantages but in a large measure to the unjust working of the administrative machinery. The gross injustice in the supply of wagons to Indian-owned collieries that occurred during and immediately after the last war is being repeated now. The unabashed exploitation of the jute-growing peasantry of Bengal is the same now as during the last war. Industries with foreign—mainly British—capital growing behind the tariff wall, intended in all countries to protect indigenous enterprise, are a standing shame to India and prove that exploitation of the country is the same now as in the East India Company's days. Our political agitation for the last fifty years has been ineffective so far as the prevention of the major evils that torment the millions is concerned. •According to some, the last sincere attempt made by Britain to do some justice to India was made in 1785 in Pitt's India Act. The Reforms which have come since then in instalments have only made administration costly without giving us any real power. For example the cost of administration of Bengal during the Lieutenant Governors' days was about seven crores of rupees while the present cost is about fourteen crores. It is a wonder how we have exhausted our energy so long in either accepting or rejecting these reforms. As the result of efforts for forty years Japan could defeat Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. Could we not make some progress if instead of riveting our attention on the foreign government we had tried to build rural India which is real India on sound lines? Taking a bird's-eye view of the whole country we find that our achievement in this direction is almost nothing. Many Bengalees in the past earned money in Calcutta but lived in villages. The result was innumerable brick-built houses for forty miles from the city—a

sight not present near any other city of India. During the last thirty years there has been a heavy exodus from these villages to Calcutta so that the brick-built houses have gone into ruins. In Bombay Indians have made the greatest progress in trade and modern industry and the wealth of the city is in the hands of our own countrymen. But prosperity is confined to the city itself with its Taj Mahal Hotel and numberless palaces containing flats occupied by Indians on a monthly rent of Rs. 300/- to Rs. 800/-. But dire poverty prevails just outside the city. In the villages near Wardha we have seen cultivators growing vegetables with water drawn from deep wells attached to rich men's houses, which, however, are situated at a long distance from one another. If more men of wealth lived in villages, these wells would be greater in number. Mahatma Gandhi through the All-India Spinners' Association is trying to improve the condition of villages. But if educated and wealthy men all over the country had lived as far as possible in the villages and done constructive work, we would have in India now a far less weak nation than we have and our dependence on the foreign government for the supply of food and raiment would be less. The present war has afforded an opportunity of correcting our past mistake. If we can seize it and go back to villages, a first rate work will be done. —Siddheswar Chattopadhyay

Education in War Time in Britain and India

It is needless to point out the difference between Britain and India in war time. Britain has been raided again and again, and the air raids have not ceased there; while, on the other hand, though most probably there will be raids in India, they have not yet taken place except nominally. But Britain has been making increasing efforts for educating all her children, whereas in India schools are being closed and taken over for military purposes without making adequate arrangements for accomodating the children thus deprived of educational facilities. Is education going to be our first casualty?

Note what Britain has been doing :

LONDON, June 16.

The main weapon with which to win the next peace is education, declared the President of the Board of Education, Mr. Butler, presenting the annual estimates before a representative audience in the Commons on Tuesday. *While the Axis Powers were restricting and reducing education, Britain was spending more money than ever. Despite evacuation difficulties, 99 per cent. of the children were now receiving full-time education. Over 700,000 got meal at school and three and a quarter million got milk daily with an almost*

incredible effect in well being. School-leaving age would be raised to fifteen, when possible. Meanwhile, one new committee was reviewing industrial and commercial training, another reviewing the entire examination system, still another planning boarding school education for those unable to pay for it.—*Reuter*. (Italics ours.—*Ed.*, *M. R.*).

It is said "the Axis Powers were restricting and reducing education, Britain was spending more money than ever." "**Despite evacuation difficulties**, 99 per cent. of the children were receiving full-time education." What is the percentage in the different provinces of India? Are the authorities in India emulating the example of the Axis Powers or of Britain?

We have received from the Director of Public Information, Bengal, a *communique*, dated 17th June last, in which it is said that "alternative arrangements will be made as soon as possible for the education of the pupils studying in these institutions," i.e., in those Government colleges and schools which will not re-open after the summer holidays until further orders. Non-Government institutions following the same policy as the Government ones have been promised assistance in the making of arrangements to re-open in safe areas.

It is necessary to know in detail what Government has actually done for Government and Non-Government institutions in this matter.

It would redound to the credit of the Central and Provincial Governments in India if education does not suffer during war time owing to their non-National character.

Pakistan and Pan-Islamism, and Pan-Mongolianism

Chaudhuri Khaliqzaman, a Muslim League leader, recently said at a meeting of his party that Pakistan is the first stage of a big programme of Indian Muslims. If Indian Muslims stood united in Pakistan, they could approach other Muslim countries—Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Palestine, Egypt, Turkey, and then standing together the Muslims could become a great world power. This is the old Pan-Islamic idea.

British imperialists support the Pakistan idea on the plea of self-determination as exercised by the Muslims. But why should the Hindus be deprived of the right of self-determination? If *some* Mussalmans want to divide India, *all* Hindus want to preserve the unity and integrity of India. And the Hindus are the majority. But if Pakistan be supported on the plea of minority rights ignoring the fact that the majority too have their rights, let us for the nonce assume that minority rights are particular-

ly sacrosanct. Now, the Hindus are a minority in Bengal, Panjab, Sind & N.-W. F. Province. Therefore, their rights being minority rights in those provinces are particularly sacrosanct. They do not want Pakistan. Therefore, according to the rule of self-determination, there should not be any Pakistan including them and their hearths and homes.

We do not, by the by, know whether British statesmen have learnt the lesson taught by recognizing the separatist tendency of some Burmese under the plea of self-determination. Just as at present British imperialists profess to believe that the Muslim League represents all Mussalmans, so they professed to believe that the separatist Burmese represented all Burma. Recognizing the right of self-determination of these separatist Burmese, Britain separated Burma from India. The real object was, of course, the prevention of the Indians in Burma from taking a leading part in and influencing the political and economic life of Burma, as that interfered with the political and economic imperialism of Britain.

What has been the result of this separation? Now, of course, the Indians in Burma have been ruined. But British political and economic interests, too, have been ruined—Burma has ceased to be a part of the British empire.

But, it may be objected, that is the result of the Japanese invasion, the separation of Burma from India had nothing to do with it. The fact, however, is that Japan's success in Burma is indirectly due in part to the separation. Some time after the separation some Burmese politicians began to look to Japan as their patron. U Ba Pe, the Burmese separatist leader, said in the course of a speech in the Burma legislature in 1937 that, now that they had been able to sever their connection with India, they must next try to cut off all connection with Britain and the British empire. With that object in view, Pan-Mongolian, Pan-Buddhist and Pan-Asiatic sentiments were fostered. Japan fully exploited the psychological possibilities of these sentiments to make the Burmese pro-Japanese. It is not necessary to search for recondite proofs of the success of Japanese propaganda. War news from Burma, so long as the fight there lasted, often mentioned the advantage derived by the Japanese from what Burmese rebels and Burmese traitors did. And General Alexander has told us that 10 per cent. of the Burmese were pro-Japanese, 10 per cent. pro-British and the remaining 80 per cent. were indifferent.

The present attitude of the Muslim League

is pro-British to the extent that is necessary to secure Pakistan and lord it over the Hindus. But the next move is to be Pan-Islamic. A Pan-Islamic power in the East would be at the best a rival of the British power and at the worst a potential or actual enemy.

Mr. J. A. Spender Dead

LONDON, June 21.

Mr. J. A. Spender, a journalist and writer, died today (Sunday), aged 80.—*Reuter*.

Mr. J. A. Spender, son of Dr. and Mrs. Spender, was born at Bath in 1862 and was educated in Balliol College, Oxford. He became the Editor of the *Eastern Morning News* in Hull in 1896. He next joined the staff of *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1892 but severed its connection on its transfer to Mr. Astor. He joined the *Westminster Gazette* as Assistant Editor in 1893 and next became its Editor in 1896 which post he held till 1922. He was a member of the special Mission to Egypt in 1919-20. He became Charter President of the Institute of Journalists for its Jubilee Year 1940.

His notable publications are: *The State and Pensions in Old Age*, *The Comments of Bagehot*, *The Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, *The Public Life*, *The Changing East*, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, *The America of To-day*, *Wentman Pearson*, *Fifty Years of Europe*, *A Short History of Our Times*, *Great Britain, Empire and Commonwealth*, etc.

British Tanks Meant for Libya Sent to Russia

LONDON, June 20.

Tanks which would have improved the Eighth Army's position in Libya were sent to the Red Army under "Aid Russia" plan. The former Minister of Supply Mr. Leslie Burgin disclosed this at Bristol tonight (Saturday). He said the British army was fighting in Libya knowing that "many tanks which would have offered better resistance to Rommel had been sent to Russia." The Allies, he added, were proud of the sacrifice entailed in honouring their bargains. While the Allies must do everything possible to draw off the forces attacking Russia the task involved in a second front should not be minimised. The Russians who had destroyed the myth that the German army was invincible had something beyond military efficiency—an intense pride in their country which made them in a true sense deeply religious people.—*Reuter*.

Indians also could have felt "an intense pride in their country" in a political sense, if India had been mistress in her own household.

Dr. Moonjee On Fundamental Change In British Attitude Towards India

Dr. B. S. Moonjee, who presided over the third Session of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference, which commenced at Coimbatore on the 20th June last, observed as follows at the outset of his presidential speech:

"We are meeting under the most tragic and humiliating circumstances. It is tragic because there is a funda-

mental change in the attitude of the British Government towards India and its future. We had not completely comprehended in all its implications the real inner meaning of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, when he used to say that the further devolution of power from British to Indian hands must be subject to two stipulations—one was due fulfilment of the obligations imposed on the British by their historic connection with India and the other, was that the constitution should carry with it the acceptance of the principal elements in India's national life.

On the intended Balkanization of India Dr. Moonjee observed:

By natural instinct, as it were, the Indian political opinion suspected from the frequent repetitions of these two stipulations, progressive deterioration in the British sentiment towards India. Latterly, as matters developed, the Indian political opinion frankly declared that it read into these stipulations, the desire of the British "to take back with one hand what they profess to give with the other" and their cynical acquiescence in the indefinite continuance of disagreement and consequently of the present regime in India." But the cat was not out of the bag, until being cornered by the not very complimentary expressions of American opinions. Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India with what are known as the War Cabinet's proposals. These proposals were skilfully and clearly camouflaged by high sounding phraseology of the Congress diction such as "power to secede, Dominion Status, Independence, National Government and so on." But the fundamental soul of the proposals, which was carefully prepared as a bait to the Congress to swallow, was the freedom of the Provinces not to accede to the Indian Union, if they so desired. In its quite naked form, it meant the partition of India into several smaller Sovereign States, that is, the Balkanisation of India. Then Mr. Amery turning round, takes a somersault and openly says that "the British system which we have developed in a homogeneous country is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India" and that "it is by making Indian statesmen conscious that the solution of the problem is their own and undivisible responsibility and not ours that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to emerge, for the solution of the Indian problem."

Proceeding Dr. Moonjee said:

British statesmen until quite recently had been applauding loudly what they described as their unique achievement in bringing about complete unity of India, thereby throwing insinuations that from ages past India was never a nation, but a mere conglomeration of small mutually fighting principalities. But now they find that the All-India Congress and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha have grown into powerful political organisations and both these organisations are almost entirely of the Hindus which form the majority community in India. Mr. Amery, now says, "The unity which we have given to India, the unity of law, of administrative procedure, of economical and transport policy is an achievement of which we have every right to be proud. But we would sooner see India divided and free than keep her various elements for ever against each other under a sense of impotent frustration," so that the distinctive culture and way of life of the Moslems may not be at the mercy of the permanent Hindu majority.

Naturally, the Mussalmans having secured an alien power in the British to support their demand of Pakistan now dream of establishing an Islamic State throughout

the whole of India. They do not want to fight, as desired by Mahatma Gandhi, shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus for the independence of India as a whole for fear of antagonising the Britishers. They are, therefore, anxious only to secure the goodwill of the Britishers so that they may make hay while the sun shines, while developing their ultimate scheme of a federation of their own with the neighbouring Moslem countries, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, etc.

It is this fact of the fundamental change in the British attitude towards India that I wish to emphasise and impress on the Hindus of India. It will begin to work out its destiny after the war. The Hindus must take their warning in time.

There are at present two principal planks in the Hindu Mahasabha platform: (1) Doing everything possible to preserve the unity and integrity of India; (2) Enlisting themselves in the land, sea and air forces as fast as the Government could absorb them, and defending the country from the aggressor.

Gandhiji's And Hindu Mahasabha's Attitude Towards Pakistan Plan

Gandhiji considers it a sin to seek to divide India. But he also thinks that, if the Muslims set their hearts on Pakistan, nothing short of a successful anti-Pakistan war can prevent them from having it.

The Hindu Mahasabha also considers it a sin to seek to divide India. It also thinks that, if the Hindus really set their hearts upon keeping India undivided, no power on earth can divide India even by war.

The Anglo-Soviet Treaty

The Anglo-Soviet Treaty is intended to secure victory in the war against Germany and "all those states which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe." The words "aggression in Europe" occur thrice in the Articles of the Treaty, *viz.*, at the end of Articles 1, 2, and 3. And the words "in Europe" occur in Article 5. This shows that the Treaty has nothing to do with the political relations of "the high contracting parties" with other powers in continents other than Europe.

We wish all success to "the high contracting parties" in their war and to all the efforts which they may make at the end of the hostilities for a just peace.

Anglo-Soviet Treaty And Indian Freedom

There are Indians who think that after the war they would have at least the moral support of Soviet Russia in their struggle for freedom and independence. Their attention is drawn to the concluding words (*italicized by us*) of

Article 5 of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, printed below :

Article 5 : The contracting parties, having regard to interests of the security of each of them, agreed to work together in close and friendly collaboration after the re-establishment of peace and for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe. They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of *non-interference in the internal affairs of other States*.

The League of Nations, which was under the overwhelming imperialistic and capitalistic influence of Britain and France, had also laid down for itself the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of its Member States. If the League, by some chance, ever intended to support India in her struggle for freedom—such support being quite unlikely, the British Empire authorities would have at once taken shelter under that principle and put forward the plea that as Indian affairs were included in the internal affairs of the State known as the British Empire, the League had no right to meddle in them.

Similarly, in case after the war Soviet Russia tried to take benevolent interest in India's struggle for liberty, Britain might invoke the last words of article 5 of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty to prevent such endeavour.

It is not known at whose instance these words have been included in the Treaty, Britain's or Russia's or of both parties.

Incidentally we invite the attention of old readers of *The Modern Review* to an article by the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland published by us in 1928 in which he showed that India was not Britain's domestic concern. He tried to prove therein that it was the concern of all freedom-loving and peace-loving countries (and of the League of Nations) to see that India became free.

Chinese Troops in India

NEW DELHI, June 21.

Following the recent visit to New Delhi of Gen. Lo Tso Ying, Commander-in-Chief of two Chinese armies, his staff officers and a detachment of one of the divisions of these armies, much interest has been aroused at the large number of Chinese troops now in India as our guests, says a Press Note.

All those who saw the troops on parade at the recent United Nations Day Parade in Delhi must have been impressed by their smart turn-out, and their unusual uniforms and equipment.

It has now come to light that these are the famous Salt Gabelle Guards, who fought their way on foot from the epic battle of Shanghai through China and into Burma. It is known that there are many thousands of these seasoned war veterans now resting within India's hospitable borders.

Great interest was shown by Indian students in the visit and the imagination of all who were present was fired when one of the General Lo's staff officers gave a stirring account of the great part played by China's students during five years' bitter resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression.

Many expressed a desire to defend their own homeland with the same degree of stubbornness displayed by China's student world.

China's students have given a lead to all students the world over in taking an aggressive part to preserve the freedom and security which the progress of true scholarship demands.

General Stillwell of the American army, whose fame was already established in the last World War and who was entrusted by H. H. the Generalissimo with the command has nothing but praise for these excellent troops.

Other personalities among them include Major-General Robert Lim, a doctor whose philanthropic work with the Red Cross in China is well-known. He is supervising the medical side of the troops' needs. He was seen in Delhi wearing British war decorations given him in appreciation of his services with the Allies during the Great War of 1914-18.

Many expressions of gratitude have been received from the aid and hospitality extended to these troops by the Indian and British armies and United States forces in India.—A. P.

"The Times" Attacks Gandhiji

LONDON, June 20.

A leader in the London *Times* on Saturday after referring to the delay in a Japanese attack on India, writes :

"This is the moment chosen by Mr. Gandhi for a bid which will doubtless be pressed home at the meeting of the Working Committee next month to reassert his personal policy and prestige within the ranks of the Congress Party. Such an attempt cannot in the long run succeed.

Mr. Gandhi's personal integrity can no longer mask the retrograde character of his political doctrine. Anarchic romanticism affords no basis for political action in an industrialised and militarized world. To follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi would mean to separate India not merely from the company of free nations standing together east and west to resist aggression and tyranny but from the whole economic development of modern times the world over.

Mr. Gandhi's policy does not, however, empty it of its powers for mischief. It has already bewildered and divided Congress opinion in a way which prevents the Congress Party from following any constructive course whatever and drives back upon an attitude of protest and negation.

Mr. Gandhi's proposals, if they could be translated into practice, would make India an immediate prey not only of internal disruption but of external assault of the most ruthless character.

There is plenty of room for discussion between the British and the Indian about ways and means of defending India. There is no room for discussion with those who argue that India should not be defended at all or who delude themselves and others into imagining that methods of boycott and non-violent resistance, sometimes successfully employed in time of peace to embarrass an administration imbued with liberal and humanitarian conceptions, would avail them against the armies of Japan flushed with victory practised in cruelty and fired with lust for imperial dominion.

Great Britain takes her stand firmly on the Cripps proposals and will not recede from them. They constituted and still constitute an immense moral asset to the British cause.

Those who seek the freedom of India know in their heart that Mr. Gandhi's policy means no freedom but enslavement to Japan. The essence of the British plan is an offer and guarantee of immediate effective control over day-to-day administration in India and of independence as complete as the peoples of India desire to make it, once the aggressor is repelled.—*Reuter*.

Gandhiji's Reply to London "Times"

WARDHAGANJ, June 22.

"I regard my proposal as fool-proof. Any person, however great he may be, who distorts the proposals I have made will be condemned by his history as an enemy of the Allied cause. It is an insult to India to repeat Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals which were rejected by all parties, as the final word of British statesmanship," says Mahatma Gandhi, replying to London *Times*' criticism of the latest proposals.

Mahatma Gandhi says, "Every time Nationalists have suggested solutions, however sound intrinsically, there has been a distortion of their speeches and writings followed later by persecution. My latest proposal, conceived in the friendliest spirit and, in my opinion, intrinsically sound has already begun to be distorted. I regard my proposal as fool-proof. Operation of the Allied forces against Japanese aggression have been left intact under my proposal which amounts to this that Britain should become true to her declaration, withdraw from India as conqueror and, therefore, controller of her destiny, and leave India to shape her own destiny without the slightest interference. This as I can see, puts her case on a moral basis and gives her in India a great ally not in the cause of Imperialism, but in the cause of human freedom. If there is anarchy in India, Britain alone will be responsible, not I. What I have said is that I would prefer anarchy to the present slavery and consequent impotence of India.—A. P.

Gandhiji has not left any room for misinterpreting his invitation to the British Government to abdicate in an orderly manner. He has made it clear that in free India troops of foreign powers may remain by treaty with and with the consent of the national government of India for the defence of India.

For any British party, paper, or person to claim to be more zealous for the freedom and independence of India than Gandhiji or any other patriotic Indian, is simply to invite incredulity and ridicule.

The Times wrongly assumes that Gandhiji is opposed to all kinds of industrialization and machinery. He has blessed the opening of the ship-building yard at Vizagapatam. That means supporting various other auxiliary industries. Examples can but need not be multiplied.

Far from free India separating itself from the company of free nations, it will be more sincerely and closely united with them in the struggle for world freedom and world democracy than at present.

It is, no doubt, the view of those who do not believe in the efficacy of non-violence to the extent that Gandhiji does, that methods of boycott and non-violent resistance employed in times of peace to influence the British Government will be unavailing against "the armies of Japan flushed with victory, practised in cruelty and fired with lust for imperial dominion." But Gandhiji has himself said that in free India there will be two parties, namely, that of absolute non-violence and that composed of those who would offer armed resistance to the aggressor. The latter party would include most Congressmen. And, as foreign troops, including British troops, would also be allowed to take part in the defence of India, Japanese victory by no means be certain.

"Great Britain takes her stand firmly on the Cripps proposals and will not recede from them." So much the worse for her. It may be that she would rather break than bend. But the result in that case can be clearly foreseen. In the opinion of *The Times* the Cripps proposals "constituted and still constitute an immense moral asset to the British cause." We hold exactly the opposite view.

The Times says :

Those who seek the freedom of India know in their heart that Mr. Gandhi's policy means not freedom but enslavement to Japan. The essence of the British plan is an offer and guarantee of immediate effective control over day-to-day administration in India and of independence as complete as the peoples of India desire to make it, once the aggressor is repelled.—*Reuter*.

Let us make a different statement.

"Those who seek the freedom of India know in their heart that" the acceptance of the Cripps proposals "means not freedom but" the vivisection of India and the indefinite prolongation of subjection to Britain. "The essence of the British plan is" the show of "an offer and guarantee of immediate ineffective control over day-to-day administration in India" minus the least voice in matters of Defence and Foreign Affairs, no control over Finance, and no such self-rule "as the people of India desire to make it."

Indian Statistical Institute

The Annual General Meeting of the Indian Statistical Institute was held on the 29th April 1942 at 4-30 p.m. in the Statistical Laboratory, Presidency College, Calcutta with Sir A. H. Ghuznavi in the chair. The activities of the Institute during the year 1941-42 were reviewed in the Annual Report presented at the meeting. Among the various projects undertaken by the Institute during the year, there was in addition

to the Area Census of Jute, Bengal Labour Family Budget Enquiry, numerous crop-cutting experiments, etc., a highly interesting survey of public opinion and listeners' reaction to broadcasting in India, conducted on behalf of the All-India Radio. The Council for the year 1942-43 was elected, the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member-in-charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, as President, and Sir Badridas Goenka as Hon. Vice-President, Dr. P. N. Banerjee, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Dr. T. E. Gregory, Dr. John Matthai, The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Dr. C. W. B. Normand, Sir Shri Ram, Sir C. V. Raman, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. J. Y. Roxburgh and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy as Vice-Presidents with Dr. Satya Churan Law as Treasurer, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis as Hon. Secretary and Prof. K. N. Chakravarti and Mr. K. R. Nair as Hon. Jt. Secretaries.

"Resignation of Sukumar Chatterji"

Visva-Bharati News for June, 1942, writes :

We are extremely sorry to announce the resignation of Sukumar Chatterji, who was till recently the Deputy Secretary of Sriniketan. We should like to record here our grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the Visva-Bharati by S. Chatterji at a considerable sacrifice to his official career. Immediately before he joined the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, he was holding a highly responsible position under the Government of Bengal. He chose the comparatively humble role of rural worker solely because of his reverence for Gurudeva and devotion for the aims and ideals Gurudeva had placed before Sriniketan.

We are sorry to read this announcement. S. Chatterji was an asset to Sriniketan. The Visva-Bharati authorities ought to have tried their best to induce him not to resign. We do not know whether any such effort was made. Rabindranath Tagore fully appreciated his devotion to his ideals and his services to Sriniketan. The Poet spoke to us on one occasion in very high terms of S. Chatterji's firmness of convictions, administrative capacity, and powers of organization.

Forward Bloc Declared Unlawful

The All-India Forward Bloc has been declared unlawful by a notification issued by the Government of India under the Defence of India Rules.

We cannot support this action. Whatever the Government may know and think of the present whereabouts and activities of S. Subhas Chandra Bose, founder of the Forward Bloc, we are not aware of any unlawful intentions or activities of the Bloc at present. Nor are we aware that in the past the Bloc was responsible

for anything unlawful. If Government were aware, they should and could have declared it unlawful at that very time, without waiting so long.

Recrudescence of Murderous Assaults At Dacca

The recrudescence of murderous assaults at Dacca is greatly to be regretted. We hope the disturbances will be soon got under control. Perhaps they are the only kind of reactions to be expected from the *goonda* elements to the Hindu-Muslim unity endeavours, including the formation of the Coalition ministry, the withdrawal of cases against those alleged to have been implicated in the late Dacca riots, and the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference held in Calcutta under the presidentship of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

In the past similar disturbances have repeatedly taken place whenever something good for the nation was inaugurated or expected. There is method in mischief-makers' madness.

Repressive Policy Against Congress ?

There is reason to apprehend that Government has initiated a repressive policy against the Congress, which is to be regretted. Indications are to be found in the forfeiture of the security (Rs. 6000) of the *National Herald* of Lucknow and demanding (and obtaining) of a fresh security of Rs. 12000, the arrest of leading Congressmen like Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Srikrishna Dutt Paliwal, the search of the All-India Congress office at Allahabad and seizing not only the banned resolutions but other documents and the typewriter and cyclostyle too, and the search of Congress offices and the houses of numerous Congress members all over the country.

The British Government has made a mistake in not complying with the Indian people's desire for a national government. The adoption and continuation of a repressive policy would add to the gravity of the mistake.

Reconstituted Bengal Industrial Survey Committee

The Bengal Industrial Survey Committee has been reconstituted with Dr. P. N. Ghosh, Head of the Department of Applied Physics, University College of Science, Calcutta University, as Chairman and Mr. A. L. Ojha, Dr. N. N. Law, Mr. Syed Badruddoja, M.L.A., Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, Prof. Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., Mr. A. M. A. Zaman, M.L.A., Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, M.L.A., Dr. Muhammad Qudr-i-Khuda, Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta, Dr. B. C. Roy, Vice-

Chancellor, Calcutta University, Mr. S. C. Mitter, Director of Industries, Bengal, Mr. K. W. Mealing, representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, representative of the All-India Village Industries Association, Dr. H. L. Dey, representative of the Dacca University, Dr. J. N. Mukherjee, representative of the Calcutta University as members and Mr. D. N. Ghose as Secretary.

The Committee are requested to complete the work already done by the end of the current financial year and to submit their final report with as little delay as possible. The Committee have been requested to submit an *interim* report immediately on the possibility of developing those industries which may be of special import during the present emergency, indicating the impediments to industrial growth owing to war conditions and how best to meet them.

Among these may be mentioned the salt industry and the manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth.

Attention is also invited to the development of the vegetable oil industry and the invention and manufacture of vegetable oil lamps to equal, if not surpass, kerosene oil lamps in brilliancy. To feed the vegetable oil industry the cultivation of mustard and other oil seeds should be vigorously promoted.

Vernalization of Mustard

In order to grow more oil seeds in Bengal full advantage should be taken of B. Sen and S. C. Chakravarti's "Studies in Vernalization of Mustard," published in *The Indian Journal of Agricultural Science*, February, 1942, and other similar researches.

*Crimes Relating to Indian Posts and Telegraphs **

The war has reduced the bulk of the report; and the information supplied is sketchy. The following statistics deserve careful consideration at the hand of the authorities. They show the number of crimes and the amount involved during the last five years.

		By Post & Telegraph Officials.		By other Persons.	
		Amount		Number	
Year	No.	Rs.	Highway	Other	Amount
			Mail Robberies	Classes	
1936-37	334	63,700	25	132	43,100
1937-38	435	1,82,100	16	145	25,200
1938-39	398	1,20,800	20	208	99,100
1939-40	402	1,38,500	26	168	36,400
1940-41	356	84,600	31	162	71,600

It will be seen that in every year both the number of offences committed by the Post and Telegraph officials and the amount involved are greater than the totals of highway mail robberies

* Report on the work of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department, 1940-41, pp. 56. Price 8 annas.

and other offences by strangers and the amount involved. This shows that there is considerable slackness in the supervision of subordinate officials or there is something wrong in the system. It has been suggested to us that the increasing appointment of persons 'with minimum qualifications' on communal considerations has led to the deterioration of the quality of checks devised by the authorities. We do not know how far this may be true. In any view the authorities responsible should bestir themselves in preventing crimes by postal officials. Will they in future reports publish the feligion of postal officials involved in crimes?

J. M. DATTA

Occupation of Madagascar

The occupation of Madagascar by Britain is justified by the exigencies of war. Its occupation does not mean annexation to the British Empire; it remains in theory French territory and will revert to its former political status after the war. That is what the British Government say. If it had not been seized by the Allies, Japan would have made it a base of her operations and cut off Britain's communications with Asia and Australia *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

A similar timely seizure of Indo-China and practical establishment of political suzerainty over Thailand would most probably have prevented the loss of Malaya and Singapore and of Burma. But Britain allowed herself to be forestalled by Japan, with serious consequences to herself.

"Rammohun Roy and America"

Rammohun Roy and America is a deeply interesting and highly informative book by Miss Adrienne Moore, M.A., of Columbia University, America. It contains 190+16 royal octavo pages (pages as long as those of *The Modern Review* but one inch less in width). Of these the Author's Foreword occupies 5 pages; Introduction, a page; An Estimate of Rammohun Roy, 26 pages; List of Libraries consulted, 3 pages; Bibliography of the Indian, English, American, German, and Dutch Editions of the Works of Rammohun Roy, 27 pages; Bibliography of the Periodicals Containing Material Concerning Rammohun Roy, 70 pages; Access of the American Public to Literature Concerning Rammohun Roy, 41 pages; General Bibliography, 18 pages; and Bibliography of Guide Books, 2 pages.

The Libraries which Miss Moore consulted were all American libraries.

This bare statement of the contents of the book shows the strenuous labour which the authoress had undergone for writing it. She is not a sentimental admirer of Rammohun Roy. She has weighed every word of what she has written. From her book we can learn how greatly a modern Indian influenced American thought in the first three decades of the 19th century, though he did not visit it. Its perusal leads to the conclusion that Rammohun Roy's influence was at the root of the Transcendentalist movement and school of philosophy in America, of which Emerson was the leading figure.

Vegetable Oil Substitutes for Kerosene

Some years ago China, feeling the lack of sufficient supplies of kerosene oil, promoted the production of various kinds of oil seeds from which vegetable oil could be produced. And a vegetable oil lamp, too, was invented which gave as bright a light as mineral oil at no greater cost.

At present there is similar dearth of Kerosene oil in India. We should follow the example of China and produce larger quantities of various oil seeds and press oil from them. A gentleman on the Bombay side—perhaps of Poona, if we remember aright, prepared a vegetable oil lamp yielding as brilliant light as Kerosene lamps, some years ago. He should try to give publicity to his invention.

Bengal Students Going to Join Panjab Guerilla Training Camp

About thirty students from Bengal are going to the Panjab to join the "Guerilla Training Camp" which is being opened under the auspices of the Panjab Provincial Students' Federation. Having come back after receiving a full course training, they would train the youths and students in different districts of Bengal. An Indian Army Officer will conduct this training.

Other similar announcements have been made in Calcutta papers. Some young men have gone to the Bhonsla Military School at Nasik for similar training.

Guerrilla training camps and schools should be established in Bengal and other provinces.

Nikhil Banga Krishak-Prajas Conference

Last May a conference of Krishak-Prajas or Kisans (peasants and farmers) was held at Kushtia. It was opened by Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal.

The Chief Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq, who rose amidst thunderous cheers to open the Conference, said that as the Chief Minister of the last Ministry he had tried his best to do some good to Kisans and he had been successful to some extent. But with the last Ministry, he could not go ahead and do all that he

desired to do for the welfare of Kisans. The new Ministry which had been formed only a few months back he could say that it was a Krishak-Proja Ministry, and he had every hope that he would now be able to go ahead with his programme of ameliorating the condition of masses who formed the backbone of our nation. He assured the Kisans that the present Ministry would try their best to mitigate hardships that had been caused to Kisans in consequence of war. The Chief Minister told the Kisans, had there been no war, the present Government would have by this time come to a decision with regard to the question of the abolition of zemindari system.

Earlier Mr. Huq opened an industrial and agricultural exhibition organised on the occasion of the Conference.

Addresses of welcome were presented to Ministers who attended the Conference on behalf of the Kushtia Municipality, Nadia District Krishak-Proja Samity and also on behalf of the people of Kushtia and Harinara-yanganj.

Mr. Samsuddin Ahmed, Minister, Chairman of the Reception Committee, extended a hearty welcome to the delegates who numbered about 500.

This session, the sixth, of the Nikhil Banga (All-Bengal) Krishak Praja Conference concluded on May 24 last. Besides the Chief Minister, two other ministers, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan and the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed addressed the Conference. Maulana Maniruzzaman Islamabadi, M.L.A., the Krishak leader of Chittagong, presided. The resolutions passed by the conference are printed below :

1. This Conference demands complete democratic independence for India for the economic, political and social emancipation of the peasants and workers of the country. (The resolution was moved by Prof. Humayun Kabir and seconded by Moulvi Giasuddin Ahmed, M.L.A.).

British imperialists who think that the Muslim League represents all Indian Muslims should take note of this resolution.

2. This Conference congratulates Hon. Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, the unchallenged and undisputed leader of Bengal, for the step he has taken in forming the present Cabinet with the accredited leaders of the different communities and parties in order to remove suspicion and conflict between the two major communities in this present emergency and threat from external aggression and internal disorder. The Conference further requests the Progressive Coalition Party which maintains the Government in power to formulate and give effect to an economic programme for the immediate improvement of the conditions of life of the peasants and workers. (Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, M.L.A., moved the resolution which was seconded by Moulvi Idris Ahmed Mian, M.L.A., and Mr. Jahurul Huq, a student leader).

Whether Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq be the unchallenged and undisputed leader of Bengal or not, the Coalition Ministry formed by him is a notable achievement.

3. In view of the threat of enemy aggression against India this Conference declares that it is imperative to transfer responsibility for the defence of the country

immediately to Indian hands. (The resolution was moved by Moulvi Abdpl Malek and seconded by Shek Shah Mohammed Ali).

British imperialists please note the above resolution.

4. This Conference is of opinion that the only way to avoid unprofitable controversies over the question of the framing of the future constitution of India is to constitute completely autonomous provincial units with sovereign and residuary powers and to organise them into a Federation of Indian Republics with definite and limited functions and powers. (Moulvi Tofazzel Ahmed moved the resolution which was seconded by Mr. Jehangir Kabir).

5. This Conference congratulates the Chinese and the Russians for the magnificent fight for their countries' freedom. (Kazi Emdadul Huq, M.L.A. moved the resolution).

6. This Conference welcomes the proposal of the Government of Bengal to form Home Guards and requests that this should be formed on a democratic basis and brought into existence immediately. The Conference also urges upon the Indian and the British Governments to place sufficient finances and powers in the hands of the Provincial Government and amend the Arms Act and the laws of recruitment in order to make the scheme feasible. The Conference is further of opinion that in the existing political circumstances of the country the formation of Home Guards on communal or party basis would be detrimental to safety and internal peace of the country and should therefore be prohibited. (Moulvi Ashrafali Beg moved the resolution).

7. This Conference requests the Government of Bengal to take immediate steps to mitigate the hardships of the peasants and workers due to lack of supply and increase in prices of salt, kerosene and other essential commodities by providing for free manufacture and sale of salt wherever possible and by provision of better transport facilities for distribution of kerosene and other essential commodities throughout the country. (Rai Sahib Nanakehand Djusta moved the resolution which was seconded by Moulvi Abdul Rahman Syadi).

8. This Conference congratulates the present Ministry on their success in restoring better relations between Hindus and Muslims in the district of Dacca by sanctioning the withdrawal of all communal cases and making provision for distribution of compensation among those afflicted by the riot and by taking steps to safeguard against recurrence of such untoward incident in the future.

9. This Conference requests the Government of Bengal to take necessary and special steps for advancing the economic, political, social and educational interests of Momins and other backward communities among the Muslims.

By another resolution, the Conference demands abolition of the Zemindari system and expressed the opinion that no compensation should be paid to the Zemindars in case Government decided to buy the rights of Zemindars.

The Conference also demanded that the rate of rent at present obtaining in Bengal should be reduced as far as practicable and that arrangements should be made for return of lands sold in auction since 1930.

Another resolution expressed the opinion that Central Co-operative Banks and Rural Co-operative Societies should be brought under the operation of the Bengal Moneylenders' Act.

Some of the resolutions deserve unqualified support.

It would appear from newspaper reports of the Conference that no Hindu minister or other Hindu leader addressed the gathering. Among the movers and seconders of the resolutions, too, there would appear to have been only one non-Muslim gentleman, who is not a Bengali. It is true that the agricultural population of Bengal is mainly Mussalman. But there are undoubtedly numerous Bengali Hindu cultivators and tenants, too. All Bengali Hindus who have something to do with land are not landlords, nor are all landlords in Bengal Bengali Hindus. There is perhaps an unfortunate and harmful tendency among Bengali Hindus to avoid soiling their hands with the soil of the country of which they claim to be children. They would all seem to be seeking soft jobs. Loss or decrease of contact with the land is one of the main, if not the principal, devitalizing and debilitating factors in national life. By their almost exclusive devotion to 'high politics' Bengali Hindu leaders would seem to be indirectly encouraging their correlative to stand aloof from the land.

The Greek legend relating to Antaios and Herakles may be interpreted as symbolizing the strengthening virtue of contact with the sea and the soil. Antaios, a giant of Libya, son of Poseidon, the god of the sea and of the watery element generally, and Gaea (Earth), was long invincible in wrestling, because his strength was renewed every time he touched the Earth, his mother. Herakles throttled him while holding him off the ground.

Bengali Hindus are in the minority not only among the tillers of the soil but also among boatmen and sailors. These are some of the causes of their weakness.

Resolution 4 is debatable. Resolution 9 ought to have asked for the taking of steps for the improvement of the condition of Hindu backward classes also.

Abolition of the zamindari system is a contentious measure, and the suggestion that no compensation should be paid to the zemindars in case Government decided to buy the rights of the zemindars is unjust.

The demand that "arrangements should be made for return of lands" (perhaps without any compensation to the present owners!) "sold in auctions since 1930" is unjust.

As regards the last resolution, there are competent authorities who hold that the Bengal Money-lenders Act itself is defective and should be amended and that, therefore, it would be wrong to bring Central Co-operative Banks and Rural Co-operative Societies under the operation of that Act.

Guerrilla Warfare

No one disputes the need, usefulness and practicability of guerrilla warfare. But it should not be forgotten guerrilla warfare, too, requires training and some equipment. This equipment may not include tanks and heavy artillery, but some light arms are certainly necessary. Guerrilla warfare should not be mistaken for the fights in which gorillas, armed with branches of forest trees, are said sometimes to engage. Dr. B. S. Moonje, who has studied the subject, says that a guerrilla fighter's equipment should include a horse, a rifle, a sword, a knife, etc. In some areas horses may be dispensed with.

A Muslim Paper on the Hur Outrages

Light, the Ahmadiya weekly of Lahore, comments as follows in part on the Hur outrages in Sind:

"The Pir Pagaro represents an institution in the body politic of Islam. Like vicious fungi, the institution of Pirhood has grown on the society of Islam and has been sapping the life-juice out of it for centuries past. It is not Sindh alone that has a Pir Pagaro. The entire body politic of Islam is honey-combed with Pir Pagaros." Wherever there is what they call a *gadi*, there you have a Pir Pagaro installed. The havoc they play with the human mind may be varying in degree, according to the strata of society they happen to victimise. They are nevertheless chips of the same block. In Pir Pagaro, the system may have sunk to the lowest depths: in the so-called enlightened Pir, such as His Highness the Aga Khan, it may have donned the garb of some sort of respectability. So far, however, as the degradation and the depravity of the human soul is concerned, these two types are only rungs of the same ladder. They differ in degree, not in kind. The Hur outrages are a slur on the fair face of Islam. * * * It is up to the sons of Islam with whom the good name of Islam carries any value to ponder over the system of which the Hurs are a product and address themselves to the eradication of that system."

Annual Report of Visva-Bharati, 1941

In the Annual Report and Audited Accounts of Visva-Bharati for the year we have brief glimpses of the different kinds of work done during the year in the different Departments of this institution. Besides these, it had to do strenuous famine relief work, of which the main items were distribution of doles and clothes, advancing money to start new industries, improving water supply, protection of cattle, etc.

The educational departments located at Santiniketan are Vidyābhavana (Research Department), Sikshābhavana (College Department), Pāthabhavana (School Department), Cheena-bhavana (Institute of Chinese Studies and Culture), Kalābhavana (Art School), and

Sangītabhavana (School of Music). Kalā-bhavana gives training in handicrafts also.

Sikshā-Satra, established two decades ago, may be considered a forerunner, if not the prototype, of the "Wardha scheme." During the year under report "several modifications were made in its syllabus to give the students ample scope for creative work." This and the Sikshā-Charchā Bhavana (Guru Training School) are located at Sriniketan. This school gives courses in Rural Welfare, Agriculture, Carpentry, Weaving and Handicrafts. "Under the auspices of the Village Welfare Department at Sriniketan the Institute had under its supervision fourteen village primary schools. A large number of adults received education in the night schools started and aided by the Institute."

Loka-Sikshā-Samsad is a sort of home university which prescribes syllabuses, prepares and publishes some text-books, holds examinations for adults in Bengal who are deprived of the opportunity of sitting for University examinations. All its work is done through the medium of Bengali.

Besides publishing the Bengali, English (mainly translations from the Bengali) and Hindi (all translations from the Bengali) works of Rabindranath Tagore, Visva-Bharati publishes *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* and *Visva-Bharati News* in English and a quarterly in Hindi. It will shortly begin to publish a Bengali monthly.

Its fine library is located at Santiniketan.

The Visva-Bharati Economic Research Board has published the first of a series of publications entitled *Conflict of Economic Ideologies in India—An attempt at Reconciliation*, by Dr. Sudhir Sen.

A section was added to the Silpa-Bhavana at Sriniketan for fruit-preservation and canning. The object of Silpa-Bhavana is to provide vocational training to young men and women from rural areas and to students of academic departments and enable them to earn a decent living as well as to encourage and promote cottage industries in the district of Birbhumi. During the year 315 persons were so trained.

Sriniketan maintains a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre and has a Hospital. On the agricultural side, experiments in Afforestation and Prevention of Soil Erosion were continued in 1941.

Students both at Santiniketan and Sriniketan have their games and sports.

Co-operative Banking and Co-operative Health Improvement work are also done.

It appears from all these activities that

Visva-Bharati is much more than a "home of art," though even if it had been only a home of art, it would not have been unworthy of high praise.

Education in Bengal in 1939-40

Annual reports of Government Departments should come out as soon after a year ends as possible. For very late publication perhaps the All-India Education Report holds the record.

We should now be expecting the 1941-42 Bengal Education Report. But we have not yet got even the 1940-41 Report. We have got only the following press note relating to education in Bengal in 1939-40, which though late, contains good news :

year was a year of progress rather than stagnation in the field of education, says the report on Public instruction in Bengal for the year 1939-40. There was a general increase in the number of pupils in all stages and certain improvements were effected.

Among some of the notable features of the year were establishment of 32 primary training centres attached to selected high schools, extension of free primary education of the Biss Scheme type in the municipalities of Darjeeling, Bogra, Gaibandha, Bankura, Hooghly and South Suburban, establishment of two new colleges for women in Calcutta and inauguration of refresher courses by the Calcutta University for secondary school teachers. During the year under report provision was also made of special facilities for scheduled class Hindus by means of liberal grants to schools mainly patronised by pupils of such castes. A Physical Directress for Bengal was appointed and a College of Physical Education for women was also established during the year.

Revolt in Northern Korea

WASHINGTON, June 23.

Over a thousand Japanese were killed and extensive damage was done to Japanese military installations in the revolt in Northern Korea, according to an unconfirmed report, received by the Secretary of the Chinese Korean Peoples' League.

The revolt is said to have broken out on February 2nd and lasted four days. At Heiyo, the Police headquarters, two hangars, twenty-two planes and sixty-eight houses of Japanese residents were destroyed by fire.—*Reuter*.

Poona Hindu Widows' Home Association

The forty-sixth annual report (for the year 1941) of the Hindu Widows' Home Association at Hingue Budruk, Poona, is a record of excellent work in various directions done during the year. The lot of Hindu widows continues to be miserable in spite of some amelioration during the last four or five decades, and no institutions are more worthy of support than those which try to make them self-supporting, self-deter-

mining and useful members of society. The Hindu Widows' Home, founded by Dr. D. K. Karve, is eminently such an institution. It is not merely that its object is good and ideal high, but it has been realizing its ideal in an ever-increasing measure. And if it had received the pecuniary assistance that it has stood in need of all along, it could undoubtedly have done more and better work. But we are sorry to read in the Secretary's covering letter that "In spite of the solid work that this institution has done in the field of women's education, we have always felt financial stringency, because as the field of work expanded this parent institution could not attract as much public attention and financial support as it deserved. Owing to this reason the number of free students (mostly widows) maintained by the institution which was nearly 100 at one time has come down to 70 owing to want of funds and every year a number of applications from poor deserving students have to be turned down. It is estimated that there would be a deficit of about Rs. 5500/- during the current year and how to increase the income is a great problem."

We earnestly hope friends of widows everywhere will help to solve this problem by contributing to the funds of the institution.

Servants of India Society

We learn from the report of the Servants of India Society for 1941-42, founded by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, that it completed thirty-seven years of its life on the 12th June last. It has been a very useful life. The report gives details of the various kinds of work done by its members. Their activities cover all the subjects included in what is understood by constructive work for nation-building. In addition to each member's work connected with legislatures, associations and public bodies, every one of the members is engaged in some special work for which he was trained. During the year under report the financial condition of the Society was unsatisfactory. It was only by a 20 per cent. cut in the meagre allowances of the members that a deficit could be prevented. And this is not the first time that there has been a deficit. Some years ago the Society was obliged to discontinue the publication of its excellent weekly organ, the *Servant of India*, because of the paucity of its funds.

We hope the Society will find an increasing number of financial helpers who appreciate solid work of a non-sensational and non-spectacular character for the good of the people.

President Roosevelt's Speech And Prayer On United Nations' Flag Day

President Roosevelt spoke as follows on the 14th June last, which was the United Nations' Flag Day :

"Today on the Flag Day we celebrate the declaration of the United Nations—that great alliance dedicated to the defeat of our foes and to the establishment of a true peace based on the freedom of man. Today the Republic of Mexico and the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands join us. We welcome these valiant peoples to the company of those who fight for freedom."

The four freedoms of common humanity are as much the elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies. Deprive him of a part of them and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man. These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race wherever they live. This is their heritage long withheld and we of the United Nations have the power and men and will at last to assure man's heritage.

Continuing, President Roosevelt said :

"Belief in the four freedoms of common humanity—belief in man created free in the image of God—is the crucial difference between ourselves and the enemies we face today. In it lies the absolute unity of our alliance opposed to the oneness of the evil we hate. Here is our strength, the source and promise of victory. We of the United Nations know our faith cannot be broken by any man or any force. And we know that there are other millions who in their silent captivity share our belief."

"We ask the German people still dominated by their Nazi whip masters whether they would rather have the mechanized hell of Hitler's "new" order or—in place of that, freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear. We ask the Japanese people trampled by their savage lords of slaughter whether they would rather continue in slavery and blood or in their place whether they would rather have freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear. We ask the brave unconquered peoples of the nations the Axis invaders have dishonoured and despoiled whether they would rather yield to the conquerors or have freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear. We know the answer. They know the answer. We know that man born to freedom in the image of God will not for ever suffer the oppressor's sword. The peoples of the United Nations are taking that sword from the oppressor's hands. With it they will destroy those tyrants. Brazen tyrannies pass. Man marches forward towards light."

After delivering this speech with evangelical fervour the President closed by reading a prayer for the United Nations. "I am going," said he, "to close by reading to you a prayer that has been written for the United Nations on this day." And he read out the following prayer :

"God of the free, we pledge our hearts and lives today to the cause of all free mankind. Grant us victory over the tyrants who would enslave all free men and nations. Grant us faith and understanding to cherish all those who fight for freedom as if they were our brothers. Grant us brotherhood in hope and union

not only for the space of this bitter war but for the days to come which shall and must unite all children of the earth. Our earth is but a small star in the great universe, yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet unvexed by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, colour or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and children's children may be proud that the soul of man has gone forth. Grant us wisdom and vision to comprehend the greatness of man's spirit that suffers and endures so hugely for the goal for his own brief span. Grant us honour for our dead who have died in the faith. Grant us honour for our living who work and strive for faith, redemption and security for all captive lands and peoples. Grant us patience with the secluded and pity for the betrayed. And grant us skill and valour that shall cleanse the world of aggression and the old base doctrine that the strong must eat the weak because they are strong. Yet most of all grant us brotherhood not only for this day but for all our years—brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds. We are all of us children of the earth grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed then we are oppressed. If they hunger we hunger. If their freedom is taken away our freedom is not secure. Grant us the common faith that man shall know bread and peace—that he shall know justice, righteousness, freedom and security, equal opportunity and equal chance to do his best not only in our own lands but throughout the world. And in that faith let us march towards a clean world that our hands can make. Amen."

According to President Roosevelt the four freedoms of common humanity are freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. And in his opinion these four freedoms "are as much the elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies. Deprive him of a part of them and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full abundant measure, and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man. These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race, wherever they live. This is their heritage long withheld, and we of the United Nations have the power and men and will at last to assure man's heritage."

There is no question that the people of India are without three freedoms, "freedom of speech," "freedom from want," and "freedom from fear." Therefore, three-fourths of the personality of the Indian man and woman withers. On some occasions and in some places Hindus cannot enjoy the freedom of religion. Indians want to cross the threshold of the new age, "the greatest age of man."

If the United Nations have the power and men and will to assure these heritages of Indians and enable them to cross the threshold of the new age when and how will that be done?

Assuring to Indians their human heritage of the four freedoms is not a mere matter of

philanthropic idealism; it would also facilitate the speedy victory of the United Nations. Nay, it may even be necessary for their victory.

President Roosevelt prayed to the God of the free. We also do so. But we cannot forget that He is God of bond and free alike. We look up to Him in particular Who in His infinite personality is Arbiter of the destiny of the enslaved. What is His command to them? We seek His answer and the will and power to obey.

Abrama Training Camp for Indian Women Organisers

[Impressions by Margaret E. Cousins, B. MUS.]

[After 15 years of work of other kinds—social, legislative, reformatory, educational, the All-India Women's Conference has just this week completed an important Camp of a most practical and original kind. It was planned and carried out by Srimati Kamaladevi who was inspired to create it by her experiences particularly in China. Ed., M. R.]

Thanks to enthusiasm, strong will, industry, capacity, self-sacrifice and record energy, the team-work of four members of the Committee appointed by the All-India Women's Conference to organise a three-months' camp for training women to become Provincial Organisers for its Branches, ends this week, and the Camp is voted a notable success by the many people who have visited it and by the trainees themselves.

Mridula Ben Sarabhai of Ahmedabad knew a suitable house in Gujerat which could comfortably accommodate fifty trainees. It enjoyed a cool sea-breeze from eight miles off. It stood in spacious grounds full of large mango trees. There were no other big houses within a mile of each side of it. But a bus and tonga and the railway could bring people to it from Surat on one side and Bombay on the other within half a day. Mridula Ben was able to get the free loan of this house from its owner. All his family also helped the Camp in many ways. His villagers helped with transport and labour. The Abrama High School lent furniture; and the Muslim tonga-walla, who could be relied on to bring all and sundry from the train, usually at between 3 and 5 a.m., in moonlight or pitch-darkness, was a "dictator" in himself. Mridula Ben had power over the Gujerati country-folk, every man of whom seemed to me, in my recent visit to the Camp, to look like Gandhiji at some stage of the latter's life. Mridula Ben was also the financier of the Camp in its early days of monetary difficulty, and she saved one serious situation by bringing her own cook from

Ahmedabad, and he capably and happily held the mixed staff together. She also helped as Superintendent part of the time.

Mira Ben (Miss Slade) was the architect and builder of the form of the Camp. She planned where huts were to be built for instructors, visitors, class-rooms. She acted as building maistry. She did a big job of installing a water-pump with a large cement tank, water-taps, conveniences for hygiene of all kinds. She is remembered as the cleaner-up of all dirt or stray material. It was Gandhiji who lent her invaluable services for the launching of the Camp.

Srimati Kamaladevi was the Convener of the Training-Camp Sub-Committee, the framer of the Rules of the Camp, the scout for its pupils, the collector for its scholarships and donations, the creator of its notable curriculum, the hostess of its visitors, the ever-vigilant and self-sacrificing superintendent of duties and details, and outstanding demonstration of "group-consciousness."

Srimati Urmila Mehta, Hon. Gen. Secretary of the All-India Women's Conference, kept the link between the Conference and the Camp, acted as keeper of accounts, as general correspondent, as first aid to Kamaladevi, and as organiser who brought the Members of the Conference's Half-yearly Standing Committee meeting to Abrama, so that they might participate in the success of this practical Project, and that the trainees might have the stimulation of meeting women whose names are household words.

The Camp was joined by fifty women whose average age was twenty-three. The majority were Gujaratis; but eleven were Muslims from Bombay, two were Parsis, five were from Madras Presidency including one Thiyya from Mangalore, ten were matriculation students, eight were graduates of the Karve University Colleges, eight had come from the Jyoti Sangh of Ahmedabad; and six had been sent by Branches of the All-India Women's Conference to be absorbed into the organisation of their schemes. The languages used were Hindi and English. Classes were mostly held under the trees.

Most gratifying was the sympathy shown by over forty men and women experts in various spheres of social work, who gave from two to five days to help to widen the knowledge of the trainees. Amongst them were Instructors from the Tata Institute of Social Service of Bombay. Mr. Meherally, Mayor of Bombay; Dr. Bulsara, Bombay Deputy Municipal Commissioner; Sri T. D. Watkis, Baroda State Librarian; Dr. Miss Jhirad; Sri G.

Venkatachellam; Mrs. Hansa Mehta; Mrs. Kitty Shiva Rau; Miss Durga Duelkar, for Food Preservation; Miss Indulekha of Santiniketan, for community singing; Miss Santi Devi, for folk-dancing; Mrs. Nimbkar, office organisation; Mr. Goli, an enthusiastic A. R. P. demonstrator; Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, scouting. These, and others, covered such subjects as: Health, Civics, Culture, History, Economics, Social Organisation, Rural and Urban Industries, Dietetics, Emergency Work, Child Psychology, Literacy, Women's Needs and Institutions. Short courses followed one another on twenty practical subjects which included: Toy-making, Soap-making, Bee-keeping, Carding and Spinning, Laundering, Fruit and Vegetable Preserving, First Aid, Gardening.

The brain reels at the wealth of knowledge that was poured daily into the minds and hands of these lucky young women between their physical culture class from 6 to 7 a.m., (in a smart khadi uniform) and their final class for community singing or folk-dancing from 9 to 9-30 p.m.

Visits were paid to neighbouring villages where Khadi Aśrams were in charge of rural reconstruction work. Notes of all instruction, practical and theoretical, were compulsory, and have formed part of the material which has been adjudged for the Test of Merit, grading each trainee, which has ended the Camp Course this week.

The large space and avenue in front of the long horizontal bungalow formed an ideal physical culture ground, cycling and riding course and playground by day, and sleeping-ground under the stars at night, free from animal or human wanderers. First bell went at 5 a.m., and lights were out by 10 p.m. But the lights of deep friendships made, of unities of communities created, of dedication of service to the country by this young womanhood, will burn away dross, degeneration, superstition, ignorance and apathy in all who contacted this most vital Abrama Camp.

The village patriarchal family brought its help to a climax by giving hospitality for three days to twenty-one Members of the Standing Committee half-yearly meeting of the All-India Women's Conference, so that they might judge at first hand of the success of this latest constructive Project of the Conference. Cotton-growing patriotic benefactors, practical politicians, rich and poor, all-India personalities, and country agriculturists, made this Camp and Half-Yearly Meeting a truly co-operative, united, community affair.

Another outstanding volunteer helper, who acted as Hindi translator, was Swami Sivanand: in his neat one-room hut he was always fatherly to everyone, a Guruji like a Rishi.

And as regards finance : over Rs. 5000 were obtained through scholarships and fees, another Rs. 1000 from collected donations, another Rs. 1000 is expected from sale of materials and equipment, and the Women's Conference President, Mrs. Vidyalakshmi Pandit, has promised to collect the Rs. 1500 deficit below the total expenses of the Camp. The various Branches of the Women's Conference which have sent women as trainees will be responsible for raising their salaries locally.

Srimati Kamaladevi was specially pleased to find how many different problems of Indian social life solved themselves naturally just by living together for a common purpose of a dedicated kind. The language, food, servants, music-language, serving, seating-problems, each raised its head in the first few weeks, but quickly women's diplomacy and the simplicity, sincerity and disinterestedness of organisers and scholars found satisfactory ways of assimilating communities which had not lived together before, made hitherto unknown freedom as easy as if purdan had never existed, and gave a demonstration of unity which included women of all castes, classes, races, and significantly also of an American, Austrian, English and Irish woman lecturer.

Happiness, unity, simplicity, good health, hard physical and mental work, a fresh outlook on life, examples of unselfishness on all hands in order that there might be later thousands of women trained in efficiency for serving Mother India, these were the characteristics that impressed me in my week's memorable and enjoyable visit to the Abrama Women's Training Camp, a new type so useful and attractive that it is sure to be reproduced in other Provinces and States.

Routes Through Lhasa To China

NEW DELHI, June 25.

It is understood that representations have been made by the Chinese Government to Lhasa about the development of pack routes through Lhasa to China. Parallel representations have also been made by the British Government to the Tibetan Government on the subject.—A. P.

Panjab Premier on Bengal Premier's Proposed Progressive Muslim League

Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal's Chief Minister, has proposed to form a new Muslim League, which is to be of a progressive character. Reasonable men would see nothing wrong in the

attempt. But, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has expressed the opinion that Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq should have tried or should try to influence and change the views and methods of the Muslim League from within that body instead of forming a new organization. But as the Bengal Chief Minister has been expelled from the Muslim League, how is it possible to influence that body from within it? Moreover, as Mr. M. A. Jinnah is the dictator of the Muslim League, no opinion can prevail there which is opposed to his. Experience has shown this to be a fact. On various occasions and in various matters Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has himself held opinions different from those of Mr. Jinnah. Has his opinions in any way modified those of Mr. Jinnah?

Mr. N. R. Sarker on Significance of "Grow More Food" Campaign

The 'grow more food' campaign has for India an entirely different significance from what it has for countries of Europe, said the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker in a broadcast from the All-India Radio, Delhi, on June 22 last.

Even from the purely agricultural point of view, the campaign in India does not present problems or complications comparable to those in England. In Great Britain an expanded cultivation of food grains would force an encroachment on grass lands and consequently a curtailment of fodder and milk supply. There is also the risk of a loss on capital schemes of land improvement in respect of those areas where cultivation cannot be maintained in peace-time against the competition of cheaper imported food. None of these problems and complications faces us in India. The fulfilment of the programme which our campaign has in view will, indeed, facilitate the post-war reconstruction of Indian agriculture instead of being a hindrance to it. We have thus no reason to be alarmed by the food situation with which we are confronted today.

The provinces and the states are doing their best to increase the production of food grains. But in our country agriculture is so dependent on monsoon and distribution is so much at the mercy, now-a-days, of transport facilities, that it would be wise to prepare ourselves for a possible shortage in some locality—we cannot say where it might be. In this respect we have a special advantage in that we can supplement our food supply by fruits and vegetables which can be grown by almost every householder. Outside the big cities even the poorest sections of the people in this country have some lands attached to their homesteads where they can grow either some quick-bearing fruit trees or vegetables for their own consumption. This is, indeed, a part which every citizen, poor or rich, can play in supplementing the efforts of our peasants and cultivators to maintain an increasing supply of foodstuffs to meet the ever-increasing demand for them.

Apart from the contribution in terms of increase in output, if wealthy men will join the mass cultivators in helping the national effort to augment food supplies, it will have a great psychological effect and give tremendous impetus to the movement. It will demonstrate to the people in a practical manner that the problem

concerns us all and that each has been doing his part to meet a common peril. I should like to commend to you in this connection the example of his Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, who has decided, as a gesture, to grow *bajra* between the rose beds in the gardens of his palace. The Governor of Bombay has also, I understand, been interested in the cultivation of vegetables in the garden of the Government House.

I appeal to all sections of our people—officials and non-officials, rich and poor—to do all they can to give an impetus to this aspect of the campaign by setting an inspiring example to the masses. I hope they will realise that a larger consumption of vegetables and fruits will not only relieve the present food situation, but also result in a permanent gain: a more healthy and balanced diet to our people at practically no cost.

Mr. Sarker concluded:

The maintenance of an adequate supply of food-stuffs for civilian consumption is ever so vital to the maintenance of the morale of the civil population on which ultimate victory would depend. A hungry stomach is far more dangerous to social peace and stability than a foreign aggressor. I will, therefore, appeal to you to take this message with you and to pass it on to others, that in giving your helping hand in making this campaign a thorough success, you will not merely help to prevent the emergence of a steep inflationary rise in the cost of living of the poorer masses in the country but you will be forging a powerful weapon to safeguard the vital food-front and thus aid an early and decisive victory.—A. P. J

Produce More Khadi To Meet Shortage of Cloth

Under the caption "Production of Khadi" Mahatma Gandhi writes in the latest *Khadi Jagat*, the monthly published by the All-India Spinners' Association:

"Just as the "Grow More Food" slogan is heard on all sides the same should be the case with khadi. If we do not produce Khadi, crores will have to go naked just as crores will die of starvation if we do not grow foodstuffs and their number will outnumber the death-roll in the war, with this difference that they face death knowingly and are called martyrs while no one takes note of those dying from starvation.

"We shall not prefer remaining naked although we may not perish owing to non-supply of cloth. Mills will not produce cloth if the war continues and they (mills) will be busy in producing war materials." "How to produce Khadi?" asked Mahatma Gandhi and answers, "As I have already said, not by payment but from yarn produced if the charka is plied in every house. There will be no shortage of cloth if we will utilise for time by keeping its account. Because khadi, produced from yarn collected from houses plying charkas, will be certainly cheaper when compared with that produced from yarn got from payment of wages."—A. P.

"Spotless" Sun For Two Days in 1941

There were two days in 1941 on which the sun's disc was free from spots, according to the report of the Kodaikanal Observatory for that year just issued.

Research work on sun spots, etc., was continued. The Direct Reading Spectrophotometer,

built in the previous year, was improved by replacing the single tube amplifier by a balanced circuit. Preliminary observations were made with this instrument on the intensity of radiation from sun spots relative to the surrounding photosphere. These have shown that the character of the radiation from a sun spot is independent of its position on the disc.

The theoretical study on the motion of gases in the sun's atmosphere and the experimental work on Zeeman-effect were continued. The occurrence of highly stripped atoms of iron, nickel, cobalt, etc., in the Corona has been investigated on the basis of the results of the dynamical study of the solar envelope. The conclusions so far reached indicate that these atoms probably originate in the interior of the sun at a depth of about 25,000 km. or more.

In 1941, a further fall in solar activity was indicated by several solar phenomena, such as sun spots, prominences and hydrogen absorption markings. Observing conditions were slightly less favourable than in 1940.

Photographs of the sun in ordinary light were obtained on 322 days while spectroheliograms in calcium and hydrogen light were secured on 302 days and 262 days respectively. Under the existing scheme of co-operation among observatories, 63 photographs were obtained from observatories in England and America and 302 calcium disc spectroheliograms were sent from this observatory to the Solar Physics Observatory, Cambridge.

Mr. Sargent As "Indian Culture" Ambassador To China

Under the caption "Strange Envoy," *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay has criticized Lord Linlithgow's dispatch of Mr. Sargent to China as representative of "Indian" Culture in the following paragraph:

When Lord Linlithgow was appointed to the Viceroyalty, the American magazine *Time* described him as having the physiognomy of half dreamer, half crank. That His Excellency is neither but a deep politician is shown by the way in which he has managed to split the parties and carry forward his own ideas without the co-operation of any of them. His moves are sometimes inscrutable as, for instance, the despatch of Mr. Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, to China for the purpose of promoting cultural unity between the two countries. Lord Linlithgow not only stretches the term Indian to include the English official in India, but His Excellency seems at times to confine Indian nationality exclusively to English officials in New Delhi. The Generalissimo tactfully declined to recognise this strange identification. That, perhaps, was the reason why Mr. Sargent was sent to Chungking as the representative of Indian culture and as best-qualified to make the Chinese appreciate it—the Chinese who have known India for two thousand

years and have had scholars throughout the centuries going from one country to the other.

From what had appeared in the papers relating to Mr. Sargent's missions in China we were under the impression that he had been sent to that country to advise the Chinese Government how to educate the people. As the success of the provincial and central education departments in India in spreading and improving education has been marvellous and phenomenal, the Chinese Government could not possibly have a better adviser.

Help to Russia and Help to China

Soviet Russia has fought for one year with great courage and resourcefulness, and has thereby shown that she is fully entitled to all forms of assistance from Britain and the United States of America. Britain has been indirectly helping her by raiding German centres of industry with hundreds—nay thousands—of aeroplanes. That shows that she possesses plenty of aeroplanes. In addition to this indirect help, there is talk of a second front in Europe in order to divert the energies of Germany with a view to lessening the fury of the Nazi onslaught against Russia.

In Asia China has fought Japan for five years with unsurpassed patriotism, valour and resourcefulness. Her task has been harder than that of Russia, as Russia is a more industrialized country than China. The latter has appealed to her Western Allies for aeroplanes, of which she stands in sore need. As she, too, is fighting freedom's and democracy's battle and has been helping Britain in Asia, she deserves all possible help from the democracies. Let there be no colour discrimination in her case.

A New Rule Added To The Defence of India Rules

Since writing our note on the Government notification proclaiming Forward Bloc as an unlawful organization, we have received *The Gazette of India Extraordinary* of June 22, 1942, which contains the two Notifications reproduced below. It can now be understood why Forward Bloc could not be legally declared an unlawful body before June 22, 1942.

NEW DELHI, the 22nd June, 1942.

No. 1448-OR/42.—In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1939 (XXXV of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendment shall be made in the Defence of India Rules:

After Rule 27 of the said Rules, the following Rule shall be inserted, namely:

"27A. *Control and Winding up of Certain Organizations.*—(1) If the Central Government or the Provin-

cial Government is satisfied with respect to any organisation either—

(a) that it is subject to foreign influence or control; or

(b) that the persons in control thereof have, or have had, associations with persons concerned in the government of, or sympathies with the system of government of, any State at war with His Majesty, or have been conspiring to assist any such State and in either case that there is danger of the utilisation of the organisation for purposes prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of war, or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, that Government may by notified order direct that this rule shall apply to that organisation.

(2) If the Central Government or the Provincial Government is satisfied that any organisation is engaged, in succession to any organisation to which this rule applies, in activities substantially similar to those formerly carried on thereby, that Government may by notified order direct that this rule shall apply to that organisation.

(3) No person shall—

(a) manage or assist in managing any organisation to which this rule applies;

(b) promote or assist in promoting a meeting of any members of such an organisation, or attend any such meeting in any capacity;

(c) publish any notice or advertisement relating to any such meeting;

(d) invite persons to support such an organisation; or

(e) otherwise in any way assist the operations of such an organisation.

(4) The provisions of Sections 17A to 17E of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908), shall apply in relation to an organisation to which this rule applies, as they apply in relation to an unlawful association:

Provided that all powers and functions exercisable by the Provincial Government under the said sections as so applied shall be exercisable also by the Central Government.

(5) If any person contravenes any of the provisions of this rule, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both."

A. DE C. WILLIAMS,

Secretary to the Government of India.

HOME DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION

Political (I)

NEW DELHI, the 22nd June, 1942.

No. 161/42.—Whereas the Central Government is satisfied with respect to the organisation known as the All-India Forward Bloc that the persons in control thereof have had associations with persons concerned in the Government of States at war with His Majesty and that there is danger of the utilisation of the said organisation for purposes prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of the war.

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Sub-Rule (1) of Rule 27A of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to direct that the said rule shall apply to the said organisation.

E. CONRAN-SMITH,

Secretary to the Government of India.

The new rule 27A of the Defence of India Rules is beautifully vague and terribly elastic and inclusive. It would not be an easy task to enumerate the organisations which may consider themselves beyond the reach of this rule. Of course, the organizations known as the British Government and the Government of India cannot come within the mischief of this Rule, though not very long ago they had diplomatic and other relations with the Axis Powers. It is only private organizations which need be anxious regarding their possible fate.

Mr. Ruikar on Suppression of Forward Bloc

Mr. R. S. Ruikar, President of the All-India Forward Bloc, now banned, in a statement says :

"The alleged reasons given by the Government of India in declaring the All-India Forward Bloc as unlawful are extremely fantastic and totally incorrect."

Mr. Ruikar adds

"Unfortunately Government has not cited a single instance which justifies its apprehension and I can therefore safely say that these apprehensions are thoroughly unjustified."

He regrets "to find that the Government of India should have been driven to adopt such methods of suppressing political organisations, which are more akin to Fascism than to democracy and freedom."

Mr. Ruikar appeals to his comrades and colleagues "not to get irritated or exasperated by this latest action of the Government of India but to continue to serve their motherland to the best of their ability." —A. P.

Peace Aims of Stalin in Post-War Europe, But Not Yet in Post-War Asia

WASHINGTON (By Cable).

Almost all the diplomatic correspondents of American papers in London emphasise that the recently signed Anglo-Russian Treaty is one of the greatest triumphs of British diplomacy and that the treaty itself symbolises the determination of the United Nations to continue the war till victory is won and peace and liberty of the people are reinstated.

As to the solution of the post-war problems, which has loomed large recently, Mr. Mallery Brown, the well-informed correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, throws further light about the peace aims of Stalin in post-war Europe. He says that the difficulties such as the questions as to whether the Soviets want to communise the whole of Europe after the war and the wider problems of Soviet co-operation in post-war reconstruction which had confronted closer understanding and collaboration, have been completely solved.

Stalin is understood to have given the Polish Premier, General Wladyslaw Sikorski, assurances that he (Stalin) believes in strengthening and enlarging Poland.

The correspondent, continuing, says that the view that Stalin does not intend to impose communist regime on the rest of Europe, is entertained by several influential statesmen in Britain. Sir Stafford Cripps himself, after his return from Moscow, in several of his speeches and interviews, has strengthened this impression.

Stalin, it is learnt, has pledged Soviet support for

reorganising the peace of Europe on a permanent basis and preventing Germany from starting another war. There will be no weakening of Stalin's steady intentions to continue the war until German military power is crushed completely.

As to the post-war problems of Asia, it is learnt that Stalin has not committed himself, as they are expected to depend on the course of the war in the Far East and on the questions whether Soviet Russia becomes involved in the war against Japan.

The recently signed Anglo-Russian treaty is indeed a great triumph of British diplomacy—particularly the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the two States which are the contracting parties, which has found place in the treaty. We have pointed out in our note on the treaty the possible bearing of the principle on the political future of India.

The reasons given for Stalin not committing himself as to the post-war problems of Asia have been perhaps correctly stated in the last paragraph extracted above; but perhaps they have not been exhaustively stated. Among the United Nations are those which held or still hold many parts of Asia in subjection. Russia cannot, or in any case should not, agree to these countries remaining in subjection after the war; nor can she now throw a bomb-shell in the camp of the United Nations by declaring that, when the time for peace comes, she would insist on the liberation of these countries in bondage.

Whatever European and American statesmen may decide to do, there can be no peace unless the subject peoples of Asia are freed. Mere lapse of time cannot make old wrongs right. If aggression and conquest are wrong now, they were wrong even a century or two ago. These wrongs can be righted only by the parties who have gained by them giving up the fruits of aggression and conquest.

Acute Shortage of Salt in Bengal

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, have addressed a telegram to the Railway Board, inviting their attention to the situation that has arisen in Bengal and the neighbouring provinces as a result of shortage of salt.

The Committee refer to the previous communication addressed by them to the Railway Board on the subject and state that the situation has since then considerably worsened and the stocks in Calcutta are now less than 10 lakh maunds, which are not even sufficient for one month's requirements of these provinces. The Committee understand that 40 wagons have been recently allotted for despatch of salt to the Province of Bihar, but none has been allotted to

Bengal so far. On the other hand, the Committee point out imports by sea into Bengal have now practically stopped.—23-6-1942.

Taking School and College Buildings for Military Requirements

As in certain areas private individuals have been asked to leave their family dwellings and lands owing to the exigencies of war, there is nothing wrong in principle in taking over school and college buildings to meet military requirements. But when they are so taken, accommodation must be found for those schools and colleges elsewhere. Moreover, it should be shown that other buildings were not available for military use. In New Delhi a part of the Viceregal Palace has been set apart for the requirements of the Defence Department. That being so, there is no reason why Belvedere in Calcutta should not have been utilized for military purposes before some Girls' schools and colleges had been commandeered for such purposes. Commandeering of educational buildings is not confined to Bengal. In Allahabad several school and college buildings have been requisitioned for meeting military requirements. Instead of doing so, why could not the vacant big Government House at Allahabad with its extensive grounds be utilized for the purpose?

"The Demand of the Hindu Mahasabha"

MADRAS, June 23.

"The demand of the Hindu Mahasabha is that the British Government must immediately hand over full political power to the people of India. If they do not know to whom to hand over power, i.e., to the Congress or the Muslim League or some other body, they may hold a general election. If the Congress is for conceding Pakistan to the Mussalmans, the election will show that it is only the Hindu Mahasabha that represents the 30 crores of Hindus. Then it will be time for the Muslims also to reconsider their position and come to terms with the Hindus. Thus it is evident that the next move must come from the British and we are anxiously awaiting it."

observed Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of an interview to the "United Press" on the present situation.

Considering the two resolutions of the A.-I. C. C. at its last session on Pakistan, it does not seem probable that the Congress would be for conceding Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha's demand that there should be immediate transfer of full political power to Indians is the same as that of the Congress.

He added :

"The Muslim League's ambition to federate with Muslim countries outside India is due to its feeling that

they can overawe the Hindus and create an Islamic Empire in India. When once the 30 crores of Hindus have demonstrated their strength just as the British Government have demonstrated their strength before Afghanistan, Persia and Iraq, then the Muslims will themselves try for and seek alliance with the Hindus. Then the Muslims of India will cease to talk of separatism as the Muslims of China. Therefore, the key to the nationhood of India lies with the Hindus and it can only work with the strength and determination of the Hindus to maintain the nationhood of India."—*United Press*.

Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao

By the untimely death, at the early age of 52, of Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao India has lost a statesman of outstanding ability. Early in his career he joined the National Congress and worked for it with great enthusiasm. After some time he left the Congress, though he remained a nationalist. He became a member of the Executive Council of the Central Provinces and proved a capable administrator. He acted for some time as Governor of the Central Provinces, keeping his Indian costume made of Khadi. Afterwards he accepted the office of Adviser to the Secretary of State for India in London. The last office which he filled was that of a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, holding the portfolio of Civil Defence. In spite of ill health throughout the tenure of this office, he did much to organize the new department.

Principal S. K. Datta

The late Dr. S. K. Datta, principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, was a distinguished educationist. But his college duties were not allowed to monopolize all his attention and energy. He was a thoroughgoing nationalist and did his best to inspire members of the Indian Christian community, to which he belonged, to identify themselves with other Indian communities in a common struggle for Indian emancipation. As a "delegate" to the first Round Table Conference in London he stood up for full freedom for India. This was disliked by some Indian Christians, and he was not again called to the Round Table Conference.

United Kingdom Commercial Corporation

The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation came into existence in London in 1940, its entire capital being subscribed by the British Treasury. It was formed for the purpose of organizing Britain's commerce with the Balkan countries and the Near East. But as the former have been practically swallowed up by Germany, the Corporation has diverted its attention to

Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and India. Indian commerce and Indian businessmen are being hit hard by it, owing to the part which it has been playing in the sphere of Indian commerce with the support of the British Government and of its subordinate the Government of India. It is understood that the British Ministry of Food, the Ministry of War Transport, etc., have been helping this Corporation in various ways. By their good graces, it has been enjoying many privileges in respect of priorities, freight, shipping space and many other things, not available to Indian merchants. It buys things in India at cheap rates through the Supply Department and sends them to countries in the Middle and Near East and to Russia. Thus it does big business in goods like wheat, sugar, rice, hides, skins, etc. Indian merchants could have done all this business and kept the profits in the country, if they had received the backing of Government. Thus, not only now in war time is a foreign Corporation doing what Indians should have been enabled by Government to do, but by capturing the commercial sphere now it has been destroying India's chances of achieving economic prosperity during the period of post-war reconstruction.

Calcutta University Budgets

In presenting the Budget Estimates of the Calcutta University for the year 1942-43 at a special meeting of the Senate, held on the 27th June last, Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-President of the University Finance Committee, revealed that the University had an increased income of about two and a half lakhs of rupees from examination fees in the current year (1941-42).

The income from fees of different examinations of the University in the current year was originally estimated at Rs. 14,17,090. According to the revised estimates, the income from this source will be Rs. 16,61,545. The appreciation under this head was principally due to increased income from fees realised from the candidates for the Matriculation, B.A. (Pass), M.A., and M.Sc. and the medical examinations.

There has also been an increased income in the current year from the sale proceeds of the University publications. The original estimated income under this head was Rs. 3,25,000 while according to the revised estimates, income under this head is expected to be Rs. 3,50,000. There was an increase in the estimated income under several other minor heads.

On the other hand, there was a saving on the expenditure side in the General Fee Fund. Expenditure under this head was originally estimated at Rs. 29,15,225, which according to the revised estimates has come down to Rs. 28,49,247. Total expenditure for examinations has been reduced from Rs. 6,86,000 to Rs. 6,53,510.

The increased income and the reduced expenditure under the heads mentioned above have helped to swell

the estimated closing balance for the current year by over three lakhs of rupees. According to the original estimates, the year was expected to close with a balance of Rs. 79,457, but according to the revised estimates, the year will close with a balance of Rs. 4,11,479.

As regards the Budget for the coming year (1942-43), the income of the University in the General Fee and Post-Graduate Teaching Funds has been estimated at Rs. 37,67,305 and expenditure at Rs. 41,47,680, leaving a deficit of Rs. 3,80,375 in the revenue account. Meeting this deficit from the opening balance which is estimated at Rs. 4,11,479, the closing balance for the coming year is placed at Rs. 31,104.

The budget estimates for 1942-43, as presented by Mr. Mookherjee, were adopted by the Senate without any modification.

Sindh Hindus' Self-protection Organization

At a representative meeting of Hindu leaders held in Karachi, it was decided to form a central organisation of Hindus with the name of All-Sindh Hindu Sebha Panchayat, with the object of protecting Hindu life and property in the present emergency created by the war. An Executive Committee of the organisation was set up to chalk out a programme.

Gandhi-Grover Dialogue

The conversation between Gandhiji and Mr. Preston Grover, the representative of the Associated Press of America, has been reported in *Harijan* for June 21, 1942. It is very important. It was on Gandhiji's "proposal that the British Government in India should end today." We hope the interview will be published in full in the American papers.

Attempts To Solve Problem of Communication With China

Chinese stage transportation authorities have been making every possible effort to help in solving China's transportation problem following the collapse of Burma. One of the most urgent tasks is to rescue materials and commodities concentrated in Yunnan Province. A new line has been opened between Kuuming and Kweiyang, over which hundreds of carts and animals are labouring day and night.

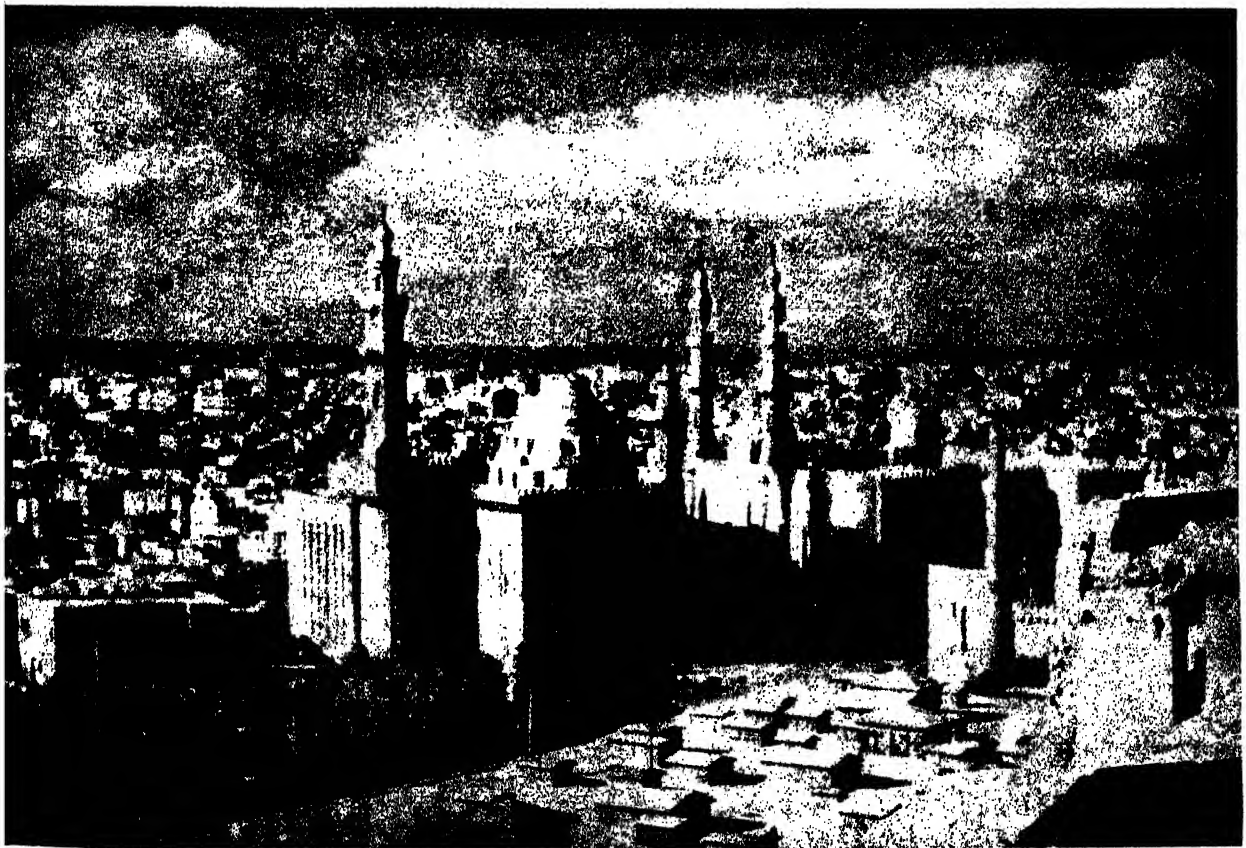
A task on an even larger scale in the survey of a Sino-Indian line of stage transportation is expected to be completed in one month. Two survey corps have been organised jointly by the State Transportation Administration and the Sikiang Provincial Government. One of them set out from Sichang on June 15, travelling westward, while the other began to move eastward on the same day from north-eastern India. They expect to meet on the Sikiang border.

To supplement truck transportation, the Stage Transportation Administration has decided to open a passenger service line between Chungking and Chengtu in September.

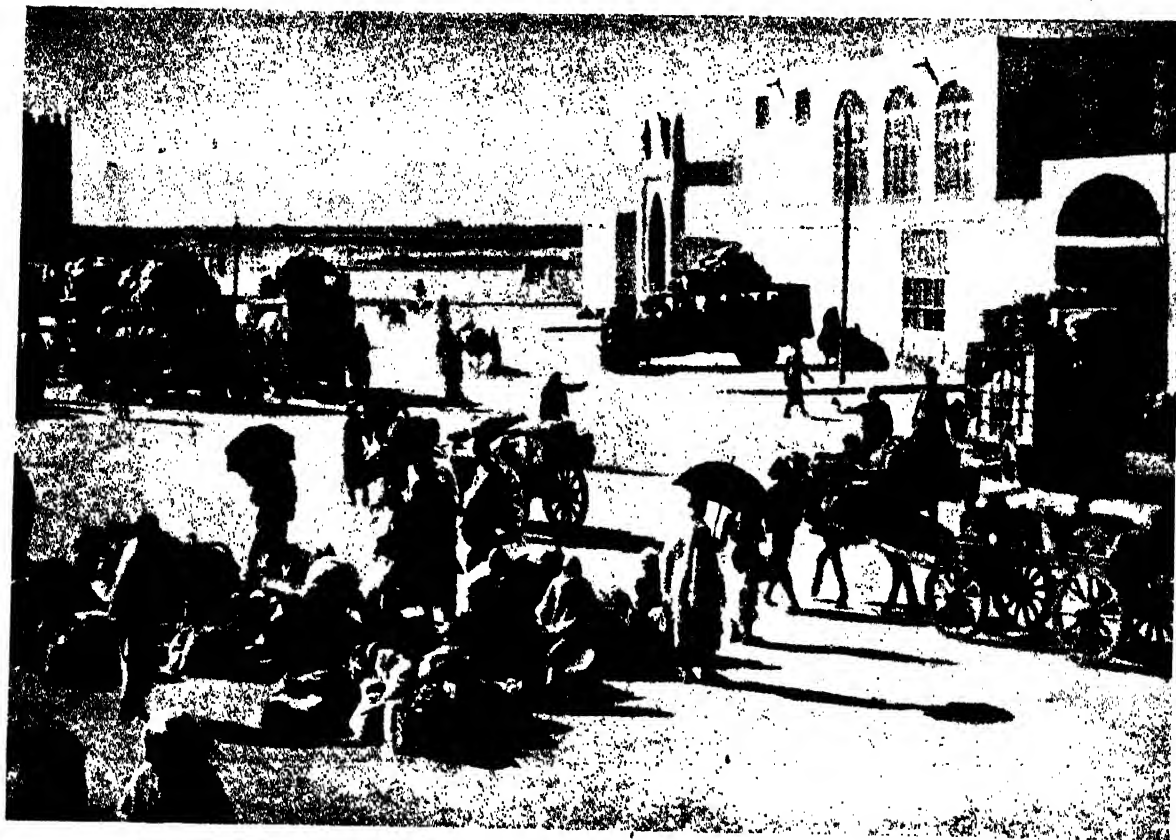
Stage transportation has made great progress since it was introduced in September, 1940. There are now eight national and nearly 200 provincial lines, totalling 38,000 kilometers in 15 provinces, about 10,000 kilometers more than there were last September.—U. P.



Napoleon before Alexandria (1798) from a painting by Colson



Cairo



Jeddah, the port for Mecca



Tobruk in 1937

WHY INDIA HELPED BRITAIN IN THE LAST WORLD-WAR

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

THE sacrifices India made to assist Britain in the war of 1914-1918 have been summed up in the following terms by Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani on page 119 of his *War Without Violence* :

"All in all, India contributed \$500,000,000 to the Allied war machine. War loans to the value of \$700,000,000 were purchased by India in addition. Finished products to the value of \$1,250,000,000 were sent to the Allies' side from India. The sacrifice of India's manhood was still greater. About 1,338,620 Indians were despatched to the various battlefields in France, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia—178,000 more men than all the troops contributed by the combined Dominions of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand."

It is certain that India did not make these immense sacrifices because of any reasons connected with the rights and wrongs of the war, if only for the very good cause that, as the world was situated then, India was not affected in any way by European disagreements.

An explanation for this phenomenon which suggests itself immediately is India's traditional loyalty to the King-Emperor. But this can hardly be regarded as the one and only explanation of the immense sacrifices made by India in men, money and materials to help Britain in her hour of trial.

No one is more conscious than the present writer how ungraceful it is for a British Indian subject to express opinions with regard to the motives which impelled the ruling Princes and Chiefs holding sway over areas, large and small, to occasionally strain, even very severely, their resources in order to assist in the war effort. Equally objectionable would be any attempt to ascribe reasons other than praiseworthy for the efforts put forth by British Indian subjects, rich and poor, to help Britain in her struggle against the Central powers.

We cannot, however, afford to forget that there were thousands of hard-headed and intensely practical men in our motherland and who, while quite willing that she should give all she could and even more were, at the same time, influenced by more mundane considerations. These varied according to the class of people concerned, as will be clear when we remember that the sacrifices referred to were undergone by princes and peasants, by industrialists and

professional men and that the interest of each and every one among them was different from those belonging to the other categories.

The man whose aim is to make an effort to enquire into and assess things at their proper value may not hang back even when unpalatable truths have to be spoken. If he makes a wrong estimate, he lays himself open to criticism which he must not resent. But so long as he believes that he is in the right, it is his duty to speak out what he considers the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. It is in this spirit that what follows has been written. It is proposed to make an attempt to lay before the reader the various reasons which, in the opinion of the present writer, called forth India's co-operation with Britain.

I

WHY INDIAN PRINCES HELPED BRITAIN

Although there are a little less than seven hundred States extending over an area of 700,000 square miles, some of these are large like Hyderabad, which is as big as Italy in size with a population of 13 million, while others like Lawa in Rajputana are as small as 19 square miles. The Simla Hill States in fact are little more than small holdings. Only about one hundred of the Indian States contain areas exceeding 500 square miles, while most of the rest may be regarded as territorial magnates in charge of small domains. The Government of India exercises control over 175 of these States and the different Provincial Governments over the rest.

BENEFITS CONFERRED ON INDIAN STATES BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

It is an undeniable fact that the Indian Princes ruling over large territories have received certain very substantial benefits from their connection with the British Government which should have the effect of securing their loyalty. The services of officers of the British Government have often been placed at their disposal for assessing their land revenue and for setting their houses in order. Organised bands of criminals which after committing crimes in the States have taken refuge in British territories have been extradited—a service which they have

reciprocated. In times of famine, they have been assisted with loans by the British Government. Debts have often been cancelled when they have been unable to repay them. Some of the less rich States have been assisted to develop small railway systems of their own. Formerly when India used to depend on opium for a substantial part of her revenue, the British Government used to remit to the Indian States in which it was cultivated part of the duty levied on opium that was exported. Such subjects of the Indian States as travel abroad or settle in foreign countries receive the same kind and amount of protection from the British consuls as that afforded to British Indians. Subjects of Indian States are also eligible for even highly paid posts, such as those in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service.

The establishment of British sovereignty has made the position of the Indian Princes, Rulers and Chiefs secure. If, unlike their predecessors, they are prevented from attacking their neighbours, the latter too, in their turn, are no longer permitted to attack them. In the old days, there was the ever-present risk of some strong central power swallowing the smaller and the weaker of the potentates. That menace has disappeared with the establishment of the British Government in India.

Above all, the alarm caused by Lord Dalhousie's doctrine of "lapse" by which, in default of natural heirs, the British Government resumed State territories, was allayed when an undertaking was given that all rulers would be permitted to secure succession to their *gadis* by the well-established and legally recognised custom of adoption.

If the misdeeds of any ruler become intolerable, the rights of the lawful heir are preserved either by the appointment of an Indian Regency or the administration of the State by British officers till such time as the ruler in question is in a position to assume full responsibility. This procedure was adopted even when there was an armed rebellion, as was the case in the State of Manipur in 1891.

Then again, in order that the younger generation may be properly equipped to discharge their responsibilities, a number of educational institutions for the sons of Princes, Rulers and Chiefs has been established in different parts of India, such as the Mayo College at Ajmere, the Daly College at Indore and the Aitchison College at Lahore. While it is not contended that they have fulfilled all the hopes of their founders, there cannot be much doubt that they are doing good work and have established good

feelings between the Indian Princes and the British administration.

The richer and larger among the Indian States maintain special troops for Imperial service whose organisation and training are supervised by British officers lent for the purpose. They are under the direct command of the rulers themselves which flatters their vanity. These State troops have taken part with credit in military operations and on some occasions they have done so under the direct personal command of the Rulers themselves.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SHIELD

We have to remember that a majority of these considerations apply to the larger and more important Indian States, which number about twenty only. What is often overlooked is that the Rulers must feel some discomfort when they remember that ultimately their status is one of subordination, to which they have to reconcile themselves as best they can. It is true that they are driven on a very light rein, but if they misbehave, if they give expression in any very marked degree to any inclination of over-riding the ordinary laws of decency or propriety—a temptation to which some among them succumb now and then—they are at once pulled up, which of course is what one expects any civilised overlord to do.

Sir John Strachey in Chapter XXIV of his *India: Its Administration and Progress* has given us an idea of the doings of some of the Indian Princes and the action taken against them by Government, to which the reader is referred if he feels interest in the matter. Within recent times, the cases of Nabha, Holkar and Alwar are probably the most noteworthy of them all. But any drastic action on the part of the Paramount Power causes resentment not only in the Prince who is taken to task, however much in the wrong, but also among his brother rulers.

Then again, the officers deputed by the British Government, the only reason for whose presence in Indian States is presumably to tighten up the administrative machinery to secure efficiency, are often misunderstood when they try to do their duty conscientiously. It is also a fact that some among them, conscious of the backing of the British Government, do not always display that tact which, while saving the "face" of the Prince, also forces on him a particular line of action.

The sense of gratitude springing from the appreciation of services rendered cannot always be said to be strong enough to make the Princes totally forget those other occasions when they

have either been prevented from doing what they desired or been compelled to do what they did not relish.

The present writer, however, has not the slightest intention to convey the impression that a majority of the Indian Princes are men who have to be kept under perpetual check and control or that those among them who are now and again compelled to act according to the wishes of the Paramount Power are discontented to the extent that they become disloyal in their attitude.

GRATEFULNESS OF INDIAN PRINCES AND RULERS

While there are model rulers among the Indian Princes and Chiefs, the majority were and are a pleasure-loving, extravagant set of men whose one aim in life is to get as much enjoyment out of it as possible. Under British protection, such men are not called upon to exert themselves to any extent to retain their position and are left free to enjoy life in whatever fashion they choose so long as they do not misbehave themselves in too outrageous a manner.

In the bad old days, if the Indian ruler made himself too obnoxious, he could always be removed by a revolution or by assassination. Apprehensions of dethronement through a successful rebellion engineered by an ambitious and energetic relative or subject or of assassination by an intriguing and treacherous rival no longer make his days miserable or his nights sleepless.

The presence of the British Government has made such things an impossibility, for which the Indian Princes, as a class, are grateful. Though, now and again, the more reckless among them are called to account when they exceed all bounds, the continuance of the British rule in India is to their interest and advantage. They appreciate its utility from this point of view and it is to their interest to maintain the *status quo*.

The war afforded Indian Princes as a class a good chance of showing their gratefulness and they were not backward in availing themselves of it. It is also not quite incorrect to suggest that, in the case of the more fortunate among them, the opportunities afforded by the war of coming before the public eye in and outside India, of cutting a figure in military dress and, in a word, of getting out of the rut of their ordinary life where they are surrounded by courtiers and sycophants and emerging into a larger life were most welcome to them.

The exact measure of the sacrifices made

by them has been indicated very aptly if cynically by the author who, writing under the pseudonym of Al Carthill, says on page 263 of his *Lost Dominion* that

"the Indian Princes rallied round the Government. Some of them served personally on the staff, and *all of them lavished the blood and treasure of their subjects.*" (Italics ours).

INDIAN RULERS AS "FOREIGNERS"

Rather interesting light is thrown on one of the reasons why the rulers of the Indian States were so lavish of their money and the lives of their subjects in order to help Britain in the last war by what Sir John Strachey has said more than once in his *India: Its Administration and Progress*. In Chapter XXIV of this book, in which he gives an account of the Indian States, he points out that, with the disruption of the Moghul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, there was a scramble for its fragments which lasted throughout the greater part of the 18th and the earlier part of the 19th century and that the Marathas, the Muslim powers of South India and the English participated in it. Continuing he says:

"The larger share of the gain fell to the English, but the other competitors had no better titles than our own. All alike were foreigners in the countries for which they were contending."

The proof Sir John Strachey advances for his opinion is that Hyderabad with a predominantly Hindu population is ruled by a Mussalman and Kashmir with a predominantly Mussalman population by a Hindu, the rulers in both cases not being natives of the countries they govern. Similarly, the three more important Maratha States of Gwalior, Indore and Baroda are ruled by chiefs who, in his language "are entirely foreign to the people." In the words of another official, Sir Lepel Griffin:

"They are the representatives of the predatory hordes which, until crushed by British arms, turned the fertile plains of Central India into a wilderness. These Maratha dynasties have nothing in common with the people they govern. Their race is different and their language is not understood."

It is also pointed out that the population of the three Maratha States is nearly six million and that, except the descendants of the rulers and their followers, there are no Marathas in them.

If the opinion advanced by Sir John Strachey and Sir Lepel Griffin with reference to the larger States is accepted as correct, what follows is that the rulers of the smaller States may be regarded as either the descendants of their more prominent followers or of military

adventurers of alien origin who, with their followers, settled down in areas where they found an unwarlike and submissive population ready to pay them tribute either to escape oppression or in return for such protection as was afforded by these men.

It is not contended that this is true of every Indian State. What is maintained is that generally speaking, the old mentality has not quite disappeared and that there is not present that sympathy for the ruled which would induce the rulers to look on the lives of their subjects as precious. To put it bluntly, many Indian rulers even now tend to look on their subjects as so much property which they can use in ways which seem good in their eyes. Once this is admitted, we can immediately see that the Indian Princes, Chiefs and Rulers would not show much hesitation in placing the services of their subjects at the disposal of Government or in making pecuniary contributions to the war chest out of the revenues realised from them. One of the reasons for doing so would be their conviction that their subjects existed for their benefit and that they were perfectly justified in utilising them to either advance their own interests or to conserve what they had already secured.

INDIAN RULERS AND THE LURE OF HONOURS

As to whether there were other motives which explain the co-operation of the Princes, the following extract from page 16 of a long-forgotten book entitled *India : As It Ought To Be*, written by Major William Hough and published from London by Messrs. W. Thacker and Co., in 1853, throws an interesting side-light on the matter. The author, a military officer, as his title shows, was, in his own language, for "many years a Deputy Judge Advocate General." In his book he suggested the introduction of certain improvements in the administration of India basing them on the experience he had gathered during his stay in our country.

Writing on the abolition of *Suttee* and infanticide in areas under British administration, the author recommended certain steps towards it in Indian States, large and small, and in that connection observed,

"To commemorate such an event as the abolition of *Suttee* in these independent states, there should be a medal of gold struck to be given to the Rajahs and different chiefs who have so humanely abolished *Suttee*, and another for the abolition of infanticide. This would induce those who have not as yet given in their adhesion to the measure of abolition in the case of *Suttee*, to agree to issue proclamations similar to that made by the Rajah of Jodhpoor. Let the Court of Directors direct the Government of India to issue a public notification of the names of the Rajahs who

have given in their adhesion, and send a copy of the notification to each of the Native States."

The same psychology was operative during the period under review, as is evident from the adoption of a similar policy by the Government of India in the distribution of honours during and after the last war.

The Indian who knows something of the psychology of the generality of the rulers of Indian States, is confirmed in this opinion when he finds that on January 1, 1919, fifteen ruling Princes and Chiefs received permanent increases in their permanent salutes and six increased personal salutes. In other cases, particular titles which had been personal ones were made hereditary. Among the less important Rulers were distributed 5 K. C. B., 6 K. C. I., 8 C. S. I., 4 K. C. I. E., 28 C. I. E. and Knighthoods. A particular chief was invested with the powers of a Ruling Chief eleven months after the distribution of the above awards. At that time, rumours, may be unfounded, were current that the ruler concerned had to prove to the satisfaction of those who make recommendations for the bestowal of honours, the worth of the contributions he had made before he could obtain what he had so eagerly looked forward to.

With these facts before us, we cannot but hold that these honours were bestowed only because they are inducements, and very powerful inducements at that, for not only rewarding but ensuring the loyalty of the recipients. It is not implied that work of a different type did not secure recognition. What is suggested is that war-work in those days brought in returns more quickly and more generously than other varieties of perhaps equally important service from the humanitarian point of view.

Undoubtedly, loyalty of a sort was there, but it needed buttressing by other motives, appeals to which were not overlooked by Government. If it did not look like irreverence, one would be tempted to modify a line from the Scriptures and say "Truly the Princes had not served the British Government in vain."

LOYALTY OF THE LESSER RULERS & THE GREAT LAND-OWNERS

We have so long been considering the case of the Indian Princes who rule over large areas but these, as stated previously, are not at all numerous.

According to an estimate made on the eve of the last war, a third of the Indian Princes were drawing less than Rs. 10,000 a year from their States. The smaller among these are content to live in squalid splendour on incomes

which are obviously insufficient for leading the life they do. They have their petty ambitions and their petty jealousies. Nearly all of these have a keen desire to stand in the good graces of the official world.

These provided an excellent agency for conducting war propaganda of the intenser type within their own jurisdiction where British law does always run and where, if it does, the subjects know only too well the consequences which follow from disobedience to the ruler, specially when he is out to help the Sirkar.

That the work such people did was to the satisfaction of the British officials may be inferred from what Sir Michael O'Dwyer has said of the Punjab Princes. He did not fail to ensure their loyalty and that of their successors in any similar contingency which might arise in future by the distribution of the favours they prized most in life. The recognition they received from the King-Emperor through his agency is described in the following terms on page 230 of his *India : As I Knew It*.

"It was my privilege to assist in obtaining for them (Punjab Princes) from the King-Emperor generous and appropriate recognition in the form of additions to their honours and dignities, to their titles and salutes, the grant of high military rank and other privileges which they appreciate."

The great land-owners who almost invariably lead lives of luxury and ease on the unearned increments of land were, in those days, only too conscious that the transfer of India from British to some other power would imply a thorough overhauling of the existing system for the collection of rent, if not a total scrapping of it. And this, if it came, would involve the loss of their advantageous position. In fact, the maintenance of the *status quo*, on which their financial stability depended, was as much to their interest as to that of the Princes, the Ruling Chiefs and the princelets. They were also as avid of honours granted by Government as the other classes of people referred to already. They, too, used their local influence in helping Government.

The reader should not, however, allow himself to think that it is the view of the present writer that considerations such as those mentioned above were operative in every instance in evoking that loyalty of the Indian Princes, the Ruling Chiefs and the land-owning magnates on which so much emphasis has been laid by officials. There is not much doubt that in many cases and specially where Indian Rulers of the larger States were concerned, there was an outburst of a genuine feeling of loyalty one of the reasons

of which, in the opinion of many, was the personal loyalty to our King-Emperor which had been evoked by Their Majesties' graciousness. But it is also equally true that other factors played their part in rallying them to the defence of the British Empire and that, in the case of many of them, less worthy motives stimulated their enthusiastic support of the war effort.

II

WHY INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS & COMMERCIAL MAGNATES HELPED BRITAIN

Reasons of a totally different type were responsible for the co-operation offered by Indian industrialists and commercial magnates to Britain. These were shrewd enough to understand that a European war on a large scale in which nearly all the major powers were involved was likely to be a long one. In addition to destruction of life, industries engaged in the manufacture of goods exported to India were certain to feel the strain. The production of such goods was bound to be slowed down and an appreciable fall in the amount imported to India was inevitable. They knew only too well that this tendency would be further strengthened by limited shipping space, which would be required by Government for carrying soldiers and military stores to different fronts. This would lead to a rise in the prices of imported goods. Here was an opportunity, which might not recur in the course of the next century, of starting new and profitable industries in India to supply her internal needs.

Similarly, Indians engaged in commerce, banking and in business generally felt that, at least for the duration of the war, they had little to fear from the formidable competition of non-Indian firms whose larger capital, better organisation and greater efficiency had made things difficult for them.

The war led to an immense demand for all sorts of things which began to be made in India. High prices were paid for them and immense profits earned, nearly the whole of which was absorbed by the industrial and commercial sections. Part of these profits was invested in War Loans and part spent in building new factories and mills or in extending them. The only grievance Indian industry had was that it did not get the amount of Government orders it believed it was entitled to.

These hard-headed businessmen wanted to build up their business and to consolidate it in such a way as to be able to face non-Indian competition after the war. They also hoped that

by that time they would have acquired sufficient influence to be able to induce the British administration to adopt a policy which would give them some sort of protection at least against non-British foreign competition.

Further, we have to remember that Indian businessmen had invested all they could afford in industries and commerce and had built up their business in many cases after generations of strenuous labour. They had faced many a trial and had at last attained a secure position. Necessary adjustments with British capitalism had been made and every one of them had either found or created a niche for himself in the commercial or industrial sphere. Any change in the Government would mean an over-turning of the system into which they had fitted themselves after much toil. It might mean the incursion into the field they had made their own, of new business working under new policies. There was the risk that they might even be frozen out of business altogether or be compelled to curtail their activities within narrower boundaries, which would, in its turn, imply material loss of profit.

It was to the interest of Indian business that Britain should win so that it might not lose the position it had already acquired. There was also the added inducement that it might be able to extend the field of its operations by capturing at least part of the market hitherto monopolised by non-Indians. It was only natural that Indian business, specially of the large scale type, should offer Britain all the assistance that lay in its power. These were the factors which very largely explain the co-operation and help rendered to Britain by these classes of Indians.

III

LOYALTY OF THE NON-POLITICAL MIDDLE CLASS INTELLIGENTSIA

Then, as now, the middle class intelligentsia could be divided into two broad sections. There were first those who took little interest in politics and that only in a theoretical way and secondly those who actively participated in the day-to-day politics of the country and who may be regarded as constituting the back-bone of Political India.

People who belonged to the first category were always desirous of remaining in the good books of Government so as to share the rewards it distributed among those who were in its favour. Those coming under the second group were generally drawn from the independent professional classes, a majority of them being lawyers and journalists. Doctors, engineers,

teachers and businessmen were also to be found among them, though these were generally smaller in number.

THE POSITION OF BRITAIN FROM THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW

The continuous co-operation offered to Britain by the non-political section of the educated middle classes in the last war was explained by most Englishmen as being due to their appreciation of benefits conferred and received. Peace and justice, education and medical relief are undeniably the gift of Britain to India. The railways, the canals and, in some parts of India, the irrigation system are some of the material benefits flowing from India's connection with Britain.

What is overlooked by such people is that the British are birds of passage, that they have never denied that they are here temporarily, that they are exiles whose aim is to get back to their native land as early as they can. As open and confessed aliens, their influence and probably their presence, however beneficial, must always be disliked and in fits of nation-wide passion they may even be vilified and spurned, though they may not deserve it on each and every occasion. This condemnation may take an ugly form if, as aliens, they make blunders of the type of the Jallianwalabagh tragedy, permit the adoption of objectionable methods in recruitment, as in the last war, or use what Indians may consider over-strict repressive methods for the restoration of law and order.

The student of human nature will agree with the writer that the benefits mentioned above, precious as they most undoubtedly are, had, when the last war broke out, been so long before India that, their novelty having worn off, they had come to be regarded as among the normal things of life. To understand the real situation, the Englishman will have to place himself in the position of the educated middle-class Indian and to see things through his eyes and, let us admit, with his prejudices, as permanent elements in his intellectual make-up.

Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of the now defunct province of East Bengal and Assam, laid his finger, probably unconsciously, on the sore spot when he generalised the situation in his very wise observation, "An alien rule cannot but be disliked however great the personal esteem that may be won by its officers." The benefits had come but the country had received them from alien hands.

Sir Bampfylde, if he had been able to penetrate still more deeply into Indian psychology,

would have said that the dislike to alien rule was due to the undeniable fact that the presence of foreigners was the best possible proof of the contention that Indians as a race are inferior to, or, if it pleases some of us, not comparable with, Europeans as a race. The Indian or, for the matter of that, any subject race the national consciousness of which has been roused and which is determined to assert itself, will admit willingly that certain individuals belonging to the ruling race may be superior to certain individuals belonging to the race under political bondage. But it will never admit that the ruling race as a race is superior to the ruled race as a race. And the reason for this is not only that it is the truth but also that it is more than likely that certain individuals of the subject race may be and often are superior to certain individuals belonging to the governing race.

It was the presence of feelings such as these, naturally enough to be found among the middle class intelligentsia, which induces the writer to think that gratitude for the benefits conferred by British rule did not play any very important part in calling forth the co-operation of even non-political educated Indians.

It is not, however, suggested that every one of them took the trouble of analysing these sentiments or of tracing the vague feelings of antagonism they undoubtedly entertained towards the British administration to their very roots. The only points the present writer wishes to emphasise are the presence of these feelings, the reasons for their existence and the general effect they had in determining the attitude of those who entertained them towards India's war effort in support of the British cause.

THE LURE OF SERVICE.

With regard to the so-called loyalist section of the middle-class intelligentsia, we should remember that one of the ways in which they showed their loyalty to Government was by seeking and securing their inclusion in the machinery for war propaganda created by it. This was easy, as they were generally known to the higher officials or got into touch with them through their friends or relatives already in the employment or in the good graces of Government. While it is not suggested that people of this type had little if any sympathy with Britain in her life and death struggle, it is maintained that the most powerful motive which led them to participate in these activities consisted in their desire to win official favour which, later on, they proposed

to exploit for securing Government patronage in some form or other.

The policy of the British Government to employ Indians in the less responsible and hence less lucrative posts had led inevitably to their gradual promotion to some of the more responsible and more lucrative ones. The perseverance of the more educated sections of the middle classes had brought this about and every year larger numbers among them were preparing themselves for such positions. As was to be expected, the expenditure involved was large; energy, intelligence and a certain amount of influence were also necessary to ensure success. The majority of the service-hunters were the wards or sons of Indian officials already well-placed in life.

By the time the war had broken out, India had a particular class of men who had served the British administration for years and some for generations and who wanted their children to follow in their footsteps. The maintenance of the British administration by which they had profited so much was a *sine qua non* with this section of the intelligentsia. These were on the whole well-to-do and wielded great influence over the middle classes to whom economic security specially in the shape of a post under Government or some semi-government organisation represented the *summum bonum* of life.

The one ambition of the service-hunting lower middle classes, educated but less well-educated and weaker economically than the Indian official class, was somehow to attain the position already reached by their more fortunate brethren with whom they had many things in common, including identity of culture and race and, very often, ties of relationship. These, too, therefore held the same views about India's duty to Britain as the others just referred to and did what they could to assist her in her war effort.

The one outstanding grievance of the middle classes had been that careers as commissioned officers in the Indian Army had been denied to them. The pronouncement of Mr. Montagu that this would no longer be the case increased their enthusiasm. The reaction of course came later on when they realised the microscopic number of vacancies in the commissioned ranks made available in the army for people of their class.

The contention of the present writer is that the loyalty manifested by this class of men was largely due to the motive of ensuring their economic security after the termination of the war.

THE ITCH FOR TITLES

No discussion of the loyalty of the non-political section of the middle classes can, however, be regarded as complete which fails to take into account that small, well-to-do and influential section of it which, though not as well-off as the bigger landlords, is yet in such easy circumstances as not to be compelled to earn its living. Under this class would come men who, in the language of slang, had made their pile generally in medium scale business, successful money-lenders and such other people desirous of standing well in the eyes of the public and who, instead of earning its esteem, love and respect by service, generally have recourse to what is considered the easier method of doing so by securing Government titles.

There cannot be much doubt that, in the days with which we are concerned, Government titles did confer honour and prestige on their recipients. Nor is it incorrect to say that a majority of the title-hunters were not always very highly educated men sensitive to public opinion. People of this type were always to be found hanging around highly-placed officials and going out of their way to offer their co-operation to Government in all possible ways open to them—a fact noticed and commented on by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his *Awakening of India*.

What great attractions Government titles had for this type of men may be inferred from the fact that when, in the opening stages of the non-co-operation movement, the Congress passed a resolution calling upon title-holders to give up

their titles, the response was so poor as to justify the observation of an English member of the Viceroy's Executive Council that "a mere sprinkling (of title holders) complied with this" (direction of abjuring their titles).

The war presented a unique opportunity to men of this type. Nor did Government show any remissness in utilising their services to the fullest possible extent. They were included in almost every committee of every organisation that was created for encouraging India's war effort. Every opportunity presented to them for this kind of work was eagerly embraced by them. In carrying on the work to which they had been summoned and to which they responded enthusiastically, these people exploited to the full the influence and, in many cases, the hold they had on their countrymen. And the rewards reaped were more than abundant.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has told us in his memoirs (*India: As I Knew It*, p. 224) the various ways in which the labours of such people were recognised by Government.

"The rewards were.....Indian titles of honour from 'Raja' and 'Nawab' down to 'Raj Sahib' and 'Khan Sahib,' robes of honour, swords of honour, guns, revolvers, complimentary sanads (parchment rolls) inscribed with the name and services of the recipient, cash rewards, grants of Government land, of revenue-free land to individuals....."

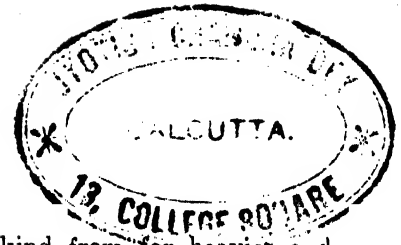
Such recognition by Government ensured the support of people of this type and they were loyal to it all through the war.

(To be continued)



THE WAR : WHAT NEXT ?

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK



SLOWLY but surely the War is entering into its deadliest phase. It is, however, still doubtful if it will be a prelude to the final close-up. The lightening speed and ferocity of the Nazi *blitz* created an erroneous impression even in informed and advanced circles that the War will be the shortest in history as it will be catastrophic in speediest and heaviest loss of men and materials in terms of time and space. But those who tried to critically examine and understand the tremendous historic forces at work and the vast potential resources that will be increasingly hurled against each other by the warring parties, thought otherwise. They had no illusions about the far-reaching character of the War that is destined to be the longest and widest yet in history. They realised too well that the War will cover the two Hemispheres and develop into a real World War in its all-embracing sense and release terrific forces to make and unmake history for a long time to come. The threatening *blitz* of the Nazi war machine has long lost its sharpest edge as it struck against the steel wall of the Soviet people's resistance. The long-drawn nature of the war is now crystal-clear.

BOLD ACTION NEEDED

But the War can be well shortened to the decisive advantage of the anti-Fascist forces. As the military situation is today, ere long the Nazis and the Japanese may be compelled to fight a decisive war which will shake their stranglehold on the occupied Europe and Asia to its very foundation. But that will much depend on the bold and timely initiative of the British and American Forces in coming swiftly and increasingly to the military aid of their valiant Allies, Russia and China, who are so long bearing the main brunt of the Axis offensives and inflicting in their turn heavy punishments on the Fascist blood-hounds. A realistic estimation of the military and political situation calls for that decisive action on the part of Britain and U. S. A. at this most critical phase of the war. It has been maintained by all enemies of Fascism that no price is too heavy to free the occupied Europe from the unspeakable barbarities of the Nazi terrorism and liberate the oppressed peoples from the life-crushing yoke of the pro-Fascist Japanese militarists. But a decisive action at this stage may, however, well lighten that heavy burden in its actual outcome,

as it will save mankind from far heavier and continued sufferings and from the nightmare of a devastating war that seems never to end. No doubt, it will entail risks. But are there no greater or even equal risks in postponing the fateful clash indefinitely and facing it at a distant date? No one will dare answer it even in a hesitant negative at the lowest estimation of the increasing forces and resources of the Axis Powers due to the occupation of strategic positions, valuable territories and sources of slave labour. The highest order of German efficiency and organisation, scientific genius and technical skill may well combine to recover the losses and increase the production to counterbalance to a great extent the ever-increasing production of the United Nations. The brighter prospect of a speedier termination of the deadly war is well worth the risks such a course may entail.

FUNDAMENTAL FACT OF MILITARY SITUATION

The fundamental fact of the military situation today is that the spearhead of the Axis forces, the major part of the Fascist military machine, the most efficient and ferocious of the Nazi gang are engaged for a pretty long time in a terrific clash of blood and iron on a two thousand mile front and over, with the spearhead of the Allies forces, the astounding might of the Red Russia. So far, Hitler has paid too costly a price for his treacherous and reckless attack on the First Socialist Republic of the Toilers of the World. According to the Berlin correspondent of the Swiss newspaper *Lasutuf*, German military circles admitted in March, 1942, that one and a half million soldiers were killed and wounded in Russia. A large number of officers and generals also lost their lives and fighting capacity. Whatever may be the actual figure, the losses are admittedly heavy on both sides. Germany made great preparations during winter. Yet the much-boasted spring offensives have been hurled back in important sectors with fearful punishments. In spite of the loss of Kerch, the Red Army under the ablest leadership of Timoshenko still retains the advantage of occupying a number of strategic positions and the initiative of dealing counter-attacks with considerable effect on the battered Nazi army. Yet it is not inconceivable that Hitler may well gain some initial successes, though at the cost of heavier losses. The blood-thirsty dictator is evidently frightened by the

disastrous consequences of his own action that has recoiled on his crazy head with equal force and possibilities of greater disasters. From all available reports it seems, Hitler has a growing feeling that should he not be able to crush Russia, or, at least, break the backbone of its recovering and striking potentiality for a considerable time, he may lose the war in Europe, which inevitably means his ruin and the end of the Fascist military power. That Red terror has become almost a nightmare with him. It is visible in his own speech, which has lost its former vigour, fanatical fervour and endless boasting. His reckless gamble of fraud and force which secured triumph after triumph so easily in the occupied Europe owing to the aiding and abetting of pro-Fascist elements and anti-Soviet imperialists, received its first check in Russia. Hitler, who grew more and more reckless with the drink of easy victories, got his life's shock in the land of the communists whom he so thoroughly hated. Each failure and each retreat of his "invincible" army has added to that hate. It would be, therefore, not at all surprising if Hitler is today determined to smash through the Soviet resistance, no matter how heavy a price he might have to pay for it.

WILL THE ALLIES SEE THE DANGERS AHEAD ?

No doubt, the valiant Red Army will effectively withstand the more violent onslaughts of the Nazi military machine. No doubt, it is beyond the powers of any Hitler to crush a people of 200 millions who are not only well-prepared to meet any emergency but also passionately determined, more than any other country, to defend their liberty, the hard-earned present and a brighter future, at all costs. There is also a possibility that Russia may well resist the Nazis and ultimately give them a smashing defeat single-handed, if ever she is really forced to that position. But it is only a possibility. It is well to remember that any over-estimation of that possibility is fraught with far graver consequences than what is yet realised by Britain and America. If Hitler succeeds in his attempt even to a limited extent, which possibility can not be altogether ruled out, it will surely endanger not only the Soviet Union but also the United Nations and the anti-Fascist cause of the world forces. In that eventuality, it is almost unthinkable even at the highest estimation of the combined forces of Britain and U. S. A. that they will be able to stem the tide of the Nazi advance which is likely to gather an irresistible force by that time with colossal resources and manpower at

its command. So the question is not whether Russia will be able to resist and defeat the Nazis single-handed in Europe. But the crucial question is, what advantage the Allies are going to take of this most favourable military situation. It is extremely dangerous to rely on any speculation of this nature and lose valuable time in waiting and preparing for a future onslaught which may be well overtaken and disorganised by an earlier disaster. When the stake is so high, it will be, indeed, a reckless gamble to build any long-term war plan on that doubtful basis of an early Soviet success or a Nazi set-back. It would be far wiser to take the military situation as it is.

CHINA—THE CENTRE OF GRAVITY

In Asia, the centre of gravity of the military conflict has shifted from the gates of Australia and India to the far-eastern Pacific, to the battered land of the valiant Chinese people. With the occupation of Singapore and Malaya, East Indies and Burma, the sinking of ships in the Bay of Bengal and stray bombings of some widely-separated places from the shores of Ceylon to the borders of Assam and Bengal, the threat of a Japanese invasion seemed to be imminent. But a realistic estimation of the military situation in Asia in relation to that of Europe did not quite warrant or justify that course. In a much earlier article in *The Modern Review* (March, 1941), I concluded from my analysis of the forces in the Pacific that

"Japan may be driven not only to conclude a non-aggression Pact with the U. S. S. R. but also to settle the Chinese question."

I pointed as well :

"The Japanese occupation of strategic positions in Indo-China also show that the Japanese military attention is being drawn elsewhere. The military alliance with Italy and Germany is itself a pointer to the Japanese aspirations in the East Indies, even possibly in Australia and Burma which they may hope to fulfil with less difficulty. . . . The ambitious Japan may risk even a war with the U. S. A. if it can neutralise Russia and come to terms with China."

After-events have proved the correctness of that forecast beyond my anticipation. Japan, however, could not come to terms with China but did make ceaseless attempt to coerce Chiang Kai-shek to come to terms. The heroic Chinese people scorned that offer of a semi-slave's peace. However, the military situation compelled Japan not only to neutralise Russia but also China, in actual effect, by suspending the China war during the greater part of its recent campaign in widespread areas. Only during the later period of the Burma war Japan had to actively

fight the Chinese forces. But that was clearly not their seeking. It is China that foiled all its unworthy attempt to neutralise the brave people and came swiftly to the aid of the British army in Burma. It was a move worthy of the rising Chinese nation.

CHINA BLOCKS THE WAY OF THE JAPANESE

To China, the defence of Burma Road was, indeed, very vital. For Japan it was equally important to close and occupy that gateway. The Japanese forces, eventually free from their fierce engagements in far-flung areas, turned their covetous eyes back to the fertile land of China as Tojo increasingly felt the pressing necessity of crushing the Chinese resistance effectively or compelling China to sue for peace on his own terms. He rightly saw that it would be extremely hazardous to attempt a large-scale invasion of India without dealing with China first and consolidating the Japanese position in newly-acquired territories. An invasion of a vast country like India will be itself an uphill task and it will require a very large force, indeed, with a very lengthy supply line. It will be much more so, if Japan dares attack India keeping China in the rear, Australia on its flank, against the growing strength of the U. S. A. in the Pacific and with an inscrutable Red Russia aiming a silent but ominous pistol at its very heart from Vladivostok with huge forces and resources at its back. Tojo, therefore, seems to have rightly concluded that India may wait but China cannot. That does not, however, mean that India will be immune from air attack in the near future. The Japanese gangsters may also well penetrate into the borders of Assam, in particular. That will be, too, for the purpose of closing another gateway under construction and not for any immediate purpose of invading India. It is also very doubtful if Hitler will at all like a speedy Japanese occupation of India by its single-handed efforts. That may also stay the greedy hands of Tojo till a more favourable time. Anyway, the possibility of a large-scale invasion of India in the immediate future is much less than before. The danger is always there, Japan being free to take the initiative.

WHY JAPAN FIGHTS CHINA FIRST ?

The potential menace of Russia all the more demands a speedy and favourable conclusion of the Chinese campaign. In spite of the non-aggression Pact, Tojo fears Russia as sure as Hitler trembles before the Red spectre. Both of them know the worth of the neutrality pact which sheer military situation compelled them

to sign at two different periods of the war much to the bewilderment of the uncritical people and allied statesmen of slow understanding. The pact has not prevented Hitler from tearing it to pieces and it will not prevent Tojo from doing that at his own time. He will not hesitate for a moment if he is only sure that he can deal smashing blows through Siberia and get rid of the perpetual Soviet menace against the Japanese imperialist designs in Asia. But he dares not take that risk seeing the unenviable fate of his stronger Ally in Europe. So Tojo is much more anxious to finish the Chinese campaign before the Red Russia can extricate itself from the deadly engagement in Europe and come more and more effectively to the aid of its oldest Ally—China. Tojo knows, it will be an evil day for Japan if Stalin ever gets that chance. Meanwhile, he must be up and doing. He must blockade China. He must pound the heroic people from land, air and sea. He must bombard and pillage cities and villages. He must carry death and destruction to the heart of the fair land of plenty and happiness. The Japanese gangsters must be let loose to wreak vengeance on its heroic men and women and children who had the audacity to resist their brutal aggression for years together. That becomes clearer and clearer as the Japanese forces are being increasingly concentrated in the plains and valleys, marshy and mountainous lands of China in Chekiang and Kiangsi and other regions.

CHINA NEEDS MORE SUPPORT OF THE ALLIES

Indeed, China is hitting back the aggressors with all its might. No doubt, its heroic people and soldiers are no less determined to defend their hearth and home than their Russian comrades. No doubt, they will not surrender but fight every inch of the Japanese advance. They will prefer to pass through fiery ordeal than submit to a slavery under the Japanese yoke. Yet their striking capacity is limited for want of mechanised units and modern weapons. What is more important is that they very much lack in air force. The military situation is, indeed, grave and critical according to the recent statement of Dr. T. F. Kiang, Director of political affairs, Department of the Executive Yuan. He has made a fervent appeal to the United Nations "to view the war in Asia in its proper perspective" and realise the danger ahead. That is a silent rebuke and warning at the same time. The Allies, therefore, must be sufficiently alive to the seriousness of the Chinese situation. For the past mistakes and illusions of its leaders, Britain has already paid dearly and lost many

valuable and strategic positions. Its tragic failure even to defend the only gateway of China's contact with Britain and America, has gravely menaced China. It is time the United Nations take serious note of it and come swiftly to the aid of the valiant Chinese who are fighting desperately against heavy odds. Again, the stake is, in fact, very great in Asia. If Japan succeeds in hurling back the Chinese in narrower and narrower interiors to fall back on their decreasing resources and reducing their fighting power to safe proportions, it will be far more difficult for the United Nations to check the devastating march of the Japanese Army over Asia with tremendous resources and man-power at their command than it is today. Roosevelt and Churchill must see that they might have never to face that possibility for their failure to take timely action in the most-needed theatres of war today.

HITLER'S PLAN MUST BE FORESTALLED

These are the fundamental facts of the military situation in Europe and Asia, upon the correct understanding of which and timely action of the Allies will much depend the subsequent development of the war. Britain and America must pass to offensive actions. The initiative of planning and executing attacks must not be left in the hands of Hitler and Tojo. Even if they fail to effectively cripple the Russian and Chinese resistance, they will still have other vital theatres of war to choose. They must be deprived of that choice.

A SECOND FRONT IN EUROPE

That can alone be done by a real second front in Europe, all-out aid to China and increasing offensives in the Pacific. It is welcome indications to see Britain to use a huge air force to batter the industrial regions of Germany and occupied Europe and to give a better account of their fighting power in Libya. It is also heartening to find the U. S. A. Navy and Air Arm dealing some hard blows on the dominant Japanese Navy in the Coral Sea and Macassar Straits and in the Midway battle. It is good news too that some units of the British and American Air Forces have reached China. Yet all this is not enough to deprive them of the initiative. A thousand planes over Germany and occupied Europe is no doubt an impressive spectacle. But that cannot be yet maintained regularly. Indeed, the continued air attack will be of great help to the Red Army. But if Hitler is to be put in a tight corner, a real second front in Western Europe is the crying need of the hour. There are many military spokesmen

and experts who consider that it is the most opportune time to take that great initiative in spite of some risk. The immense value of a timely and simultaneous attack will not come again and again. It will strike terror into the hearts of the Nazi army fighting desperately at the Russian front. It will tell upon the morale of the repressed people of Germany. It will stiffen the attitude of France and Turkey towards Germany and hearten the oppressed peoples of occupied Europe who would grasp the first chance of an effective revolt. Both the military and political situation calls for that supreme initiative which may prove decisive in turning the table against the fascists.

POSSIBILITY OF UNFAVOURABLE DEVELOPMENTS

If Britain and America fails to take that initiative, it is quite likely that the situation will develop in a direction that may not be very favourable to Britain, in particular, in the near future. It is almost certain that Hitler will fail to break effectively the Soviet resistance. He is still making the last desperate attempt to break the backbone of the Red Army. But he would soon realise that he will have to fight a long-drawn battle in Russia. In that eventuality, he will have no other alternative than to fall back on a defensive war with occasional offensive on the Soviet front and to launch a major offensive in other directions to bolster up the waning Nazi military prestige and to keep up the morale of the army and peoples. His objective may be to control both the coasts of the Red Sea, to dominate Libya and Egypt and to smash his way through Iraq and Iran to the very gates of India. He may use Morocco and bases of France and Spain, Crete and Dodacanese Islands and occupy Gibraltar whenever necessary for the purpose. Simultaneously he may also make a supreme attempt to reach the Caucasus and the outer frontiers of India either directly through the land route, if at all possible, or more probably through the Black Sea, using bases of Crimea, Bulgaria and Roumania as jumping grounds. That can not be done without smashing or driving the Soviet Black Sea Fleet and establishing air superiority. But an easier and more spectacular march he may accomplish to stage through the citadels of the British Empire.

HITLER MAY BYEPASS TURKEY

Turkey, being the natural gateway of Asia, will again become the target of diplomatic attack and military pressure. Hitler will do his utmost to tempt or coerce Turkey into a

closer alliance and at least to persuade her to let his army pass through a corridor. If Turkey does not give in, as she should not, Hitler may not dare attack and turn her into an active enemy to the immense advantage of the Allies. He may then prefer to byepass Turkey through more difficult ways.

BRITAIN TO FIGHT IN THE EMPIRE

In that case, Britain will have to fight major battles not in the hearts of Germanised Europe but in the hearts of the British Empire, in Libya and Egypt, Iraq and Iran and even in India. India geographically stands today as a great barrier between the Nazis and the Japanese gangs. The only way to establish valuable contacts between them is through India. If that materialises, India will be the next target of a simultaneous attack by Japan and Germany. Till then, Tojo seems to be eager to complete the process of strangling and isolating China, blockading India, occupying Ceylon, and dominating the Indian Ocean and even the Arabian Sea as far as the Persian Gulf.

BOLD & TIMELY ACTION NEEDED

But a timely and decisive blow on the Western Europe may well deprive Hitler of his

only other alternative, disorganise his plan of attack, force him to fight fateful battles simultaneously on different fronts in the hearts of the Nazified Europe, encircled everywhere by hostile peoples seething with discontent owing to the Nazi terrorism. That may send the Fascists to their deserving doom much earlier. Britain lost some valuable chances in the past. I pointed out at the time of invasion of Greece that an earlier military alliance with the Soviet Union could have created a formidable bloc of Roumania and Yugo-slavia, Bulgaria and Greece and even Turkey and saved much of the blood and toil of the European peoples and made the Nazi advance more costly. The anti-Soviet bias stood in the way of common-sense politics and military needs. That mistake has been corrected. Better late than never. Other mistakes, no less serious, still persists in the dogged obstinacy of imperialist outlook and bureaucratic attitude, in the slowness and inefficiency of a decadent ruling class. A bold initiative is needed to galvanise the entire people into action. Anti-Fascist peoples must not fail this time. A second front in Europe, a drastic revision of the Colonial policy and an all-out aid to China are the crying needs of the hour.

FIRST INDIAN M. P.—DADABHAI NAOROJI

An Unique Event of 50 Years Ago

By ANANDRAO JOSHI

FIFTY years ago an unique event was recorded in the constitutional history of England as well as of India. The unique event was the election of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, "the Grand Old Man of India," to the British Parliament in the year 1892 from Central Finsbury. He was the first Indian to get the unprecedented honour of becoming a member of the British Parliament. It is significant to note that during the last fifty years only a few Indians (such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Bhavanagari, Sakalatwala) have been able to secure this coveted honour. A few like the late W. C. Bonnerjee, Lal Mohan Ghose and others contested the election, but their efforts were not crowned with success.

Dadabhai was, indeed, one of the brightest jewels of modern India. He was a staunch nationalist, a great patriot and a most revered leader of his time. To him belonged the honour of being the "first man of India"—for instance, he was the first Indian professor, the first Indian

member of the Legislative Council, the first Indian member of the British Parliament, the first Indian member of the Royal Commission, the first president of the Indian National Congress from the Parsi community, the first Indian to preside over the Congress on three occasions, and was also the oldest president of the Congress to survive.

Dadabhai visited England on many occasions and spent a very active and busy life during his long stay there. His first sojourn in England was in the year 1855 when, at the age of 30, he relinquished his professorship in the Elphinstone College and as a partner of the Cama Brothers of Bombay went to London to manage the affairs of their new branch. In 1874 he became the Dewan of the Baroda State, but within two years he had to resign that post. In 1885 he became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In the same year the Indian National Congress was founded, its first session

being held at Bombay during the X'mas under the presidentship of the late W. C. Bonnerjee. Dadabhai was one of the founders and active workers of the Congress which, in course of time, was destined to become the greatest and the most powerful political institution in India!

The nation recognised Dadabhai's services by electing him president of the Congress on



Dadabhai Naoroji

three occasions, *viz.*, The second session at Calcutta in 1886, the ninth session at Lahore in 1893 and the twenty-second session again at Calcutta in 1906. On this last occasion he was 81 years old. It was at this momentous session that he, for the first time, declared Swaraj to be the goal of India.

Dadabhai contested the Parliamentary election on three occasions as a candidate of the Liberal Party; but he was successful only at the second attempt. The late A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn and other British friends of India rendered him every possible help in these elections.

Dadabhai's first attempt at the Parliamentary election was in the year 1886 when, at the age of 61, he stood as a candidate from Holbourn. The General Election was held on July 5. Dadabhai had very little time to make necessary preparations for this election, while his opponent held the field. However, it was creditable for Dadabhai to have secured as many as 1950 votes when his opponent—Col. Duncan won the seat with 3651 votes to his credit.

Six years later Dadabhai contested another

election—and contested it successfully. He was then 67 and this time stood as a candidate from Central Finsbury. The election was held on July 6, 1892. It was a very tough fight in which Dadabhai emerged triumphantly with a narrow margin of only three votes. Dadabhai secured 2959 votes, while his opponent—Capt. F. T. Penton got 2956 votes. On November 26 Capt. Penton filed a petition demanding a scrutiny, but ultimately it was of no avail.

When the news of Dadabhai's success at the election reached India there was an outburst of joy and delight throughout the length and breadth of the country. Congratulatory messages were sent to Dadabhai, while meetings were held at several places in India to congratulate him on his unique success. In England too many eminent Englishmen expressed their felicitations and wished him a bright future as member of the Parliament. The Congress which held its eighth session at Allahabad in that year passed a resolution (No. 16) in which it cordially tendered "India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji their member in the House of Commons," and reiterated its unshaken confidence in him. Next year (1893) the Congress honoured Dadabhai by re-electing him President of the ninth session at Lahore.

The third and the last attempt was made by Dadabhai in the year 1895 when at the age of 70 he again stood from his old Liberal constituency—Central Finsbury. But this time the influence of the Liberal Party was on the decline and he was defeated at this election by 805 votes. Dadabhai obtained 2783 votes, while his opponent—the Hon. Mainwaring secured 3588 votes. It was in this General Election that the late W. C. Bonnerjee, also a Liberal candidate, met his reverse. On the other hand, the late Mr. Bhavanagari, a candidate of the Unionist Party, won the seat by defeating his Liberal rival by 160 votes.

Dadabhai was born at Bombay on September 4, 1825 and lived to enjoy a long life of 92 years. Perhaps no other Indian who spent his life in the service of his country has been favoured with such a long span of life. For full sixty years he was in the thick of the battle and toiled strenuously for the uplift and progress of India. The last ten years he spent in complete rest at Versova, a sea-side resort near Bombay. But during his fatal illness he was brought back to his place of birth where he breathed his last on June 30, 1917.

On the coming July 6, fifty years will be completed since the memorable event of Dada-

bhai's election to the Parliament took place. Besides, his twenty-fifth death-anniversary almost coincides with the jubilee day. I earnestly wish and hope that the nation would commemorate the memory of this great son of India in a suitable manner on the coming 6th July.

CHINA'S ORDEAL : WILL SHE SURVIVE ?

By R. A. MAITRA

"To conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. To conquer the world, we must first conquer China."

THIS is what Baron Tanaka, author of the famous Tanaka Memorial, is supposed to have written in 1927. The present intensification of the Japanese attack on China indicates Japan's recognition of the necessity to crush China as the first step towards world domination. How China, which has been resisting the aggressors for the past five years, will stand up to this latest all-out offensive will decide not only the fate of the United Nations in the Pacific region but also the future of India. The Tanaka Memorial, referred to above, is extremely candid on the point. For, it declares unreservedly :

"With all the resources of China at our disposal we will conquer India."

Having overrun with amazing rapidity a vast territory comprising Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Burma, the Japanese have now concentrated attention on China. Five years ago when Japanese imperialists first decided to deprive China of her independence, they had hoped that China, ill-equipped and politically disunited as she was then, would be "beaten to her knees within three, six or nine months." China's gallant resistance against an enemy far better equipped with modern weapons of warfare has evoked the admiration of the world. Faced with the threat of national extinction, she shook off her age-long slumber and rose to a man under the unique leadership of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek to beat back the aggressor.

After having fought China with all her might and savage fury for more than four years, Japan is not nearer her goal than when she began the invasion. The London *Times* writes :

"Under-armed from the beginning, deprived by the fortune of war of their principal arsenals, driven from many of their chief lines of communications, lacking the vast number of stores and commodities which are almost as necessary as arms and munitions for the conduct of modern war, they (Chinese) have fought for four years against a highly organised and enterprising enemy."

What is the secret of this unique power of resistance of a nation which lacks an air force, a navy and many other up-to-date weapons of war ? The answer is furnished by the Chinese Consul-General in Calcutta, Mr. C. Pao, in the following words :

"China's defence is based on the impenetrable Great Wall of China built with flesh and blood of China's sons and daughters, cemented by an unshakable spirit of determination."

In the earlier stages of the Sino-Japanese war, China received only passive sympathies from other countries and a limited supply of war materials. The occupation of the maritime provinces of China by the enemy made it extremely difficult for the supplies to reach Chungking except *via* Lashio in Burma along the route known as the Burma Road. Lashio is the terminus of the Burma Railway. From there supplies had to be transported in lorries to Chungking, a distance of nearly 700 miles. This route, too, was temporarily closed by Britain to placate the Japanese. It will thus appear that only recently when Japan treacherously and unexpectedly struck at Britain and the United States that China was acclaimed as a comrade-in-arms by the Allies and the need of maximum help to her was fully grasped.

With the fall of Rangoon, the supply base for China, and the passing of Burma into Japanese hands, China has been cut off from the outside world except across desolate regions like Tibet, Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia. China's five-year-old war is now nearing its climax. Japan has already launched a determined onslaught against Chungking, the wartime capital of free China, from several directions, namely, Yunnan, Chekiang, Hupeh and Honan. Though the situation is becoming grave, the Chinese are by no means pessimistic. Their view is that there may be a turning point in the Pacific by September next when Japanese striking power is expected to decline. They also expect that by that time the results of the large American production programme may begin to be evident.

Washington has assured China that under Lease-Lend arrangements American aeroplanes and munitions will continue to reach China on an ever-increasing scale by air despite the loss of the Burma Road. The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, too, stated recently that the fullest possible aid will be made available to China. A loan of £50,000,000 had already been given to China for war purposes, he added. It is obvious that unless supplies are rushed to China in time, she will be greatly handicapped in the uphill task of fighting a superior enemy. The fate of the Allies, including India, is linked with that of China so far as war is concerned in the Pacific theatre. In this connection the possibility of finding an alternative transport route to China is also engaging attention. According to Mr. K. Hsuehsui, Director of the Transportation Control Bureau of the National Military Council, Chungking, such a route is already under construction. This new road from West China through Assam to India would be completed by the end of this year. If completed, this will greatly facilitate rushing of supplies to China from India by land route.

China's gallant resistance has excited the sympathies and admiration of the world's progressive countries. She has been subjected to inhuman suffering for the love of freedom. This long agony is about to be accentuated in the ensuing months. Despite the gruelling ordeal which now faces China, she is calm and determined. No setback can shake that determination. To quote Mr. Pao again :

"475 million Chinese have but one aim, that is to do his or her best to win the war."

Chinese morale is super-excellent. It will not crack under any pressure. She has the strength to carry on indefinitely since as Col. Tang, Chinese Military Attache in London, says :

"We produce plenty of light arms for ourselves and can carry on a war of attrition indefinitely but it can only be a war of attrition because we cannot conquer and drive out the Japanese without planes, tanks and heavy artillery. These our Allies must give us."

That the Allies will not (and must not) fail China goes without saying. For they well realise that if the light of freedom is extinguished in China, the whole of Asia, may be Europe too, will be plunged in the darkness of despotic barbarism. The words of Mr. Wendell Willkie, Leader of the American Opposition Party, are worth reproducing here in this connection. He says :

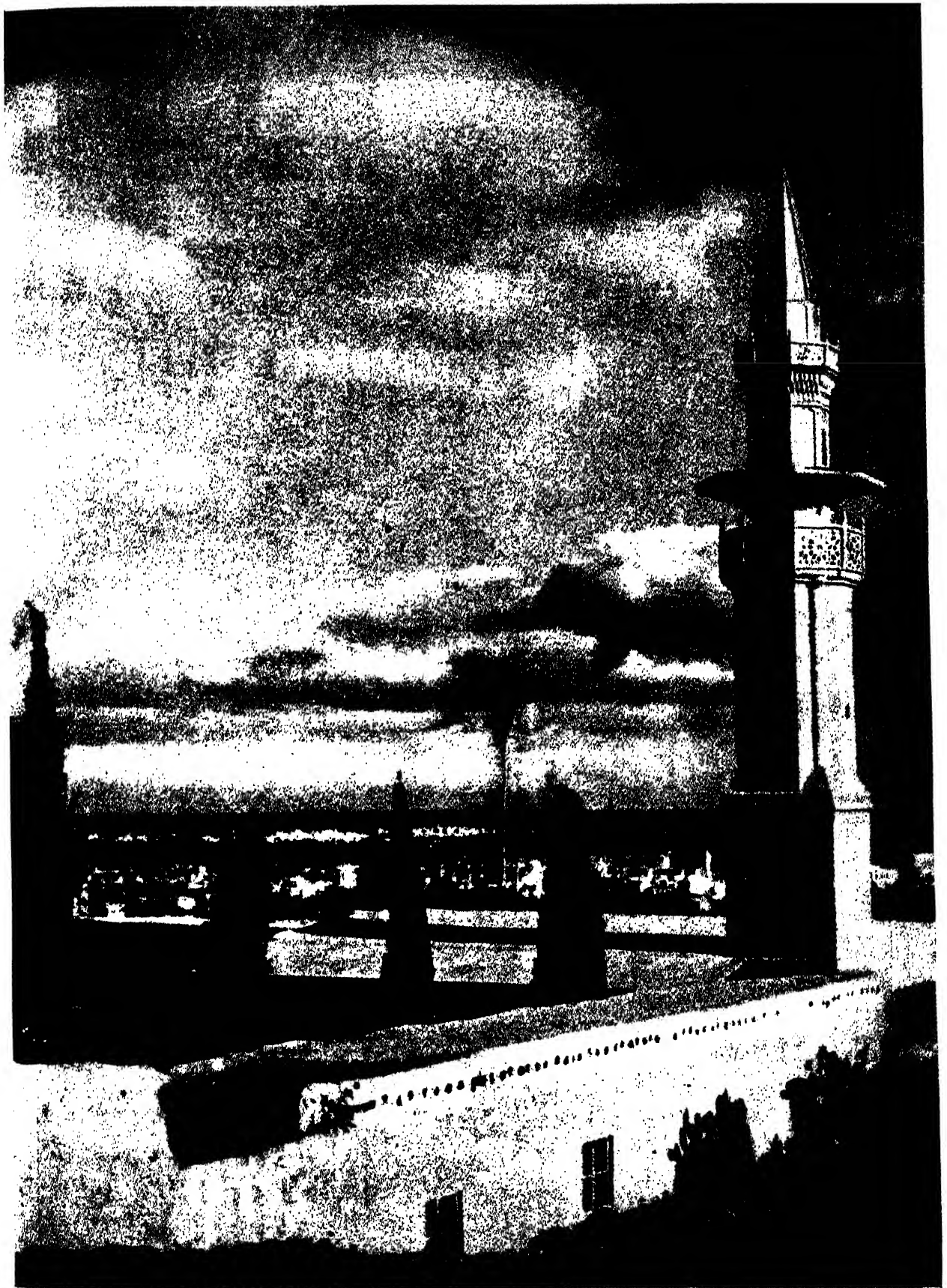
"America understands China's struggles and hopes. In significant measures it knows what China's fulfilment will be. China's outlook for the future is the exact opposite of Japan. She is not seeking an empire but only to hold and develop her own homeland."

This desire of China to remain free and to govern her own life has been an unpardonable offence against Tokio and as a result death and destruction has been rained on the peaceful Chinese incessantly for the past five years. But China carries on undaunted. The heroic efforts of the Chinese people to fight unaided a strong and wily enemy to preserve democracy and civilisation will undoubtedly go down to posterity as "one of the noblest and most inspiring chapters in the history of the human race."

There in China, as in Russia, we find a striking example of a whole nation, and not merely a mercenary army, fighting in defence of its liberties, hearths and homes in spite of all odds and handicaps.

At this hour of trial, Chinese women, too, are playing a worthy role. There is a Central Women's Council and in each province a provincial committee and a smaller branch in each district. They follow a definite programme to help win the war. Among other things, they do liaison work between the army and the people and go to every part of the country to tell the people what the war is about. Like India, there are many illiterate persons in China and such work is of great value in rousing the nation's enthusiasm for war. In all these activities the women of China are guided by that noble consort of the Generalissimo, Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

China has undergone terrible sufferings and has made tremendous sacrifices. But she has gallantly stood up to the ordeal. Her will to win is indomitable. The spirit of the nation, as the invaders have found it, is unbreakable. It grows loftier and stronger as the national peril grows in magnitude. May be worse days are in store for her. But, as Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has said, out of the agonizing sufferings and losses inflicted on her there will arise a new world in which man and woman can live in peace and happiness. A new China will be born out of this ordeal and will play a deserving role, when the enemy is destroyed, in the work of world reconstruction to ensure everlasting peace based on liberty, equality and fraternity of all mankind. A nation which is sustained spiritually by this ideal in its struggle against the insensate forces of aggression cannot but be victorious in the long run however dismal the present may appear to be.



Damascus, capital of Syria

[Courtesy : Asia

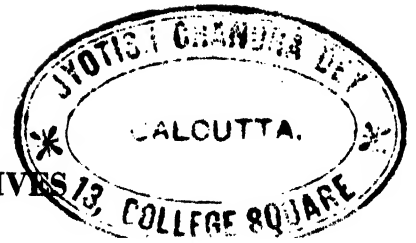
PUNJABI SONGS OF SOLDIERS' WIVES



Devendra Satyarthi with Mrs. Santisudha Satyarthi who has collected many folk-songs of the Punjab and been travelling all over India with her husband, and their daughter Kavita



Broken Garland. This peasant youth may join the army service any moment
[Photo: R. R. Bhardwaj]



PUNJABI SONGS OF SOLDIERS' WIVES

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

THE four centuries, 1400-1800 A.D., saw many a war storm in the Punjab; peaceful interludes were few. Over and over again, the sons of the soil were called up for defence by the Central Government at Lahore.

The people witnessed many wars. *Punjab dian jammian noon nitt muhimman*: to the persons, born in the Punjab, every day brings a battle. *Bheeru de hathh vichh talwar pae rove*: in the coward's hand the sword weeps. *Kall mera pio si maria, ajj margia mera veer*. yesterday my father passed away; today, my brother. These are just a few proverbs which give us an inkling into the grave and brave soul of the old Punjab.

Folk-songs, sandwiched between old history and present-day life, deal with the soldier and his wife at long length. The mingling of the new with the old is manifestly symbolic of the folk-songs of the Punjab. For generations they have handed down songs and ballads from mother to daughter; the old songs, often sung in a chorus, abound in romance and tragedy. A strain of sadness has struck me again and again. "The military service is more remunerative than agriculture, yet I would like to have my husband behind the plough," once a young countrywoman told me. Her remarks reminded me at once of the old song in which was immortalized the voice of a peasant girl who requested her father to marry her to a ploughman and decidedly not to a military man. The wife of the present-day peasant soldier feels proud of the money her husband earns; her songs, however, show that love is more sacred than money and that it is almost a sin on a man's part to go away leaving his wife at home.

The soldier of the past ages was moved by the driving force of patriotism. He had his courage and skill as an expert swordsman, ever ready for a hand-to-hand fight. He would follow along the lines of the old code of honour and would think twice before slaughtering his helpless rival. Sometimes he would himself

supply a sword for the fallen soldier and would ask him to prove if he was a man.

The psychology of the modern soldier can not be the same. The ways of fighting, in the modern war-mad world, are quite different. The soldier cannot think of the ethics of warfare. But he can send cash to his family. He has yielded before the impersonal war machines of today. No more swords and plain rifles, but high explosives, bombs, airplanes. The soldier fights with utter disgust.

The soldier's wife in the Punjab still thinks of her husband as of old. Love has not lost all meaning yet. She spins the cotton of her fields and sings the old song that her mother sang and her grandmother too:

Send down rain, send down rain, O cloud,
On my father's country:
Also pour down on the fields at my father-in-law's.

I rained, I rained, O girl, on your father's country:
Also I rained on the fields at your father-in-law's.



Picking up lice

They sing *Songs of Soldiers' Wives* in chorus. The mingling of the new with the old is manifestly symbolic of the folk-songs of the Punjab

In my hand an *Ateran*¹, in my pocket, a ball of yarn:
To the astrologer I go, O king of my dreams, to
make an enquiry.

Open, open, O astrologer, open your book:
Tell me what day my soldier comes home.

Today is the first, O queen; tomorrow, the second:
The day after your soldier¹ come home.

1. The small wooden apparatus for winding the yarn.

The clouds talk with the woman; they too seem human. But who knows if the astrologer's prediction goes wrong and the soldier fails to return home as he is lying still and cold on the war front.

Again and again the astrologer predicts. The soldier does not return. The sad wife presses her lips together. She restrains her



A woman of warrior blood
Her songs abound in romance and tragedy

desire to weep. Yet tears are seen in her eyes. As though she herself had been guilty, she avoids showing her love-lorn, tearful eyes to the village astrologer. She spins and looks after house-keeping. The same routine, mornings as like one another as blades of grass.

"It was the-lover of the woman" says Puran Singh in *The Spirit of Oriental Poetry*, "who became as rare and precious as he was brave and fearless. Sisters and mothers (and also wives) saw him alive one moment; the next, the fair young man died on his sword. . . . Most of the tragic lamentations rose from the heart of the mother."

War crawled through the country like a snake. Death, that brought a burning, salty taste of blood in the mouths of falling soldiers, inflicted many losses. Thousands of peasant soldiers, who looked stern and hard like the trunks of the *Shisham* trees, urged on their strong horses with war slogans that they seemed to understand. The weeping of their mothers and sisters and wives passed through their minds.

Like a horse bearing the fighting soldier, the woman carried a heavy strain. Her songs became sad. Tragedy lurked in her thoughts. Anxiety for the life of her man was again and again translated into song. Sub-conscious passions, seemingly disconnected, blew away the

traces of her pain every now and then. War-news she knew only by hearsay. Like a wild mother pigeon warning her two white eggs with her own body, her own songs gave her relief in the day-to-day life.

Different songs appeared with different pictures as the different grasses of the same soil drink in a multitude of juices. Songs of bitter-sweet life, love songs, songs about life's brief span, ballads of courage and victory, the horse being adored as being almost human. Some songs are but laments and dirges.

The fixedness of form and content is very rare in these songs. The transmission being purely oral, they are sung in many variants. They are all work-a-day songs, sung to the rhythm of the spinning-wheel mostly. Of course, the spinners do not observe any classification: *songs of soldiers' wives* are mixed up freely with others.

The song of the bride who, without much waste of speech, managed to have her husband's departure to the war-front postponed twice, is steeped in the history of the olden days. Her husband, presumably, had to bid her adieu and her song ends abruptly:

A summons has come direct from Lahore,
Prepared to go out as soldiers, O who are they?
My father-in-law I'll send, his brother, too,
My husband still inexperienced, O, I won't send
him, ye girls.



The would-be soldier

My mother-in-law quarrels with me, her sister-in-law,
too:

"O why send you out others' husbands?"

My father-in-law came back, his brother, too,
My mother-in-law is gay, his sister-in-law, too,
Mentally disturbed, I move about, ye girls.

My husband's younger brother I'll send, his elder
brother, too,
My husband still inexperienced, O, I won't send him,
ye girls.

My husband's younger brother's wife quarrels with
me, the elder one's wife, too :
" O why send you out others' husbands ?"

My husband's younger brother came back, his elder
brother, too,
The former's wife is gay, the latter's too,
Mentally disturbed, I move about, ye girls.

One must not, however, conclude that
soldiers' wives saw only death before their
husbands. The leave-taking of the peasant youth
from his parents and his wife, while he heard the
call of the war-drum, was for them an extremely
painful moment all the same.

Emotionally and in traditional restraint, the
young wife, addressing her mother-in-law, expres-
ses her sorrow; yet she invokes God for her
man's safe return and tries to hide her tears of
sorrow. She calls the soldier her peacock :

O mother-in-law, you have five sons—
Two are my *Devars*, and two my *Jeths*,
And the one, who is my youthful mate, goes to a
far-off place,
O let me sacrifice myself, my peacock has gone away.
The day he left I was standing at the door;
I invoke God so that soon we meet again,
O let me sacrifice myself, my peacock has gone away.
The day he left I first thought of placing no fire in
the oven;
Wet cow-dung cakes I set on fire and wept under the
pretence of smoke,
O let me sacrifice myself, my peacock has gone away.
Your offspring, O mother-in-law, and your brother,
O Nanad,
The day he left he struck my heart with an arrow,
O let me sacrifice myself, my peacock has gone away.

Devar is a woman's husband's younger brother;
Jeth, his elder brother; and *Nanad*, his sister.

The soldier's sister sings with sensitiveness.
She possesses a tenderness of sentiment, all her
own :

Brother, if you go to serve in the army,
O rider of the blue horse,
What about my *Bhabo*, your wife ?
War-drums are being beaten.
Sister, wheat she has in the bin, *ghee* in the pitcher,
O you whose arms have ivory-bangles,
Choori she'll take daily;
War-drums are being beaten.
Brother, wheat is swarming with *sussari* insects,
O rider of the blue horse,
The *ghee* is gone bad;
War-drums are being beaten.
Sister, put the wheat in the sun,
O you whose arms have ivory-bangles,
Heat the *ghee* in a pan;
War-drums are being beaten.

The soldier goes away. So it had always
been since the war-drum was first beaten.

The song of a soldier's wife, whose husband
enlisted in the army before she had got even
one child, is very popular. The tune is not less
sad than the words. The soldier, unmindful of
his wife's heavy grief, suggested that she should
mould a clay model of an infant and should
imagine that it was her son. "But the clay
child will give way when he is bathed," said the
sad woman. The soldier speaks no more. He
goes away. The young bride weeps over her
great yearning. Sorrow is the Eternal Artist.

The Punjab is a land of *songs of soldiers' wives* with a long past: mothers know even
today that some of their sons must grow up
into soldiers. Children still run about and fight



The sad bride
She presses her lips together. Who knows if the
astrologer's prediction goes wrong and her
husband never returns from the war front
Photo : Bhawani Shankar (Jagraon)

and ultimately play at soldiers. Women sing
old songs of soldiers like their great-grand-
mothers.

The dialogue form appears again and again.
Words are sincere. Music is nearly always
plaintive. Even when wit and irony replace
emotion, the dialogue is sung rather pathetically.

Some of the tunes vary with each individual
singer. One may notice that no tune is strictly
definite. The women seem to attach more im-
portance to the text than to the music.

Nobody can deny the permanent value of
these folk-songs. Love and war are eternal
themes; and it is the creative urge itself that
speaks in *songs of soldiers' wives*. One and all,
they are unsophisticated. They show us the
soldier's wife in the light and shade of her life.
Folk-songs easily prove that men and women at
bottom are always the same, irrespective of the
geographical and so-called racial differences.
The cadences of real sorrow sung by the women
of the Punjab are just a part of the voice of

suffering humanity. These women have always suffered and their songs have sprung from the good earth of their time-honoured traditions and living emotions.

Sipahi di bahuti sadai randi says the old proverb of the Punjab—a soldier's wife is always a widow. Yet the stream of life flows on, and over her feelings, soaked in an eternal pain, blows ever the fresh air of hope.

The Book of Songs, an anthology of ancient Chinese songs dating from 800 to 600 B. C.,



The woman in georgette
The military service is more remunerative than
agriculture. The soldier sends cash every month.
His wife takes to a richer standard of life

contains a group of warriors' songs. We find that during the soldier's absence his wife sometimes assumes his death and marries again. Like her Chinese sister, the woman of the Punjab does not seem to remarry. Of course, a widow could marry if she liked. Yet no trace of it has been found in *songs of soldiers' wives*.

"There's no salt in the house" is a poor woman's song. She tells her husband that it is unwise to leave for Jammu. She has not got even turmeric for daily use in the kitchen. But the soldier goes away.

The soldier's wife is in close friendship with the crow who must take her news to her husband from time to time. This role of the crow is important. The belief that when a crow utters a cry sitting on the roof at morning some guest is near at hand, gives a decided superior status to the crow amongst all birds. For a variety of reasons, various birds have attracted the peasant mind everywhere in the world. The sad woman's words are poor and few. Yet

the crow understands her. It was not easy to exchange letters. Life was hard and sad.

Soon after the soldier's homecoming his wife looks happy like a well-fed cow. But what about the beat of the war-drum she hears even in her dreams? Will he leave her again?

No war is good really. Yet hundreds of wars have been fought, and still more must follow. For very few people care for the feelings of the earth drinking in hot blood. And every war would add to the old stock of *soldiers' wives' songs*.

Yet who knows?—if only the unmarried men and widowers are taken into army service, as the women of the land of five rivers suggested to the Farangi during the last great war, the Punjab will lose new songs of soldiers' wives.

Letters can be exchanged now; and the soldier regularly sends his pay. Yet the woman of the Punjab feels sad in her husband's absence just like her Russian sister of the past whose sorrow is depicted most vividly in an old Russian folk-song:

"She waited for three years
Day after day, as the rain falls,
Week after week, as the grass grows,
Year after year, as the river flows,
And the end of three years came;
But Dobrynya did not return from the open plain."

The soldier's wife sends a letter to her husband:

A piece of my heart I use as paper,
Kajal from my eyes I use for ink;
For pen I use a finger of my hand,
And I weep and weep to have water for the ink.

Do write in such a manner, writer,
That my lord leaves for home no sooner he reads it.

The soldier answers the letter in time. The unlettered peasant woman, when she is lonely, tries to read the words of the letter:

Sitting in the shade I read the letter,
A storm rises in my eyes;
Weep not, O weep not, foolish eyes,
Let me read the whole letter.

The sad woman then takes to some ancient song. It may even be the *Bangle Song* that was once translated by Mr. C. F. Usborn:

"Tell me, bangles, my pretty ones say
Why do you tinkle so gaily?
For your master, my loved one, is far far away,
And it's him you remind me of daily;
All the day, all the night I am alone,
The gods have no pity, their hearts are of stone.

3. *Russian Heroic Poetry*.

4. Lamp-black used by peasant women to beautify their eyes.

"Head-piece, ear-rings and anklets of gold,
Heartless ones, why do you glitter?
When the bed of your mistress is empty and cold,
And the heart of your mistress is bitter,
Bitter for longing for him who is gone
Off to the wars and has left her alone.

"Necklace, my pretty one, how should you know
That your sheen only makes me the sadder?
Anklet and armlet and necklace we'll go
Up on the roof by the ladder;
Up on the roof we will linger alone
And talk of your master, my love, who is gone.

"My love is the fairest. What! do you dare
Traitorous bangles, compare him:
With roses? No sweeter bloom perfumes the air
But roses of Persia declare
Lord of all beauty. For though they be fair
Their scent is naught to the scent of his hair.

"War should be fought by the men without wives:
Bangles, ring softly and sadly.

For the dear one's absence rends and rives
The heart that loves him madly:
Life of me, love of me, live for my sake,
For the heart of your darling is ready to break."

The folk-song becomes majestic in its simplicity. It is almost matchless. Its real beauty lies in its music. The words attain a typically water-colour delicacy. The genius of the soil blesses the woman; the rhythm of the spinning wheel, too, blesses her; and she feeds her songs on her own milk.

The soldier must return safely so that his wife should be happy. Her fevered thoughts never fail to follow him. She feels sleepless. How long will it take for the soldier to reach home?

5. C. F. Usborn: *Punjabi Lyrics and Proverbs*, Lahore, 1905.

THE MODERN CHINESE THEATRE

A Highly Conventionalised Stage Art

By WAHIDA AZIZ

THAT the Chinese are extravagantly fond of theatrical representations, is known to all who have lived in China or studied its literature. The Chinese trace the origin of the stage to the times of the Emperor Ming Huang, of the T'ang Dynasty who, under an alias, is supposed to be worshipped as the god of play-actors. It is a popular saying that if the players neglect to do homage to this patron, they will altogether fail in their representations, whatever these may be.

It is a remarkable circumstance that while the Chinese are so fond of this kind of amusement, the profession of play-actor is one which debars a person from the privilege of appearing in the literary examinations. The reason for this anomaly is said to be the degradation of the theatre which panders to vitiated or even licentious tastes. To what extent the plays ordinarily acted are of this sort, it is impossible to say. The truth seems to be that the general (theoretical) contempt for the stage and its actors in China, is a product of the moral teachings of Confucianism, which uncompromisingly condemn the perversion of the right uses of dramatic representation. But while this view is one which is constantly met, it is like many other Confucian doctrines chiefly remark-

able for the unanimity with which it is disregarded in practice.

SIMPLE AFFAIR

Except in a few large cities, the Chinese have no theatres in our sense of the term, provid-



A scene from a Chinese Shadow Play

ed with seats and enclosed by walls and roof. The stage is a very simple affair, and is entirely

open to inspection. Sometimes it is built like a temple with an open front. But by far the larger part of the rural representations of theatrical



A Shadow Play conducted entirely by students in which women students work as manipulators

companies take place on a temporary scaffolding which is put up for the purpose the night before the play begins, and is taken down the moment the last play closes. The players resemble their ancient Grecian proto-types in that they are a migratory band, going wherever they are able to find an engagement.

Most Chinese plays are laid out upon so extravagant a scale, as regards time, that they may be spread over many hours, or possibly, several days. The most indefatigable foreigner could not listen to the entire performance of any one of them, without becoming utterly exhausted. The dialect in which the actors speak is so different from the spoken language, that it is hard to form an idea of what they are saying.

Besides, there is no division of a play into separate acts or scenes, and what cannot be inferred from the dress, or the pantomime of the actors, they must expressly tell to the audience, as for example who they are, what they have been doing, and the like. The orchestra in almost all plays is an indispensable accompaniment, and not only bursts into every interval of the acting, but also clangs with ferocity at a battle attack, or to add energy to any ordinary event.

VARIOUS CLASSES

The players are divided into classes which are called by different names, the members of each class receiving pay according to the dignity of their position. There are, for example, two individuals, one civil and one military, who

represent high class historical characters. These actors are called 'lao-sheng.' Another class styled 'hu-sheng,' represent personages like Wen Wang, or Chao K'uang-yin. A third class are assigned to characters like Lu Pu, etc., and these players are called 'hsiao-sheng.' In addition to these are persons of less importance who represent ladies, officials' wives, young girls, or others. After these come what may be called clowns, who are termed 'flowery-faced' (hua-lien), subdivided into first, second and third. These represent the bad characters and the like. There is also a considerable force detailed as soldiers, servants, messengers, or to personify boatmen, innkeepers, and the like. The rear is brought up with a staff of cooks, water-carriers, etc., whose duty it is to provide for the material comfort of the players in their vagrant life.

Aside from the regular theatrical companies, there are amateurs who have inherited the art from their forefathers. They are mostly young farmers who delight in the change and excitement of stage life, and who after the crops are harvested are open to engagements until the spring work begins.

A HIGH HONOUR

It is one of the contradictions which abound in the Chinese social life that while actors are theoretically held in very light esteem, the representation of a play is considered as a great honour to the person on whose behalf it is furnished. There are instances in which such a representation has been offered by the Chinese to foreigners, as an expression of gratitude for help received in time of famine or flood.

Another occasion for a play is sometimes a vow, which may have been made by an individual in time of sickness, it being the expression of gratitude for recovery. In the case of an entire village, it is often the returning of thanks to some divinity for a good harvest, or for a timely rain. A quarrel between individuals is frequently composed by the adjudication of 'peace-talkers' that one of the parties shall give a theatrical performance by way of fine, in the benefits of which the whole community may thus partake. A foreigner could easily propose fifty purposes to which the funds could be appropriated to much better advantage, but to the Chinese these suggestions appear untimely, not to say preposterous.

During the time of the year in which the demand for theatricals is at the maximum, a company may have offers from several villages at once. In such cases, the troupe is often divided, and a number of amateurs engaged to

fill up vacancies, thus enabling the company to be in two places at the same time.

POPULAR PLAYS

Among the most popular plays are those which deal with everyday life in its practical forms. In China, as in other lands, it is easy for theatrical representations to deal with current events which are of general interest. Sometimes, these characters are woven in such a way as to lead to trouble, even to lawsuits.

The representation of historical events, by the Chinese theatres, may be said to be one of the greatest obstacles to the acquisition of historical knowledge by the people. Few persons read history, while everyone hears plays, and while history is forgotten, the play is remembered because it is amusing. The result is the great confusion in the minds of the common people, both as to what really happened in the past, and as to when it took place, and for all practical purposes, fact and fiction are indistinguishable.

Perhaps the most instructive aspect of Chinese plays is that which takes account of them as 'indices' to the theory of life which they best express, a theory in which most Chinese are firm, albeit unconscious, believers. It is a popular saying that 'the whole world is only a stageplay; why then should men take life as real?' It is in strict accordance with this view that the Chinese frequently appear as if psychologically incapable of discriminating between practical realities which are known to be such, and theoretical 'realities' which, if matters are pushed to the extreme are admitted to be fictitious.

MODERN TRENDS

The modern Chinese drama is the outcome of the new Chinese Theatre movement which took its root about three decades ago. That the public took a stand-offish attitude towards this new form without music, is not surprising, since for centuries the Chinese mind has linked the drama indissolubly with music. It is natural, too, that the new movement, having its root almost entirely in western inspiration, should have been opposed by a strong conservative element.

The classic Chinese music-drama still provides the music and the polished actors, exponents of a highly conventionalised stage art, to which the public has for centuries been accustomed. Through this old type of play the man in the street finds escape from the humdrum of life in poetry, and the treatment of the commonplace at once colourful and extravagant.

The 'hua chu,' or spoken drama, on the other hand, whether the work of a modern Chinese playwright or a translation from the western stage—usually brings to the spectator the grim



Manipulating the strings

problems of life that have harassed him all day. Leaders of the modern movement, although of the opinion that the old music-drama should be preserved, nevertheless claim that it is an unsuitable vehicle to express present-day aspirations.

So, the 'spoken drama' has become popular and its audience may well be termed 'select'; for it includes the intelligentsia, the students, the moderns, notably the ultra-moderns, and all who find pleasure in being considered members of the foregoing group.

POLITICAL AGITATION

Practically from its beginning thirty years ago the new drama has been in the hands of amateurs—theatrical groups of educational institutions and groups of society folks, who have appeared for charity.

Like everything else in modern east China, the new theatre has been profoundly affected by political agitation and unrest. One of the original group of Chinese students who

organised the 'Spring Willow Society,' Wang Chung-Sheng, was executed in Peking in 1909 by the Manchus for his revolutionary activities. The early period of the movement (from 1906 to 1916) was marked by a dearth of native plays. Later came a fever of dramatic activity resulting indirectly from the students' anti-Japanese demonstration of May 4, 1919, in Peking during the Versailles Peace Conference. The efforts of this second period were, however, directed wholly towards arousing patriotism; no progress was made in stage art. A third period was ushered in by Chinese playwrights who had studied in Europe and America: their works were an improvement over those of the past, yet, on account of their scholarly attitude and strong western bent, proved unintelligible to the great masses. A fourth period, which is still in progress, has been characterised by an active attempt to take the modern play to the common people.

Since the war, this group has been even more active and its members, many of them students, go out in vacation time through the villages to explain to the tribal-minded peasants what the war is about and why they must help. Calling themselves 'propaganda brigade,' they usually travel by bus, which also serves as their stage. They write their own plays and tour around enacting them on such expeditions.

SHADOW PLAYS

Side by side with the 'spoken drama,' the shadow plays—the ancient drama, beloved for two thousand years by emperors, fragile

court ladies, and weary labourers, is still very much alive, especially in the rural districts all over China. Walking beside rickshaws heaped with blue cotton bundles and others carrying oddly shaped paraphernalia on poles slung over their shoulders, they tour round the villages urging the people to turn against the invader.

The 'shadow players,' consisting of warriors, emperors, court ladies, dragons, servants, comedians, emerge from the cases and take their places, slung over a wire stretched across the wings. Most of them are headless. For there is an old belief that if shadow actors are put away with their heads attached, they come to life! The man in charge takes great care of this apparent lack in their anatomy by drawing just the right head from a case—filled with hundreds of heads, representing as many different characters—and attaching it to the corresponding body through a slit in the neck. He has a knack of getting each character ready for his or her entrance at just the exact moment he receives his cue from the manipulator.

The manipulator is often a young lady who has been trained in a school or college and knows how and when to appeal the audience. The scenes of these shadow plays, organised by the student groups, are episodes from exciting battles which inspire and agitate them.

Never, surely, is it more true of any other land than of China, that

'All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.'

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Are the Mosques in India Properly Built?

In the June issue of *The Modern Review*, Mr. Lien Chi Altangi in his article "Are the Mosques in India Properly Built?" draws our attention to the fact that many mosques are so built that the worshipper does not face the Ka'abah correctly.

In this connection, it may not be improper to show that very great importance was laid by the Prophet Muhammad and the early fathers of Islam in determining the true direction of the Ka'abah in Mecca as will be apparent from the following traditions:

At the great Prophet's Mosque at Al-Madinah, the congregation of the worshippers faced towards the northern wall till the seventeenth month of the new era of Hegira. After that time a fresh revelation turned the Kiblah in the direction of Mecca southwards: on which occasion the Archangel Gabriel descended and miraculously opened through the hills and wilds a view of the Ka'abah, that there might be no difficulty in ascertaining its true position.

In the Mosque of Kuba, which is said to be the first Mosque ever built, and it was built by Muhammad himself, there is a Mihrab in the southern wall, called *Takat-al-Kashf* or "Niche of Disclosure" by those who

believe that as the Prophet was standing undecided about the direction of Mecca, the Archangel Gabriel removed all obstructions to his vision.

The true direction of Mecca (i.e., of the Ka'abah) from any particular place can be found by the solution of the spherical triangle formed by the lines of longitude passing through Mecca and the particular place, and the great circle passing through Mecca and that place. It is the angle which this great circle makes with the north meridian gives the true direction of Mecca.

Let β and α be the latitude and longitude of Mecca and β' and α' those of any place C; and P be the Pole.

Then $\angle MPC = \alpha' - \alpha$; $MP = 90^\circ - \beta$ and $CP = 90^\circ - \beta'$; and let $\angle PCM = \phi$.

From the spherical triangle MPC.

$$\cos PC \cdot \cos MPC = \sin PC \cdot \cot PM.$$

$$-\sin MPC \cdot \cot PCM.$$

$$\text{i.e. } \sin \beta' \cos (\alpha' - \alpha) = \cos \beta' \tan \beta \sin (\alpha' - \alpha) \cot \phi.$$

$$\therefore \cot \phi = \cos \beta' \tan \beta - \sin \beta' \cos (\alpha' - \alpha)$$

$$\sin (\alpha' - \alpha)$$

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA



THE INDIAN DANCE

By L. N. GUBIL

ONE of the best methods of creative art is, assuredly Bharata-Natya or the Indian Dance, which appeals to the aesthetic sense, in the same way as Music, Drama, Painting, etc. The Indian Dance has held its own from very ancient times; indeed, the origin of the Indian Dance itself is traced mythologically to Lord Siva. The story is that, once upon a time the sages of Tharukha forest grew haughty and in order to put down their haughtiness, Lord Siva appeared half nude before their wives, who fell in love with the Lord and thus apparently swerved from their chastity. The sages became angry with this act of the Lord and performed a ceremony called "Abhichara Homam," from which a deer, a tiger, a serpent, a ball of fire and finally a Rakshasa named Manyulaka appeared and began to fight against the Lord. Needless to say the all-powerful Lord vanquished all of them and then held a divine Dance, wearing the skin of the tiger

His body and the demon crushed under His feet. The sages grew ashamed and left off their



Sri Nataraja
The Divine Dancer



F. G. Natesa Aiyar as the "hermit prince"

and taking the skin of the deer and the ball of fire in his hands, the serpent being wound round

haughtiness. The Divine Dance was enjoyed by the devotees, prominent among whom were Vyagrapada and Patanjali, two eminent Rishis. This is also celebrated as a festival called 'Thiruvathurai' or 'Arudradharsanam,' every year in the month of Margazhi (December-January). The festival celebrated at Chidambaram is attended by a large number of pilgrims.

This dance of eternal bliss has also a symbolic interpretation. The deer stands for the ever-changing and fickle-minded mortal, the tiger destroyed refers to *Ahankara* or the ego that vanished at the very sight of the Lord and the demon, Manyulaka, is symbolical of *Maya* or illusion, the cause of the cycle of birth and death.

Divested of all symbolism Lord Nataraja, or the Lord of the stage, may be looked upon as the preceptor, who teaches that *Maya* (illusion) should be destroyed, that the deer-



Natesa Aiyar's son and daughter, Balasubramaniam and Lalita, in a dance pose

like mind should be kept under check, that *Ahankara* should be crushed and that man should ascend to the regions of pure uncondition-



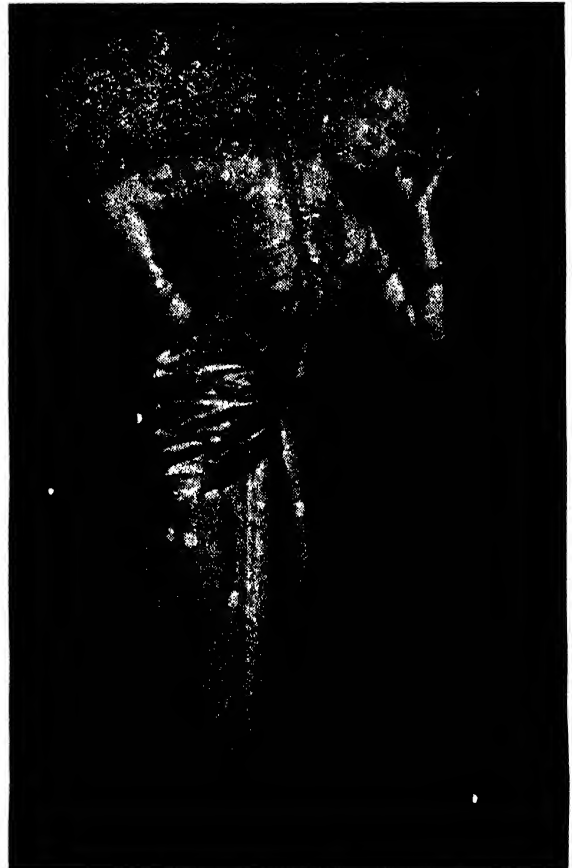
Natesa Aiyar's daughters, Sankari and Lalita, in a dance pose

ed consciousness and there enjoy the calmness which is his birthright.

The five poses of Dance manifested by Lord Siva as Lord Nataraja in Chidambaram are,

symbolic creation, protection, annihilation, illusive disappearance and manifestation of divine grace.

While thus Dance has been given a divine origin, in actual practice it has been exhibited not merely for the purpose of self-expression and devotion to God, but also for the pleasure of



Mrs. Rukmini Arundale in a dance pose

kings, nobles, etc. Grace of movement is, as it ever was, the most essential feature of the Dance.

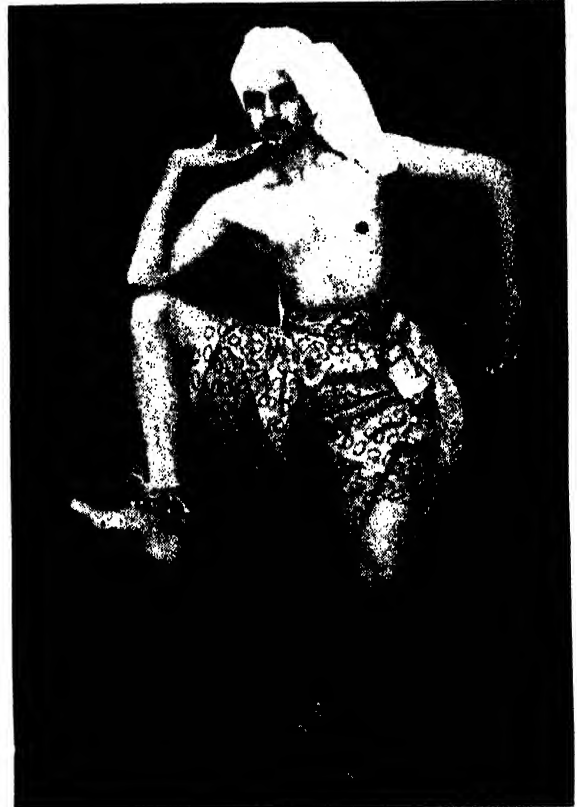
Dancing may be classified under three heads :

The one that involves rhythmic movement of the body in consonance with a background of music is the first variety. The second type is the one in which muscular and physical movements take a subordinate place, and facial and other expressions depicting the emotions come into prominence. The last and the best type is that which, in the west, is known as "ballet dancing." In this form the exponent narrates a story with gestures and poses.

The common nautch belongs to the second



Baby Malati, daughter of Dr. T. S. S. Rajan,
in a dance pose



N. Thiagarajan in a dance pose

type. The Kathakali of Malabar corresponds to the third type.

To Ragini Devi, an American lady belongs the credit of popularising Kathakali. She chose Gopinath of Malabar as her partner and he in turn developed the latent talents of his wife Thangamoni. Uday Shanker, the talented dancer, along with two eminent Kathakali dancers—who had their training with Epinate Mahadevan and Anandashivaram—made a world tour and made this Indian art internationally known. Another northern artiste whose exposition is also excellent is Nataraja Vashi. In the South, Mrs. Rukmini Devi, wife of Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society and Miss Bala Saraswati, stand supreme in the art of Indian dancing today.

Amongst amateur artistes in this part of the country, there is a growing number taking to dancing, both in the traditional Bharata-Natya style and in the Manipuri style followed in Santiniketan, and there are some who have shown themselves capable expounders of this divine art. Among such artistes can be mentioned the children of Mr. F. G. Natesa Aiyar, of Trichinopoly, all of whom are adepts in Music, Drama and Dance. The eldest, Mr. N. Thiagarajan, is an expert in the art of dancing. Mr. F. G. Natesa Aiyar himself is a veteran amateur actor of prominence in South India, both in the Tamil and English stage, and has recently appeared in a major role in "Seva Sadan," the popular Tamil film of the Madras United Artistes.



THE INDIAN UNION

The Mughal Empire and the Maratha State

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

THE four great Great Mughals not only built up a great empire that ultimately embraced the whole of India, but also created a great Indian Union that emerged from the background as the empire gradually fell to pieces. In the eighteenth century the titular Mughal Badshah who lived in the palace of Shahajahanabad (Delhi) either as a prisoner or as a pensioner after the break-up of the empire served as the uniting bond of this Union, till the British nation took it over in the name of their own sovereign. Though Shah Alam (II) Badshah (1759-1806) never exercised real power, his *Farman* or charter was eagerly sought by Indian powers of all nationalities for territorial possessions acquired by conquest to



Ramaprasad Chanda

ensure security of tenure, and the East India Company continued to issue their coins in his name for eight and twenty years after his death in 1806 (till 1834).

The first independent power that acceded to the union after the beginning of the break-up of the Mughal empire was the Maratha State. Sivaji died on April 4, 1680, after founding an independent kingdom including greater part of the Maratha country (Maharashtra) and considerable portion of Karnataka (parts of Mysore and of the Madras coast). In the following year Aurangzib's son, Prince Akbar, rebelled and took shelter in the Maratha kingdom over which Sambhuji, the son and successor of Sivaji, was then reigning. Aurangzib followed him to the Deccan with a grand army in the same year and continued there till his death on March, 3, 1707, in order to complete the conquest of Southern India. There were then three independent kingdoms in Southern India; the Adil Sahi kingdom of Bijapur, the Kutb Shahi kingdom of Golkanda, and the newly founded Maratha kingdom called *swaraj* held by Sivaji's son Sambhuji. The kingdom of Bijapur was overthrown by Aurangzib in 1686, and the kingdom of Golkanda in the following year. Two years later, in February, 1689, Sambhuji, the Maratha king, and his minister Kavi Kalash were captured by a Mughal general and put to death with prolonged torture by Aurangzib on March 3, 1689. Aurangzib's general, Zulfiqar Khan captured Raigarh, on October 19, 1689, and carried as prisoner to the imperial camp Sahu, the infant son of Sambhuji, then aged seven years only, and other members of the Maratha Royal family. But the execution of the king and the seizure of the capital of the kingdom did not crush the Maratha power. The Maratha chiefs who were ministers of Sambhuji, and the Maratha people, rallied round Rajaram, half-brother of Sambhuji, who had hitherto been kept in confinement, and installed him as their king, and resumed the struggle with the Mughal emperor. Henceforth the Maratha monarchy, hitherto absolute in character, became limited by the power of the ministers and officers whose offices became hereditary. The imperialists gained a signal success over the Marathas in January 1698 when Zulfiqar Khan captured the forts of Jinji, the capital of the Maratha districts in Karnataka. Then the tide turned.

While Aurangzib was engaged in reducing the Maratha forts in person, the Maratha horsemen began to overrun the imperial territories in the Deccan. The Maratha king Rajaram died in March, 1700, and the leadership of the Marathas was assumed by his widow, Rani Tara Bai, as regent of her infant son. The successes that the Marathas achieved by predatory incursions in the imperial provinces of the Deccan under the very nose of the old emperor during the last seven years of his life is thus described by the contemporary historian Khafi Khan, in whose words in English translation we shall tell the story :

"When Rajaram died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Mahrattas over the Dakhin was at an end. But Tara Bai, the elder wife made her son of three years old successor to his father, and took the reins of government into her own hands. She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six Suba of the Dakhin as far as Sirjonj, Mandisor, and the Suba of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzib up to the end of his reign, the power of the Mahrattas increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasure accumulated by Shah Jahan, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, and had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Mahrattas increased and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In imitation of the Emperor, who with his army and enterprising Amirs was staying in those distant mountains, the Commanders of Tara Bai cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kamaish-dars* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction, with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *subadars* (provincial governors), *kamaish-dars* (revenue collectors), and *rahadars* (toll-collectors).

"Their principal *subadar* is commander of the army. Whenever he hears of a large caravan, he takes six or seven thousand horse and goes to plunder it. He appoints *kamaish-dars* everywhere to collect the *chauth*, and whenever, from the resistance of the *zamindars* and *faujders*, the *kamaish-dar* is unable to levy the *chauth*, he hastens to support him, and besieges and destroys his towns, and the *rahadar* of these *evildoers* takes from small parties of merchants, who are anxious to obtain security from plunder, a toll upon every cart and bullock, three or four times greater than the amount imposed by the *faujders* of the government. This excess he shares with the corrupt *jagirdars* and *faujders*, and then leaves the road open. In every *suba* (province) he builds one or two forts, which he makes his strongholds, and ravages the country round. The *mukaddams*, or head men of the villages, with the countenance and co-operation of the infidel *subadars*, have built forts, and with aid and assistance of the Mahrattas they make terms with the royal officers as to the payment of their revenues. They attack and destroy the country as far as the

borders of Ahmadabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dakhin to the environs of Ujjain. They fall upon and plunder large caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp, and have even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure."

The six *subas* of the Mughal Empire of the Deccan in which the Marathas carried on their ravages in the reign of Rani Tara Bai were Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Bijapur, Aurangabad and Hyderabad. This account of Khafi Khan shows that during the last years of Aurangzib the Marathas triumphed over the imperial army. But what did they do in the moment of their triumph? Khafi Khan writes :

"Towards the end of the reign of Aurangzib, Rani Tara Bai, widow of Ram Raja, kept up a state of warfare with the Emperor for ten or twelve years after her husband's death. She then offered to make peace upon condition of receiving a grant of the *sardeshmukhi* of the six *subas* of the Dakhin, at the rate of nine per cent. For the honour of Islam, and for other reasons, Aurangzib rejected this proposal."

Subsequent negotiations between the imperial and the Maratha governments indicate that what Rani Tara Bai proposed was not a treaty of peace concluded on terms of equality, but she solicited a *farman* or charter granting nine per cent of the revenue of the imperial territories in the Deccan as a vassal from an overlord. After the death of Aurangzib on March 3, 1707, his son, Prince Azam Shah, who obtained possession of the imperial camp, released Sahu at the request of Zulfiqar Khan. When Sahu appeared in Maharashtra a large number of Maratha chiefs deserted Rani Tara Bai and joined him. Rani Tara Bai, unwilling to relinquish the power she had so long exercised and to renounce her infant son Sivaji III's claim to the throne, declared Sahu an imposter. A considerable number of Maratha chiefs stuck to her and there were two rival sovereign powers in the Maratha state. After the accession of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) both the parties opened negotiations with the imperial government claiming shares of the revenue of the six imperial provinces of the Deccan. According to Khafi Khan, Sahu's "vakil presented an application for a *farman* conferring on Sahu the *sardeshmukhi* and the *chauth* of the six *subas* of the Dakhin, on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land," while Tara Bai "asked for a *farman* in the name of her son, granting the nine rupees of the *sardeshmukhi*, without any reference to the *chauth*, for which

1. Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 373-75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

she would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the country." Munim Khan, the *wazir* or chief minister of Bahadur Shah, supported the application of Rani Tara Bai, but Zulfiqar Khan, the Mir Bakshi (paymaster of the troops) and Amir-ul-umara, the second minister, supported the claim of Raja Sahu. The reason for this difference was, Zulfiqar Khan, in addition to his office as second minister, also held the office of chief *subadar* or viceroy of the six subas of the Deccan the duties of which office he performed through a proxy, Daud Khan Pani. Munim Khan desired to place one of these six subas, Burhanpur, and half of the other, Berar, under his son Mahbat Khan. Zulfiqar Khan did not like that any one else should have control over any part of the Deccan. As a consequence there was ill-feeling between the two ministers. The good-natured emperor, Bahadur Shah, who tried to please both the parties, ordered *farmans* to be issued to both. But on account of differences between the two ministers they remained inoperative. Zulfiqar Khan had been the right hand man of Aurangzib in his war with the Marathas, and it was he who conquered for the Mughal emperor the Karnataka districts belonging to the Maratha kingdom, and captured Raigarh. So he understood the situation in the Deccan, the relative strength of the imperialists and the Marathas, and of the two opposing Maratha parties, better than anybody else in the court of Delhi. He therefore instructed his deputy there, Daud Khan Pani, to conclude an agreement with Raja Sahu independently. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan* thus defines the terms of the agreement :

"That in addition to the abovementioned title to *sardeshmukhi*, a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country, should be their property, while the other three-fourths should be paid into the royal exchequer. This system of division was accordingly put in practice, but no regular deed granting the fourth share, which in the dialect of the Dakhin is called *chauth*, was delivered to the Mahrattas."³

The terms of Daud Khan's agreement and its consequence are thus described by Khafi Khan :

"In the time of Daud Khan, while he was acting as deputy of Zul-i-fikar Khan, a treaty and friendly agreement was made between him and the enemy, in which it was stipulated that the jagirs of the princes and Daud Khan should not be molested; but that as regards the remaining tenures of the great nobles, Daud Khan's Deputy, Hiranman, should arrange for the payment of the *chauth*. Caravans were not to be molested. So they simmered together like milk and sugar, and matters went on without hitch or evasion."⁴

Farrukhsiyar, on his accession to the imperial throne in January, 1713, appointed Chin Qilich Khan chief subadar or viceroy of the six subas of the Deccan with the title Nizam-ul-mulk Bahadur Fath Jang. When Nizam-ul-mulk reached Aurangabad he found the Maratha officers engaged in collecting their share of the revenue of the Mughal provinces. Khafi Khan writes :

"Nizam-ul-mulk's pride was too great to submit to this, and he was desirous of preventing the collection of *chauth*, and specially in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. He wrote orders to the *faujdar*s and *zildar*s, directing them to oust the *kamaish-dars* of Raja Sahu from several places dependent on Aurangabad."⁵

This led to war with the Marathas. According to Khafi Khan, in the engagement that followed, the Nizam-ul-mulk's army were uniformly successful, and they destroyed the forts that the Marathas had built in different parts of the country as places of refuge. After a year and a half, in 1715, he was recalled, and Saiyad Husain Ali Khan the Mir Bakshi (paymaster of the troops) and Amir-ul-umara, came out as the viceroy, Farrukhsiyar and his favourite advisers who wanted to overthrow Saiyad Husain Ali, instigated Daud Khan Pani, the subadar of Burhanpur, to offer opposition to him, promising him the appointment of the chief subadar of the Deccan if he succeeded in defeating and slaying the former. When Saiyad Husain Ali Khan neared Burhanpur, Daud Khan Pani issued out of the city to offer opposition to his advance, and was defeated and slain. The state of affairs that the new subadar of the Deccan witnessed on reaching Aurangabad is thus described by Khafi Khan :

"There he heard of the doings of Khandu Daphariya, (Khande Rao Dhabare) general-in-chief (*senapati*) of Raja Sahu. In each of the two *subas* of the Dakhin, a Mahratta chief was appointed *subadar* for the collection of the Mahratta *chauth*, in the same way as Imperial *subadars* were appointed. Khandu held the *suba* of Khandesh. On the road to the port of Surat he had built a mud fort and placed a garrison in it. All caravans that passed were required to pay the *chauth*, i.e., a fourth part of the value of the property of merchants and others which was in the convoy. If they agreed to pay, they passed safe; if not, they were plundered, the men were made prisoners, and were not released until a ransom was paid for each."⁶

Saiyad Husain Ali Khan, like his predecessor, could not tolerate this sort of double government and decided to continue the war with the Marathas. The first army sent by him under his *bakshi*, Zulfiqar Beg, was destroyed by

3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII, p. 260.

4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 466.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 450-1.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 462-3.

Khande Rao. Then Saiyad Husan Ali Khan despatched another army under his Dewan, Raja Muhakkim Singh with his brother Saifuddin Ali Khan as second in command, against Khande Rao. Khafi Khan writes :

"These two famous chiefs pursued Khandu, in the hope of retaliating upon him, or of removing his posts so that they might no longer trouble the country and people of Khandesh. But they accomplished nothing. Khandu bided his time, and went to Raja Sahu, who was in a secure fortress. His garrisons, which were posted in various places, held their ground. Whenever the army of *Amir-ul-unwara* approached, their force fled, and as soon as it had departed, they returned and re-occupied their positions. Muhakkim Singh succeeded in engaging some other Mahratta forces which were plundering in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar, and drove them under the walls of the fort of Suttara. They were, however, unable to exact revenge from Khandu for the death of Zu-l-fikar Beg, and the destruction of his army."

When his army was engaged in these difficult operations, Husain Ali Khan was discouraged by the news that the emperor had sent *farmans* to Raja Sahu to offer opposition to the subadar. Khafi Khan writes :

"The fact of the disagreement between the Emperor and the Saiyids was well-known from the *farmans* and orders which had been sent secretly to Raja Sahu, the *diwans* and the chief *zamindars* of Karnataka, desiring them not to obey Hussain Ali Khan. They had accordingly showed resistance, and no settlement of Bijapur and Haidarabad had been effected."

Under these circumstances Husain Ali Khan thought it wiser to fall back upon the policy of Zulfiqar Khan and come to terms with the Maratha king Sahu. The story of how this agreement was concluded is thus stated by Khafi Khan :

"Two or three years of Hussain Ali Khan's government passed in quarrels with the Emperor, so that, although he raised a large army, he could not show the vigour that was necessary, nor effect such a settlement as he himself desired and the character of the Saiyids of Barha required. In the year 1130 A.H. (1718 A.D.), acting upon the advice of Anwar Khan, one of the *shaikh-zadas* of Burhanpur, who were patronized by the Saiyids, and upon the counsel of other trusted nobles, he availed himself of the services of a Brahman named Sankarji. This man had been one of the principal servants of Sivaji and Sambhuji, and in their confidence. After the conquest of Jinji, he entered the Imperial service and acted as vakil of these Mahratta chiefs who had submitted and of some who had not. He was not wanting in the intelligence which is helped by fortune.

"Through Balaji Bishwanath and Jannaji, *brahmans*, and most intelligent generals of Raja Sahu, a proposal of peace was made on these terms. There was to be paid to the officers of Raja Sahu, a fourth part of what the *amins*, *kroris* and *shikkdars* collected as land revenue, and as *sair* from the government lands

and from the *jagirdars*. It was also settled that, in addition to the fourth share which they were to get from the receipts of the *jagirdars*, they were to receive from the *rayats* ten per cent. as *sardeshmukhi*. Altogether, they were to receive thirty-five per cent. upon the total collections, (and also) upon the *abwabs* called *jaujari*, *shikkdari ziyafat*, and other charges, as shown in the gross account of the collections. According to this account, they were to receive nearly half the total revenue recorded in the Government rent-roll, and (the collections) were thus shared by the domineering collectors of Raja Sahu.

"Husain Ali delivered a sanad containing the conditions of peace, under his seal, to the vakils of Raja Sahu, and made no delay in writing for a royal *farman* confirmatory of this document. He introduced the agents of Raja Sahu everywhere, and he settled that Balaji Bishwanath and Jannaji, two of the highest officers of Raja Sahu, should stay with a suitable escort in Aurangabad as deputy and vakil of the Raja, so that all civil and revenue matters might be settled through them."

After settling the terms of the agreement Husain Ali Khan sent it to the Emperor for ratification and for the issue of necessary *farman*, Khafi Khan writes,

"Hussain Ali Khan's letter communicating the terms of the peace, and asking for confirmatory *farman*, reached the Emperor. Several well-wishers of the state urged that it was not well to admit the vile enemy to be overbearing partners in matters of revenue and government. So Farrukh Siyar rejected the treaty."

The refusal of Farrukhsiyar to ratify the agreement concluded by Husain Ali with Raja Sahu was a blow to the prestige of the subadar, and it opened the eyes of the latter to the fact that his breach with the emperor was complete. His elder brother, Saiyad Abdullah Khan, the Wazir of Farrukhsiyar, had also written to him repeatedly that as the emperor was planning and plotting for his assassination, Husain Ali Khan should proceed to Delhi with his troops to save his life and possessions. Saiyad Husain Ali Khan set out for Delhi from Aurangabad in November, 1718, with nearly 16,000 Marathas under the command of Balaji Visvanath, the Peshwa or chief minister, and Khande Rao Dhabare, the *Senapati*, commander-in-chief, of Raja Sahu. The combined army reached Delhi in February, 1719, and Farrukhsiyar was deposed on the 28th February (later on put to death) and Rafi-ud-Darjat, another grandson of Bahadur Shah, was placed on the Imperial throne. The short reign of Rafi-ud-Darajat, lasting for three months and few days only, is rendered memorable by the grant of three *farmans* to the Maratha Raja Sahu. The first, dated 13th March, 1719, granted him one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *subas* of the Deccan

7. *Ibid.*, p. 464.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 464.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 466-68.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 468.

including the tributary States of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Mysore; the second *farman*, dated 24th March, 1719, granted *sardeshmukhi* or ten per cent of the revenue in addition; and a third *farman* confirmed the possession of *swaraj* or independent state founded by Sivaji excluding the Karnataka districts annexed to the Moghul empire by Aurangzib.¹¹

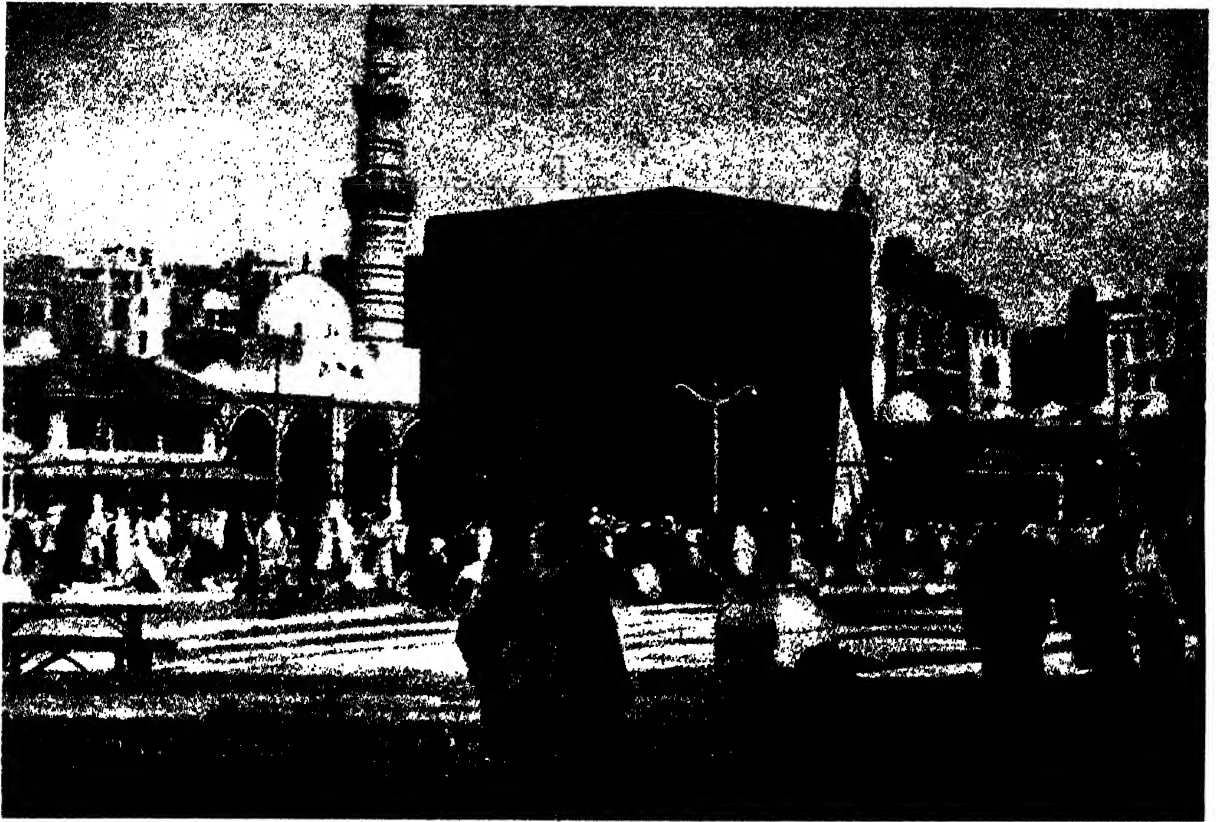
The reasons that led Saiyad Husain Ali Khan to conclude the agreement with Raja Sahu on the basis of which the *farmans* were granted are clearly explained by the historian Khafi Khan in the extracts we have given above. But why the Marathas, after successfully carrying on war with the imperialists in the Deccan for over a quarter of a century, instead of concluding a treaty of peace on terms of equality, assumed the humbler role of supplicants is not apparent. The Marathas established their claims to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* by force of arms, and as victor in war they were entitled to claim these assignments as tribute. Still more strange is the acceptance of a *farman* confirming the possession of Sivaji's *swaraj* or independent kingdom. By these unusual transactions what the Marathas did was not the acceptance of the position of a vassal state of the empire in the ordinary sense of the term, but they acceded to an union of states of equal rank with the Mughal Badshah as its bond of union.

Why did the Marathas do so? Why did they, while imposing on the Mughal emperor the *de facto* position of a tributary, themselves accepted the *de jure* position of subjects? The simple answer to this question is, the Marathas did so out of regard for the high prestige of the occupant of the Mughal imperial throne. The great Mughal emperors, by conquering the whole sub-continent of India, not only greatly expanded their heritage, but fulfilled a supreme political necessity. Within the vast area of India, which is as large as Europe without Russia, there are no lofty mountains like the Alps and the Pyrenees that may serve as natural boundaries of independent kingdoms. Therefore, the existence of a number of absolutely independent states in India has ever been a source of internal wars, and weakened India's powers of resistance to foreign invaders. The

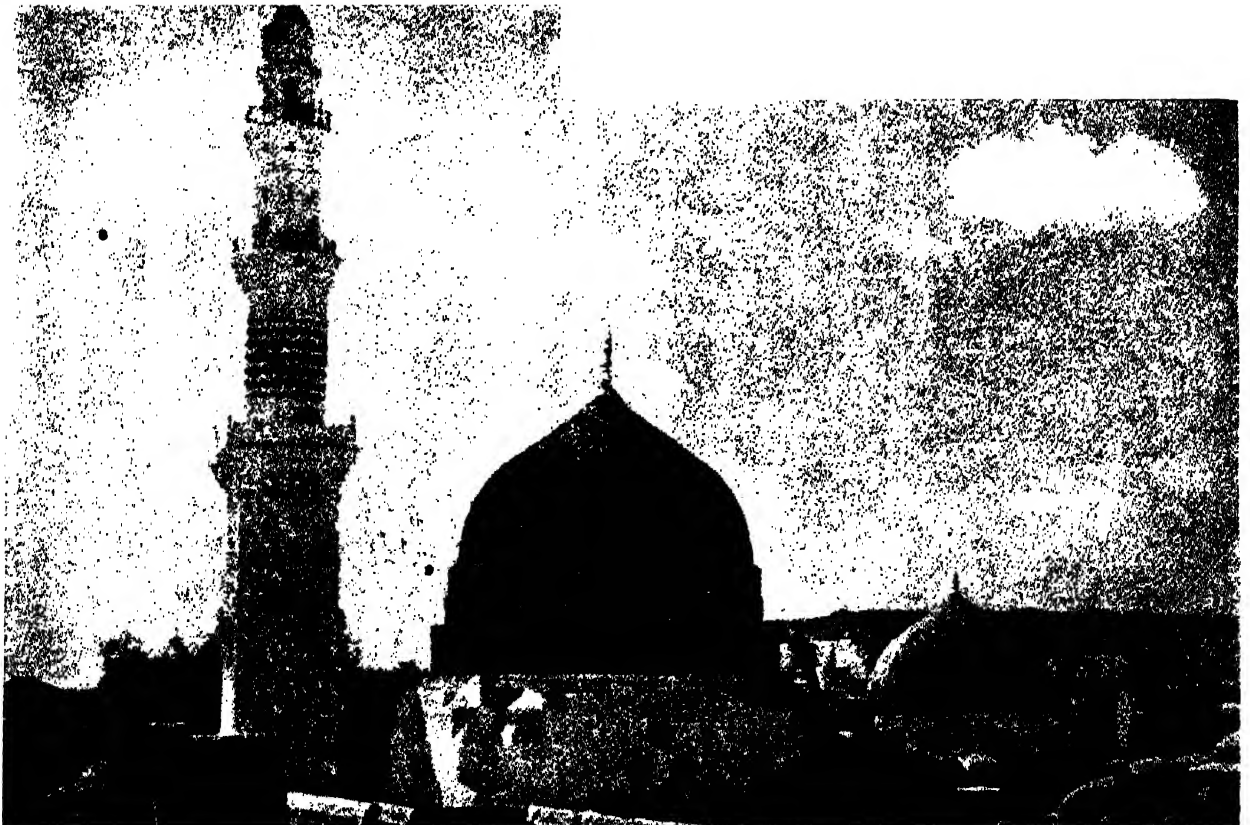
geography of India teaches the political lesson that the only means of securing internal peace and safety from aggression by external enemies in a country like India is the establishment of an empire or a political union embracing the whole country. In the historical period the Maurya emperor Asoka was probably the first to organize such an union. But the means he adopted for this purpose was not *vijaya* in the ordinary sense except in the case of Kalinga, conquest by force, but *dharmavijaya*, conquest by disseminating rules of good conduct. The first ruler of Northern India who succeeded in conquering the whole of Southern India as far as the kingdom of Pandyas in the extreme south (with Madura as the capital) was Sultan Alaaddin Khelji (1296-1316). Within twenty years of his death his empire began to fall to pieces. Then followed all-round disintegration and division and subdivision of kingdoms and empires and chronic wars and revolts lasting for over two centuries (seriously aggravated by the invasion of Timur in 1398) till Akbar began to reunite into a single empire nearly the dozen independent Muhammadan states that had sprung up on the ruins of the first Muhammadan empire of Delhi. This work of reunion that must have been welcomed by all classes of people except the deposed dynasts proceeded uninterruptedly for a century and a half and inspired the people with a faith in the prestige of house of Timur that long survived the collapse of the military power that created and maintained it in the period of its birth and growth. It was this faith in the Mughal empire, not as an ordinary empire based on force, but as an union of free states that induced the Marathas, while imposing humiliating terms on the emperor, to humiliate themselves by accepting the position of vassals of the empire in the moment of their triumph. The East India Company followed the same course in their own way in the second half of the eighteenth century. Consciously these powers did so out of regard for the house of Timur; but unconsciously they followed the direction of the geography and the history of India.

[This is the last article from the pen of the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, written specially for *The Modern Review*, just before his untimely demise.—Ed., M. R.]

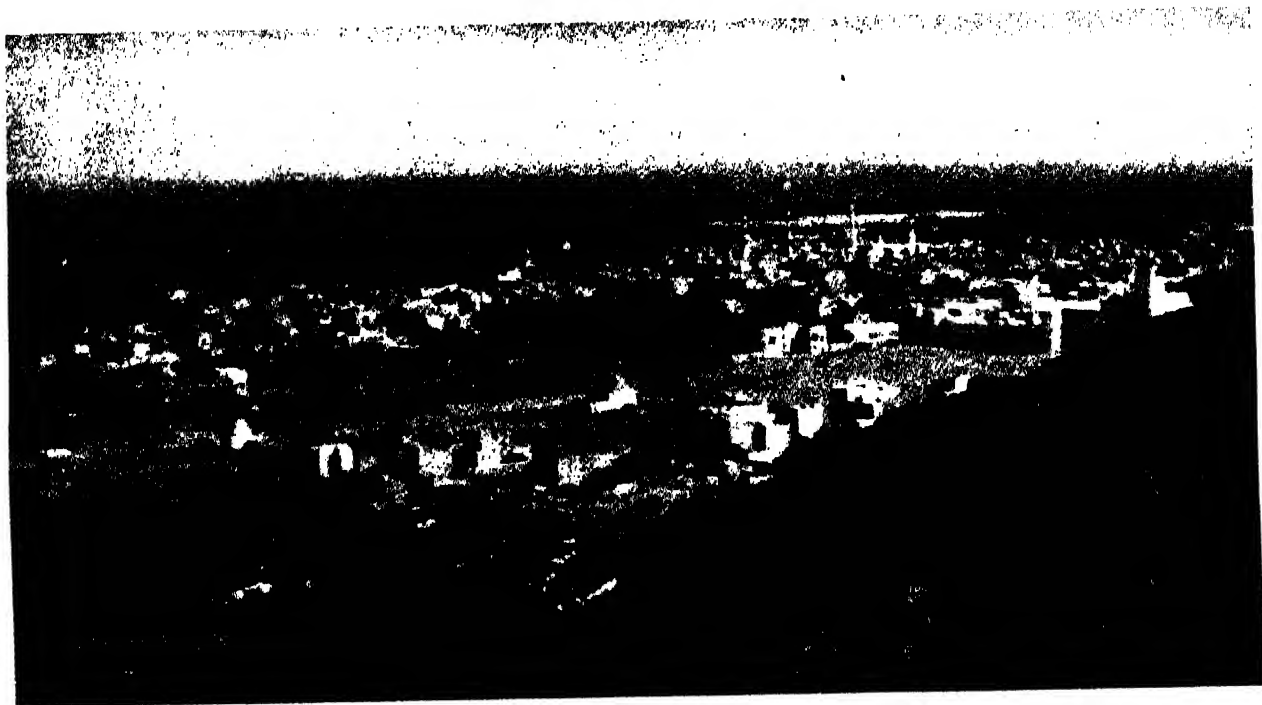
11. William Irvine : *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 407.



Mecca. The sacred enclosure



Medina. The Great Mosque over the tomb of the Prophet



The city of Medina



Inside the Great Mosque in Medina



FORCES BEHIND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE history of development of modern industries in India is a very interesting study. It is the story of a powerful nation, while trying to enlarge its trade in the domain of the conquered people, adopting every conceivable means to cripple the once flourishing industries of the latter and at the same time blocking the way of possible regeneration. It is a long tale of greed combined with a thirst for power and domination. Any one interested in getting a picture of the whole course of events is requested to read, amongst others, Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industry* and R. C. Dutt's *Economic History of India*, two volumes.

If India has been able to make any headway in the field of large-scale industries, it is through the ingenuity of her industrialists backed by the popular will. The Government of India instead of taking the initiative in industrial planning, helping by investment, subsidy or guarantee, played the part of an onlooker, not quite disinterested. There was a case of 'guarantee' to Railways, a guarantee of profit to foreign investors in this country and the result was disastrous to the Indian public finance. Protection came rather late and not before the country has awaited for it for a century.

The revival of the modern large-scale industries dates back to the second decade of the nineteenth century. It is remarkable that the pioneering attempts were made by the Britishers with ample financial resources. Due to dearth of experience and special knowledge and of efficient labour every attempt was fraught with the danger of early extinction. Foreign imports wielded a baneful influence and there was no chance of receiving Government help in any shape or form. The attitude of the Government was openly against Indian aspirations. The pioneers groped in the dark on the mere expectation of finding a ray of light someday somewhere.

Of the manufacturing industries Cotton deservedly received the first attention in 1818 with Iron following in 1830. The year 1838 saw the first loom bringing out cotton textile followed by jute yarn mill in 1851. Gradually, railway (1854), copper smelting plant (1857),

pottery (1859), paper mill (1874), cement (1879) made their appearance one after the other. Almost at the close of the century two others, viz., glass (1892) and match (1894-95) were started making a good setting for the major industries.

Before leaving the topic of pioneering attempts, it is desirable to take notice of two other large-scale industries even though they may not be concerned with 'manufacture' in the strictest sense of the term. Actual mining of coal commenced in 1814 though it was established beyond any shadow of doubt in 1774 that India had possessed a vast quantity of marketable coal. Similarly, the tea industry came out of the fluid state of speculations and possibilities in 1836 when plantation on a large scale began in a methodical fashion.

People were not satisfied with the progress made so far and signs were manifest that everyone interested in the welfare of the country wanted to accelerate the pace and to cover new fields of industrial activities. The new century saw the birth of a big chemical concern in Calcutta in 1901-2. The first hydro-electric scheme was initiated in Mysore in 1902 to be followed by others throughout India. In 1904, Madras produced the first barrel of cement, after 25 years of struggle, which with others has, in the fullness of time, been able to reduce import of the article to a negligible quantity.

The time was extremely propitious for further industrialisation. Political agitation during this period assumed different tactics to attain its object. Hitherto the chief programme was to criticise the Government administration and to appeal to the good sense of the Britishers for the redress of various grievances. The nation was just thinking seriously whether political movements should not be directed to other channels. At this crucial moment Lord Curzon announced the Partition of Bengal. It gave the politicians a good cause for intensifying the campaign by appealing to the sentiment of the people of Bengal for such action as might force the British Government to undo the mischief.

This started the idea of direct action.

The movement was more or less limited within the boundaries of Bengal, though sym-

pathy was not wanting for the cause in other parts of India. It was decided to boycott British goods as far as possible and to get substitutes for them from our own manufacture. The movement came to be known as 'the Swadeshi Movement' because of the spirit of Swadeshi that it inculcated into the hearts of the people. The 'settled fact' was subsequently unsettled, all credit to the intensity and novelty of the movement. It suddenly brought before the public eye the vast possibilities of Indian industries. Bengal discovered her inner self. This is the first taste of a new line of action and here on a political field industry received benefits far greater than what capital could bestow. Industrial units dealing with textile, hosiery, match, sugar, toilet, soap, leather, tanning, pottery, glass, enamel, stationery, bank, insurance, etc., came like a welcome shower and made the earth suitable for sprouting of new shoots. Surely most of the original business organisations could not be saved by volatile public support but it broke the ice making others to go forward with better confidence regarding the future. This movement helped to create a taste for swadeshi goods even if they were inferior to foreign goods in finish and dearer in price. The hopes then entertained of indigenous products being superior, at a lesser cost, to their foreign competitors in some future date have not been belied.

In all-India the spirit of Swadeshi movement in Bengal was not lost. During 1906 and 1910 no less than 66 cotton mills came into existence. The Government became nervous, firstly because of the agitation leaving the beaten track and taking up an aggressive form, and secondly, of its possibility in giving a fillip to the Indian industries to the extent of their becoming rival to British industrial units. The real cause of opposition to this movement was manifest even on the surface because all attempts at preaching swadeshi was dealt with as severely as the other political offences. Anti-swadeshi circulars came in torrents only to betray the weakness of the rulers.

The largest industrial concern in India, an Iron & Steel Co., was organised in 1908 which produced pig iron in 1911 and steel in 1912.

The next stimulus came through unforeseen circumstances. The Great War of 1914-18 disclosed both before the public and the Government the helpless position that India was in with regard to industrial products even of daily use. As the War advanced more and more in intensity and duration the Indian industrialists tried to meet the peculiar situation with the equipment and resources that they could muster. It was

an uphill task which they faced bravely and with commendable success. The Government was found to be lacking in sympathy. After Germany's submarine warfare had been controlled and supply from Britain had become more regular the claim of Indian enterprises for the supply of war materials was completely ignored; all goods, as far as possible being obtained from the United Kingdom or other foreign countries.

Non-Co-operation Movement was another phase in the development of Indian Industries. It was, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, not restricted to any province of India but engulfed the whole of it. In the background there was the idea of self-sufficiency and of non-co-operation with foreign manufacturers and traders by eschewing their articles as far as possible. No one, who has denied all co-operation with the foreigners in the field of administration, judiciary, legislature, even in the self-government institutions, could possibly help the same group in exploiting the financial resources of the country by selling their goods in Indian markets.

The effect was tremendous. In those days trade in foreign textiles was the single biggest item in the list of imports. Cotton manufactures of the value of Rs. 89 crores entered into India while the movement started. It came to Rs. 45 crores only, i.e., a decline of Rs. 44 crores in a single year. The total imports fell by Rs. 70 crores from 1920-21 to 1921-22 i.e., from Rs. 336 crores to Rs. 266 crores. No less than 84 new cotton textile mills came into being during this period.

In the meantime, through the introduction of administrative reforms a very great chance came into the aid of big industries in the form of 'Protection' or discriminatory tariff on imports. There had been a persistent cry for such a measure for years past which had failed to produce any effect. The Fiscal Autonomy Convention of 1919 afforded the long-needed opportunity and clamour for protection was raised with greater force. The Indian Fiscal Commission was constituted in March 1921 and laid down that any industry claiming for protection should fulfil the following conditions :

(i) The supply of raw material should be abundant; labour, cheap power and the home market must be sufficient for the purpose; (ii) that such industry could not grow without the help of protection; and (iii) the industry will ultimately be able to meet foreign competition without protection.

To enquire into the merits of the applications from several industries as to the eligibility for protection the Indian Tariff Board came into existence in 1923 and began work in right earnest. It is needless to say that but for this

measure many of the large-scale industries in India, such as Iron & Steel, Sugar, Paper, Match, Hosiery, Textile (to a certain extent) and a few others, could not show such promise as they have been able to do in future years.

The Civil Disobedience Movement is another phase of political agitation that has helped in the progress of indigencous industries. In subtlety of its working it left its predecessors far behind. Salt was there in abundance in land and water in India. The Indians could not manufacture it without the permission of the Government. The leader of political thought, Mahatma Gandhi, launched the movement with the object of wresting from the Government the right of salt manufacture for the common people. For its comparative cheapness people became used to buying salt, imported or manufactured with Government license under heavy excise duty. But the new movement presented itself in another perspective. Through severe repression, sometimes resulting in death, people took it as Government's resistance to the manufacture of a simple object of daily use which might be collected free or at a nominal cost. For the very simple reason that it affected the poor man more than anybody else, the movement percolated even to the stratum of the most unsophisticated part of the population and assumed immense proportions.

Add to this the "great depression" that crept into the world trade and find the import of foreign articles fall from Rs. 241 crores in 1929 to Rs. 165 crores in 1930-31. The import of cotton manufactures again became the most hard-hit item. In 1929-30 it was Rs. 53.49 crores which dwindled to Rs. 22.17 crores in 1930-31. The difference in the present case with the Non-Co-operation Movement was that while the effervescence of 1920-21 passed away without leaving a serious mark behind and allowed recuperation of textile imports, the Civil Disobedience Movement dealt a blow from the effects of which it never recovered.

There were other reasons behind it. By this time some of the industries had established themselves on a firm basis and were capable of mass production. Not very many new lines were attempted but the industrialists exerted all their energy to put the house in order. The civil turmoil interfered with the normal working of the factories and combined with the effects of depression then prevailing, the industrial outlook was on the whole very gloomy. Yet the movement did not fail to infuse courage into the hearts of the Indian people which during the following years did not fail to produce beneficial results.

The Greatest War that the world has ever witnessed opened out new opportunities to the Indians and it is too early to assess the total value of such help. Britain is seriously trying to keep her own workshops free to equip her soldiers scattered over a wide field in Europe and elsewhere barring the Middle and the Far East. It is her desire to find war supplies for these areas from India. New methods are being adopted by them to increase production by increasing the efficiency of the workers. Boys named after Bevin, the Labour Member of the British Cabinet, are being taken to England at Government expense to work in modern factories and become conversant with the new method of production. Large factories have been entrusted with Government contracts and facilities have been provided to them for smooth working. Such measures breed confidence in the capacity for production. There is another side of the shield. Imports of materials have been severely curtailed, sometimes without proper justification, thereby seriously affecting those industries which depend upon foreign materials either raw or half finished for their working. Tools, machinery, war metals, electricity and all other agencies that might give a start to new industries are under control. These act as a serious impediment to all industries except those busy in war production. The outlook of the Britishers has not changed. They are conceding under great pressure what they cannot obstruct. Ship, aircraft, motor car, armaments are big industries which they will not allow us to build. The situation is intolerable.

But along with the war a new movement is slowly working in India and this may finally release her from all shackles. The Grady Commission from America is going far ahead of the Eastern Group Council. The signs are favourable inasmuch as America is promising help in the shape of machineries and is encouraging new industries that have been opposed by the Government of India so far. The case of power alcohol is a case in point. Suggestions regarding regrouping of industries have been made with a view to multiply production. They have deplored the industrial equipment of India. The type and number of machinery for a vast country like India is quite insufficient even for peace time requirements. American experts and improved machineries will be seen on Indian soil if the war continues longer. American journals have become very outspoken in criticising British industrial policy in India. According to them, Britain has encouraged India to export the same articles—exclusively raw materials, for

the last two hundred years. India's raw materials are proverbially rich in quantity, quality and variety and with proper encouragement and guidance she would have occupied the foremost place in supplying finished goods to the world. India's iron ore deposits are superior in quality to U. S. A.'s with as much as three-fourths of the total reserve of that country. Yet India produces only one per cent. of the total steel production of the world. The position is extremely embarrassing to the rulers and ruling classes of India. They have been thoroughly exposed by their first cousins. They cannot be termed 'irresponsible Indian political agitators and propagandists'. American tone is sympathetic and if it is followed by sincere efforts even after the termination of the war then we may look for better days and for the rightful place for India amongst the industrially advanced nations of the world.

But grave suspicion is lurking in Indian minds. Dr. Grady has attacked "too much" protection to Indian industries in Bombay (the 11th of May 1942). Nobody is enamoured of "too much" protection but there must be some caution before it is finally removed. The other matter, in Dr. Grady's language, is :

"The whole idea of Lend Lease is a form of credit and barter by which the United States give something immediately and then would get paid each in commodities after the war."

It is a leap in the dark. We must not mortgage our future production indefinitely in the hope of immediate gain. It is not unreasonable to think that America is more interested with the immediate object of war production and her suggestions regarding post war arrangement are more towards international commerce with India just a buying nation. We should be free in exercising our judgment in any 'Lend Lease' affair and shall not surely change British masters for the American in paying raw materials for finished goods—the manufactures of the United States.

If the United States' deal with India is fair and reasonable it may be that the greatest factor in the development of Indian industries has presented itself at our door quite unexpectedly and without much effort on our part. Let us hope this war will liberate India from all bondage, political and economic and give her ample opportunities for developing her full stature in philosophy, art, literature, industries, etc.

EXCHANGE CONTROL IN INDIA

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MEANING OF EXCHANGE CONTROL

THE subject of foreign exchange is a fascinating one to those who have understood it and bewildering one to those who are to be initiated into it. While necessarily it has an elaborate structure, the basic framework of exchange control is simple. Foreign exchange is a system by which commercial nations discharge their debts to each other, that is, it is a process of accounting. Foreign exchange control is a means of correcting an adverse balance of payments.

Normal methods of equilibrating the exchanges have broken down in recent years on account of the dislocation and falling off in international trade, the frequent fluctuations of the foreign exchanges and the disturbance of exchange mechanism by war debts, reparation payments and the withdrawals of capital due to causes other than interest differentials. As a

result a variety of extraordinary methods, of which exchange control is one, have been adopted in order to achieve a balance of international payments. The chief object of the imposition of the exchange control was the prevention of large-scale withdrawals of capital in the international liquidity crisis of 1931.

A country's sources of supply of foreign exchange are :

(a) Merchandise exports, (b) Gold movements, (c) Tourists, (d) Interests and dividends, (e) New issues of securities, (f) Purchases and sales of securities and (g) Other sources.

Its sources of demand are :

(a) Merchandise imports, (b) Tourists, (c) Interest and dividends, (d) Retirement of securities, (e) Net balance from direct investments, (f) Purchases and sales of securities and (g) Other sources.

Leaving aside a consideration of gold movements, it is apparent that foreign exchange

surpluses from the merchandise and tourist trade are needed to meet the net demands for redeeming foreign held securities, for paying interest and dividends and for making current and capital remittances on account of branch and subsidiary concerns controlled outside the country.

ITS INCREASING IMPORTANCE IN WAR TIME

While these questions form the basis of the peace time exchange problem, they are certain to be rendered acute by the impact of the war. Many markets might be closed to our goods and our imports of many materials essential in war would certainly increase. The flow of tourists from outside might be checked and remittance of dividends and capital abroad might be greater. Also, in peace time, it is not necessarily important in the long run whether there is a debit or credit balance of exchange with any particular country since foreign funds can be traded on the market. Thus, if India has a surplus of sterling and a shortage of U. S. dollars, the former could be sold, directly or indirectly to those who have U. S. dollars and need sterling. Many transactions involving several currencies might be needed before the switch is completed. Exchange restrictions and international barter arrangements have reduced the opportunities for doing this sort of thing in recent years, but such trades are the basis of most of India's foreign exchange dealings. War conditions, however, have placed further drastic restrictions on the exchange markets, and the size of our trade balances with individual countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, becomes of extreme importance. The main idea of foreign exchange control in war time is to see that no large amount of foreign exchange would be paid out when the country derives no benefit as a result. Successful prosecution of war demands that we should choose, for example, to buy an aeroplane from California in preference to permitting a few Indians to take their families to Santa Barbara for the winter. In a word, when a country goes to war, its stocks of foreign exchange are likely to dwindle rapidly unless they are husbanded by a fair and equitable system of control.

ADMINISTRATION OF CONTROL

In pursuance of Part XIV of the Defence of India Rules issued under the Defence of India Act, 1939, the control of all dealings in India in foreign exchange, gold and securities, has been provided for by the Government of India and is in accordance with that introduced in the

United Kingdom. The Reserve Bank of India is entrusted with the task of administering the control. As the work involved is considerable and very technical a new exchange control department has been set up to deal with it. This department came into existence shortly after the outbreak of war. While the general policy to be adopted in the control of the exchange is laid down by the Government of India, the execution of this policy and the issue of regulations which have to be drawn up to suit India's needs and requirements is done by the Exchange Control Department through the medium of Circulars and Instructions to authorised dealers in foreign exchange.

AUTHORISED DEALERS

Rule 91 of Part XIV of the Defence of India Rules prohibits the acquisition by residents in India of any foreign exchange either directly or indirectly as also any dealings in foreign exchange or gold except with persons authorised by the Reserve Bank of India, but provides that transactions done by persons so authorised within the scope of their authority are not restricted. The first action of the Reserve Bank on the outbreak of war was, therefore, to appoint authorised dealers. The Bank has issued licenses to deal in foreign exchange to all recognised banks and to those scheduled banks which are engaged in foreign exchange dealings.

STERLING AND NON-STERLING AREA

Our entire foreign exchange transactions are brought under three heads, *viz.*,—sterling, dollar and "hard currency" area. For the purposes of exchange control, the Empire is regarded as a single currency unit permitting free transfers of funds therein. But parallel restrictions on conversions into outside currencies are imposed in each Empire country. This single currency area is called sterling area. It includes all Empire countries except Canada, Newfoundland, Hongkong, and also the mandated territories, Egypt and Iraq. As a result of war developments, the Belgium Congo, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Free French territories and Iran have been brought within its scope.

Notices issued to banks authorised to deal in foreign exchange clearly lay down that no remittances can be made to any country outside the sterling area unless the remitter completes an application form stating the purposes for which the remittance is required. That is, exchange control is enforced only in the cases of dollar and "hard currency" system. A word of explanation is needed as to what we mean by

"hard currency." It refers to those currencies which are freely convertible into U. S. dollars. Formerly, Switzerland, Netherlands and Belgium were known as "hard currency" countries. As now both Netherlands and Belgium are enemy occupied territories, the currency of Switzerland alone is called as such.

DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Purposes for which remittances are made are divided into five categories :—(i) Payment of Imports, (ii) Petty private remittances, (iii) Travelling expenses, (iv) other trade purposes (e.g., freight, profits and royalties, etc.) (v) capital remittances.

IMPORT CONTROL

Authorised dealers are permitted to sell exchange for payment of imports provided the applicant undertakes to produce customs entry forms as evidence that the goods had been imported into India. Banks are still permitted to enter into forward contracts but they are required to satisfy themselves that they are in cover of genuine trade transactions. By these regulations it is ensured that foreign exchange is only sold for finance of trade.

In order to minimise the demand for foreign exchange for the purpose of payment of imports, steps have been taken to restrict drastically the importation of considerable range of commodities.

Import control was first introduced in May, 1940. It was then confined to luxury and non-essential articles which could easily be dispensed with by the consuming public. As the control imposed was not sufficiently effective, additional articles were subjected to restriction in May, 1941. While these restrictions resulted in some saving in the utilisation of dollar resources, it was not large enough to meet the stringent situation which had arisen. As the need for husbanding our dollar resources to pay for supplies essential for war effort was felt, it became necessary to extend control to imports of machinery and other industrial requirements. This was also necessitated by the fact that demand for such supplies was on the up-grade in the countries themselves and export restrictions were also being enforced.

Since the passing of Lease and Lend Act in America, Indian purchases, both Government and private, of certain essential goods are based to the maximum extent possible on this new arrangement. This involves inter-Governmental dealing. Before issuing a license for importation of such goods in the ordinary way, it is taken into consideration whether or not the

transaction should be converted into an inter-Governmental one. We are faced with problem not only of controlling the flow of imports in order to employ India's foreign exchange resources in the most useful way, but also of securing essential supplies from the only source open to us. With a view to ensure that the control is operated with justice to conflicting claims, as supplies are not likely to be unlimited, and to facilitate the work of granting import licenses in regard to such goods, the Government of India has created a Central organisation with a Chief Controller of Imports as its head, and Deputy Chief Controller, a Technical Adviser, a Statistical Officer and necessary staff to assist him. This organisation will be aided by a small advisory committee.

REMITTANCE FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Authorised dealers are permitted to sell exchange for (ii) petty private remittances and (iii) travelling expenses up to a certain limit, but applications for exceptionally large amounts have to be referred for prior approval to the nearest office of the Reserve Bank. Foreign exchange for travelling purposes is refused except for urgent business or to persons on Government business. Foreign exchange for (iv) other trade purposes (e.g., freights, profits, etc.) is made available provided certificates from Chartered Accountants or other suitable evidence are submitted by the applicant. Sales of exchange for (v) capital remittances are allowed only in exceptional circumstances.

All these regulations aim at, firstly, minimising demand for foreign exchange, secondly, preventing any flight of capital and thirdly, making speculative or arbitrage operations in exchange impossible.

EXPORT CONTROL

An important function of the exchange control department is to regulate and control our export trade so that the maximum amount of foreign exchange is obtained. The Export control scheme aims at ensuring, firstly, that proceeds of exports from India to places outside the sterling area are returned to India and not retained abroad, and secondly, that exports are financed in certain specified ways, so that the maximum exchange value is obtained.

Circumstances leading to the imposition of export control may be stated briefly. The Bank of England had fixed rates at which it was prepared to buy and sell various foreign currencies. Its rates, however, were only applicable to dealings in the United Kingdom, and in Empire

countries. Operations in New York and other outside markets were not restricted. The rates in the outside markets for sterling, known as the "free market," fluctuated widely being influenced as much by political conditions as monetary trends. As a result, sterling there was quoted at a discount. Owing to this discount on sterling in New York, it proved to be of greater advantage to sell Empire exports to U. S. A. or to other "hard currency" countries on a sterling basis than it was to sell the goods on a foreign currency basis. For the foreign importer was in a position to buy his sterling cheaply to pay for his imports in the "free" sterling market. India took advantage of this difference in rates and consequently, the bulk of Indian shipments to U. S. A. for the first few months of the war was financed through the medium of sterling bills on London. The extent of depreciation of the sterling rate in the "free" market can be gauged from the fact that at one stage the sterling quotation in New York fell to 3.20 against the official rate of 4.03½, the difference being as much as 20%.

With a view to stop this loss of foreign exchange caused by the finance of Empire countries in "free" sterling, the Bank of England introduced at the end of March, 1940, an export control scheme. This scheme disallowed the export of certain commodities to "hard currency" countries unless the shipper produced satisfactory evidence that he was receiving "hard currency" and not "free" sterling for shipment. Similar restrictions were enforced by other Empire Control Boards. The Export Control Scheme in India initially covered exports of Jute and Rubber to U. S. A., Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland only. But subsequently it has been extended to include all commodities exported from India to nearly all countries in the world with the exception of enemy-occupied territories and those adjacent to India where the absence of banking facilities does not permit trade to be financed through the medium of banks. This system works through the Customs and the banks by means of forms which the shipper has to complete stating the value of his shipment and his method of finance. Unless a copy of this form is handed over to the Customs, the shipments are not permitted. The form is then forwarded to the Reserve Bank. The other copies of this form are delivered by the shipper to his bankers at the time of negotiation of his bills covering the export. These are also forwarded to the Reserve Bank for scrutiny. By this elaborate procedure all shipments can be accounted for.

The commodity trade has been the greatest supplier of foreign exchange, the greatest source of demand and one of the largest providers of a surplus to cover shortages elsewhere. The licenses of export and import of goods and for the purchase and sale of exchange in connection with them, the usual insistence on exports receiving payment in foreign funds, the restrictions on exports on consignment, are all designed to ensure that the surplus on account of merchandise trade is kept as large as possible, exports made to produce exchange to the limit and the importers' demands kept to a reasonable minimum.

RESTRICTIONS ON OTHER EXPORTS

Steps have also been taken to conserve supplies of foreign exchange arising from sources other than merchandise export, *e.g.*, exports of bullion, securities and jewellery.

Exports of gold can only be made under license. The Exchange Control Department permits exports to the U. K. provided the gold is consigned to one of the London Bullion Brokers authorised by the Bank of England to deal in bullion. Authorised dealers in foreign exchange are given licenses to ship gold to the U. S. A. provided they undertake to surrender the dollar proceeds of the gold to the Reserve Bank of India.

The permission for export of foreign securities to any place outside the Empire is given on condition that the foreign exchange proceeds are surrendered to the foreign agents of a bank in India. The imposition of restrictions on the taking of jewellery and cash out of India has been necessitated by the fact that persons who had been refused foreign exchange were found to take their requirements out in the form of jewels or cash which could be sold or exchanged abroad. Travellers are allowed to take out jewellery and cash up to a certain limit.

IMPORT OF GOLD AND BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES

Imports of Gold into India are licensed and freely permitted provided no expenditure of U. S. dollars or other important currency is entailed.

With the occupation of most of Europe, it was found necessary to prohibit the import into India of Bank of England notes with a view to prevent the enemy disposing of their large holdings of notes captured in invaded countries. Although this prohibition was a customs measure, the Exchange Control Department collaborated

by enforcing severe restrictions on dealings with Bank of England notes in order to put a stop to the rise of a "black" market for smuggled notes.

CONTROL OF ENTREPOT TRADE

After the entry of Italy into the war and the extension of hostilities to the near East, the Japanese Government imposed restrictions on the drawing of bills in sterling or drawing of bills on places west of Bombay against exports from Japan. Moreover, the sailing of Japanese vessels up the Red Sea and Persian Gulf ceased. These led to the development of a large entrepot trade in Japanese goods and increased use of Bombay as a centre of financing Japanese trade with the Middle East and East Africa. So steps had to be taken to ensure that India was not called upon to provide foreign exchange for which she received no corresponding return.

EFFECT OF EXCHANGE CONTROL ON TRADE

An important feature of the Trade of India from the point of view of exchange control has been the increase in purchases from U. S. A. not only of heavy goods, such as machinery and steel, but also of miscellaneous articles of all descriptions. The cessation of supplies from the Continent of Europe has forced India to turn to the more expensive American goods.

Exchange control system has not only changed the direction of our trade movements, but it has also affected adversely the volume of foreign trade in general and that of import trade in particular. The exchange restrictions have rendered imports from American and other non-sterling countries impossible or nearly so. This difficulty can be obviated to a considerable extent if exporters in foreign countries would agree to sell their manufactured goods on a consignment basis and would also agree to payment for the same being made only after the war or when Government themselves should permit such payment being made. In that case, the question of availability of dollar exchange will not arise. In fact, a suggestion on this line has

been made to the Government of India by the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay.

ROLE OF RESERVE BANK

The pivotal position of the Reserve Bank in the Exchange Control Scheme needs no emphasis. Its Exchange Control Department has not only to frame rules and regulations in connection with the control of dealings in foreign exchange, to check up returns from banks and remitters' statements in order to see the regulations are being observed, but it also acts as licensing authority for dealing in foreign securities, the export and import of gold and sovereigns and the export of money and jewels. In addition, it has to keep in touch with the bank of England and other Empire controls.

Besides this routine work, the Reserve Bank has to deal with many problems arising out of the exchange control system. In cases where the regulations have proved a definite impediment to business, special arrangements have to be made to enable trade to continue. The cotton trade is an instance in point. The restrictions on remittances made straddle business with New York impossible. With a view to remove this difficulty, the Exchange Control Department has introduced a system of licenses for authorised cotton dealers who are given facilities to purchase dollar exchange when required to meet their differences in New York, against their undertakings to surrender all dollar profits.

PART PLAYED BY EXCHANGE BANKS

In all transactions in which foreign exchange is involved, a major share of responsibility in seeing that the Exchange Control Department's requirements are fulfilled rests directly with the banks. The banks are the agencies of contact between the Public and the Exchange Control Department and in their relationship with their customers in matters pertaining to the Department, the banks can do much to make the wheels run smoothly. By close adherence to the Department's regulations they do their share to make the temporary burden of foreign exchange control as light as possible.



THE SPEAKER AND THE COURT OF LAW IN INDIA & BURMA

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THE position of the Presidents of the Indian Legislatures *vis-a-vis* the Court of Law was not defined by any provision of the now-repealed Government of India Act. Consequently, there seemed to have existed some doubts as to whether they were immune from the jurisdiction of a High Court. In the case of *K. S. Roy v. Cotton*¹ Justice C. C. Ghosh held that the President of the Bengal Legislative Council was the holder of an office created by a Statute, and that there was nothing in the Government of India Act which could suggest that he was immune from the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. He was, therefore, of opinion that a suit could lie against the President of the Bengal Legislative Council in respect of the exercise by him of his official powers. In adopting this view His Lordship relied on the principle that

"if any person, whether an officer of state or a subordinate, has to justify an act alleged to be unlawful by reference to an Act of Parliament, State Authority, the legal justification can be enquired into in this Court."

In the case of *Mulji Haridas v. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah*² however, Justice Broomfield of the Bombay High Court entertained doubts as to whether that Court

"could have jurisdiction in any case to make an injunction against the President of the Legislative Assembly *qua* President."

In *K. S. Roy v. Cotton* Justice Ghosh admitted that it was a "serious thing to have to interfere with the President in the discharge of his duties." But the law as he construed it required his interference, and, therefore, he had, in the case before him,

"no other alternative but to make an order restraining Mr. Cotton, the President of the Bengal Legislative Council . . . from putting item No. 6 before the Council for its consideration until the final determination of this suit."

He, however, desired

"to express the hope that the constitution will be placed on a firm and enduring footing."

Presumably with a view to defining the position of the Speaker *vis-a-vis* the Court of Law provision has been made in the Government of India and Burma Acts, 1935, purporting

to confer upon him an immunity from the jurisdiction of the Court of Law. The purpose of this paper is to examine how far this object has been attained as a matter of fact; that is to say, how far the legal provisions in this respect have served to clarify the position of the Speaker *vis-a-vis* the Court of Law.

The relevant provisions with regard to the Speakers of the Indian and Burmese Legislatures are substantially the same. Their object is two-fold: In the first place, they declare in essence that the validity of any proceedings in any of the legislatures shall not be called in question on the ground of any alleged irregularity of procedure, and secondly, they say that no officer or other member of such legislature in whom powers are vested by or under the Constitution "Act for regulating procedure or the conduct of business, or for maintaining order therein, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of any Court in respect of the exercise by him of those powers."³

So far as the first object is concerned we may note that it has very little to do with the position of the Speaker *vis-a-vis* the Court of Law. It seeks to protect the proceedings of a legislature from being questioned in a Court on the ground that all the requisite formalities connected therewith had not been observed. To take a concrete instance, it purports to prevent a Court from challenging a particular Act of a Legislature on the plea that there had been some irregularity in the course of its passage.

The second object of the provision however is to give the Speaker an immunity from the jurisdiction of the Court of Law. This immunity is not of that absolute and comprehensive character which the Governor or the Governor-General or the Secretary of State enjoys under Sections 306 and 470 of the Government of India Act, 1935.⁴ The Speaker is not subject to the jurisdiction of any Court *only in respect of the*

3. See Sections 41, 87 and 350 of the Government of India Act, 1935 (25 and 26 Geo. 5, Ch. 42). It may be noted that the Act refers to the combined publication of the Government of India wherein both the Government of India and Burma Acts are printed as one Act, and that Section 350 refers to Section 32 of the Government of Burma Act, 1935.

4. See the footnote on the Government of India Act given before.

1. *Calcutta Law Journal*, Vol. XL, p. 515.

2. (1932) I. L. R. 56, Bom., p. 254.

exercise by him of powers to regulate the procedure, or conduct the business of, or for maintaining order in, the legislature concerned.

There has been, so far, no judicial decision in India bearing upon the implications of this immunity of the Speaker. But in Burma there have been two cases in which the Rangoon High Court examined the nature of the immunity granted to the Speaker under the Constitution Act. These two cases are *U Lun v. U Chit Hlaing*⁵ and *U Aye v. U. Chit Hlaing*.⁶ They arose out of the rulings given by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Burma, on two points of order. The points of order referred to the question whether or not U Lun and U Aye had become disqualified for continuing to be members of the House of Representatives, Burma, in view of their having accepted Commissions in His Majesty's forces which were offices of profit under the Crown. The Speaker had ruled with regard to both the members that they had forfeited their membership by their own action. The High Court reversed the ruling of the Speaker in both the cases.

In the course of delivering its judgment the Court considered whether, in view of the immunity provisions in the Constitution Act, it had jurisdiction to entertain the cases. It first admitted that if all that the Speaker had done was to exercise the powers vested in him for regulating the procedure and the conduct of business and for maintaining order in the House, then he was not subject to its jurisdiction in respect of the matter brought before it.⁷ The Court, however, thought that in giving the rulings in question the Speaker "sought to attract to himself something very little, if at all, removed from the status of a Court." This the Speaker was expressly prohibited from doing by Sections 28(3), 71(3) and 345(3) of the Act.⁸ Consequently, to the extent that the Speaker exceeded the limits of his legal powers attracting to himself the status of a Court he made himself amenable to the jurisdiction of the High Court.

These two cases raise certain important points of Constitutional Law. In the first place, in both of them, the Speaker, U Chit Hlaing, was made the defendant. Is this permissible under the Constitution Act? Can the Speaker, who is not subject to the jurisdiction of any Court in respect of anything done by him in

the exercise of his official duties, be made a party to a suit? Can any process be issued by any Court of Law against the Speaker? It may be said that in the cases under consideration what the Speaker had done was found by the High Court to have no bearing upon the conduct of procedure or maintenance of order in the Legislature, and that, therefore, the immunity Section did not operate. But what would have been the case if the Court had found otherwise; that is to say, if it had decided that the Speaker was quite within the limits of his power when he gave rulings on the points of order? Would not the whole proceedings before the Court in such a case have been illegal and *ultra vires*? Secondly, it is difficult to agree with the interpretation which His Lordship, I mean Sharpe, J., put upon the phrase 'Status of a Court.' The Speaker has, by virtue of his office, often to exercise a sort of judicial function. But that does not necessarily mean that he thereby arrogates to himself the Status of a Court, which he is forbidden to do by the provisions of the Constitution Act. We may, in this connection, refer to the observation made by the Solicitor-General (England) when the corresponding provisions relating to the Federal Legislature of India were being debated in the House of Commons.

"The general object of this clause," said he, "is to prevent the Federal Legislature from assuming the powers of a Court, such as the power we have to some extent in Parliament here, which, of course, is in some respect a Court as well as a Legislative Assembly."

The judicial powers of Parliament consist in the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, its power to entertain impeachment proceedings instituted by the House of Commons and its power to try peers for treason or felony. These are the powers which, we think, the legislature or any member or officer thereof in India or Burma has been excluded from exercising. It is, therefore, submitted that the Section debarring the legislature, or any member or officer thereof, from assuming the status of a court was intended by Parliament for a purpose quite different from the one to which their Lordships (of the Rangoon High Court) applied it. Thirdly, it does not appear from the judgment in the two cases that sufficient attention had been paid to the question whether or not the matter on which the Speaker had given his ruling related to the conduct of business or regulation of procedure or the maintenance of order in the Legislature. This was an important flaw in the judgments. The analogy of the

5. *The Rangoon Law Reports*, Feb., 1941, p. 101.

6. *Ibid.*, June, 1941, p. 321.

7. See the Judgment of Sharpe, J. in *U Lun v. U Chit Hlaing* at p. 103.

8. The word Act here has the same connotation as in other places.

9. See H. C. Deb, Vol. 302, Col. 640.

Canadian and Australian positions, which Sharpe, J. drew, spoke in favour of the view that what the Speaker had done belonged to the sphere of the proceedings of the Legislature. For, in both the Dominions the question whether a particular seat in a Legislature has fallen vacant due to any one of the members having been disqualified is one for decision not by the Ordinary Court but by the legislature concerned.

Apart from these defects, however, two points relating to the Speaker *vis-a-vis* the Court of Law emerge from the two judgments under consideration. First, it appears to be still possible for the High Court to issue a process on the Speaker in a case where a ruling given by him has been challenged on the ground that it does not come under the heading "regulating proceedings" or "the conduct of business" or "the maintenance of order in the House." Secondly, any ruling given by the Speaker may be questioned in a Court of Law on the ground that it referred to a matter not connected with any of the three purposes mentioned above. In other words, the so-called immunity Sections do not protect any ruling of the Speaker from being impugned in a Court of Law simply because he has given it in the exercise of the powers, presumably vested in him, in respect of the regulation of procedure, etc., in a legislature.

The question, however, arises whether this position of the Speaker in relation to the Court of Law, as shown in the two cases under review, is an improvement on what obtained under the Government of India Act as interpreted by Justice Ghosh in *K. S. Roy v. Cotton*. We submit that it has not been an improvement. For, the defect of the old position was that the conduct of business in the legislature, at least in the provinces, could be brought to a standstill by the Court of Law on the motion of a dissatisfied minority, or of one single individual even. This, we think, is still possible according to the two decisions of the Rangoon High Court. Because, once the Court of Law accepts the principle that it can issue a process against the Speaker to examine whether he has exceeded his jurisdiction in giving a ruling, it follows as a matter of course, that the Court of Law is entitled to issue some preventive process like an *injunction* prohibiting him from exercising a jurisdiction alleged to be outside his legal competence.

Why were then provisions in this regard made in the Constitution Act of 1935? We presume that in doing this Parliament might have been actuated by either of the following

two purposes. First, Parliament might have intended that the Speaker as well as any exercise of powers vested in him in respect of the conduct of proceedings, etc., in the legislature should be free from any judicial interference. But in that case the relevant sections should have been drafted in a different way. That would no doubt have rendered anything done by the Speaker in his official capacity *prima facie* legal, and placed him as well as his rulings beyond the purview of the Court of Law. But in that case there might be one possible objection: A Speaker, for instance, might abuse his power in such a way as to prevent a legislature from enacting a measure quite within its competence on the ground, or rather the alleged ground, that the measure was *ultra vires* of the legislature. And there have been occasions in the past when Speakers in India have declared Sections of Bills *ultra vires*.¹⁰ At the same time, it cannot be reasonably argued that a point of order raised in the course of the consideration of a piece of legislation, as to whether or not a particular section or sub-section thereof is *ultra vires*, does not relate to the conduct of proceedings in a legislature. Nor is it conceivable that the Speaker should have any other alternative than giving his ruling on such a point of order if it be raised. Let us suppose that the Speaker gives a ruling that a particular section of a Bill is *ultra vires* of the legislature in which it is being considered. Let us also suppose that a fairly large section of the members of the legislature holds a contrary view. If the Speaker becomes absolutely immune from judicial control in the sense noted above, then the declaration of the *ultra vires* will be conclusive and the legislature will be deprived by the *fiat* of one single individual, who is not infallible, and who is not invariably expected to be a legal expert, of the right to pass a particular Bill or a particular section thereof. And we may note here that the question whether the particular Bill is *ultra vires* or not cannot be directly raised in a test case before the High Court. For, the High Court is usually reluctant to pronounce upon the *vires*

10. For instance, when the Untouchability Abolition Bill of M. C. Rajah was before the Indian Legislative Assembly, Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen raised a point of order that the Bill was *ultra vires* of the Assembly. But Sir S. Chetty, the then President, ruled that the Bill was quite *intra vires* of the legislature. (See the Legislative Assembly Debates of 5th Sep., 1933, Vol. VI, p. 995).

Again, when the Indian States (Protection) Bill was being considered by the Assembly, the President declared that it was not *ultra vires* of the Indian Legislature, although he entertained doubts as to whether Clause 3 of the Bill was or was not so. See *ibid*, p. 1,089.

of a Bill. For instance, in *Mulji Haridas v. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla*, where the High Court of Bombay was moved to make a declaration that a Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly (India, Central) contained provisions which were *ultra vires* of the Indian Legislature, Chief Justice Broomfield observed :

"A Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly may or may not pass in the form in which it was introduced. . . . For the Court to make a declaration that a Bill in the form in which it is introduced is *ultra vires* appears to be perfectly futile. A Bill has no legal effect, and if the declaration refers to a future Act which may be passed, it is really dealing with a future and hypothetical question which may never arise. If the Bill is ultimately passed and becomes an Act of the Legislature, then the Court may have to deal with it."

This reluctance, it may be mentioned here, is not a peculiarity of an Indian High Court. The Supreme Court of the Australian Commonwealth, too, held that "the Courts can have no cognizance of 'proposed laws,' nor can they interfere in questions of parliamentary procedure;" and that "the jurisdiction of the Court only arises when the proposed law becomes a law."¹¹ Thus there would be no legal remedy against an arbitrary decision of a Speaker.

Secondly, Parliament might have intended that the Speaker *qua* Speaker should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Law, although his decisions might be questioned therein. But this also is not evident from the language of the law as it is. If, however, necessary changes are made in the language of the law, then the advantage will be that Court-review of the Speaker's decisions may be available without interfering with the working of the Legislature. Three objections may, however,

be raised against this view. First, it may be argued that a judgment given by the Court may in effect declare a ruling of the Speaker illegal, and that, as a consequence, all subsequent proceedings of the legislature based on that ruling will be illegal. But it may be pointed out against this that Sub-section 1 of Sections 41, 87 and 350 of the Act¹² will prevent such an eventuality. What we have in mind is not so much the rectification of any past mistake as the prevention of a future illegality or arbitrariness on the part of the Speaker. Secondly, it may be said that the rulings of the Speaker are likely to be challenged in a court of law on frivolous grounds. This, we submit, may be avoided if the Legislature concerned provides in its Rules of Business that any decision given by the Speaker on certain specified matters shall be final and shall not be questioned in any court. Thirdly, one practical difficulty may be raised. If the rulings of the Speaker be held assailable in a court of law, although the Speaker himself is immune from its jurisdiction, one may ask as to who shall be the respondent in a case where a ruling of the Speaker has been challenged. The Speaker cannot be a party for obvious reasons. In our view the remedy for this difficulty may be found in making the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly respondent in such a case.

In view of what I have stated above, it is clear that the position of the Speaker *vis-a-vis* the Court of Law in India and in Burma is not free from ambiguities. The position, therefore, should be clarified by making necessary amendments in the Law.

[This paper was read at a meeting of the Research Students' Association, Dacca University.]

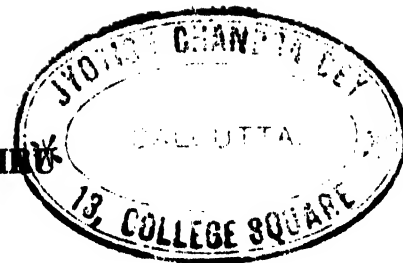
11. See *Osborne v. Commonwealth of Australia*, 12 C. L. R., 321 at p. 355. Quoted by Kerr in *The Law of the Australian Commonwealth* at p. 23.

12. *i.e.*, the Constitution Act.



CULTURE AND JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

By A. K. BHAGWAT



WHEN, after a reading of his wonderful autobiography, I observed that in Jawaharlal we have the finest example of culture, my friend asked, "What is culture?" and like jesting Pilate would not stay for an answer. The question is natural, for it is often difficult to separate this fine word 'culture' from its anthropological connotations; we speak of a Hindu culture and a Muslim culture, of Eastern culture and Western culture. However, there is something like 'universal culture', which is a purely individual and personal quality, standing high above all barriers of caste and country.

By far, the most satisfactory answer to the question 'What is culture?' is to be found in that excellent book *The Meaning of Culture*, written by John Cowper Powys and published by Messrs Jonathan Cape in the Traveller's Library. Defining culture as an "attitude of the mind," it aims, continues Powys, "at pointing out no unworthy clue to the narrow path of the wise upon the earth." Culture, we must remember, is an earthly quality and is, as such, quite incompatible with asceticism of any sort. It is

"a simple, sensuous attachment to life" (*Meaning of Culture*, p. 213); "a thrilling happiness of a particular sort, caused by response to life and made by harmony of intellect, imagination and the senses."

It is not something divorced from life for "it is the conduct of life itself, enriched by contact with books and with art" (*Meaning of Culture*, p. 130). The cultured person absorbs that which is best from different things like painting and poetry, religion and literature, philosophy and nature, and develops a kind of "free poetic humanism." Culture, in short, is an ecstasy of the soul and as such, "the more culture a man has managed to attain, the more independent he is of outward circumstances."

It is obvious that the development of such an attitude of the mind must be "the long delayed reward of much endeavour." Culture droppeth not 'like gentle rain from heaven' but neither it is entirely out of the reach of any man who strives to attain it.

There is, however, a more serious obstacle to the attainment of culture. The man of the world would ask, "Is it worthwhile? Am I to value culture more than my devotion to a noble

cause? Is culture compatible with a life of struggle, or is it a purely an armchair quality?" In his discussion of this all-important topic Powys observes:

"On the face of it, it may appear that some sort of compromise has to be effected between culture and a heroic life. A moment comes in every person's life when a choice has to be made between practical action and theoretical culture." (*Meaning of Culture*, pp. 115-16).

Mr. Powys' line of argument is that amid the poverty and ignorance outside, it often seems utterly selfish that the cultured man should shut himself in his own ivory tower. That would indeed be a case of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning!

"At such moments," continues Powys, "if one has the conscience of an honourable man or woman, one feels instinctively that there are occasions when culture must be unhesitatingly sent to the Devil! But, in thus losing culture we may gain culture."

It is possible to get an exultation from a life of struggle.

If you feel that your activities, social or intellectual are cribbed, cabined and confined—Mr. Powys would advise you to "keep your culture to yourself till by practical activity you have won your freedom." (*Meaning of Culture*, p. 117).

In another important chapter of his book (Chapter IX) Powys advises the culture-seeker to cultivate a cult of Nature-worship.

"The Meaning of Culture to Rousseau," says he on page 130 of his book, "was to restore by means of imaginative reason, the secret harmony with Nature which beasts and birds and plants possess. . . ."

But if one is engaged in practical activity, it is quite likely that he may not get the leisure or the opportunity to practise that long communion with Nature, without which Nature-worship is impossible. Mr. Powys too is aware of this when he says:

"Fate usually decides what kind of scenery we must observe, but something at least of what prisoners call the Sky, during some moments of the day must be revealed even to the most unlucky; and if not even that there will always remain memories of what we have already felt." (*Meaning of Culture*, pp. 174-75).

Thus, though the practical reformer may have to sacrifice another vital factor in his

pilgrimage to culture, he can atone for it by calling memory to his service.

Now coming to Jawaharlal's book after a reading of the above is to find the most perfect illustration of the whole theory of culture. The question of choosing between a life of an active revolutionary propagandist and that of a self-complacent man of culture came with all its poignancy before Jawaharlal Nehru and unhesitatingly he cast a die in favour of the former. Jawaharlal again is a passionate lover of Nature. The magic enchantment of the sunset or sunrise, the noble beauty and grandeur of the ice-capped Himalayas, the graceful tops of trees waving majestically in the wind—all these have cast an infinite fascination on Jawaharlal. In fact, those purple patches in which he describes these "large, lovely, luminous visions of Nature" (this apt choice of adjectives is characteristic of Powys) give a great literary and artistic value to his book. His is the case of the unlucky Nature-lover whose choice has been extremely limited, chained as he was for the better part of his life within the four corners of the tiny barrack in one jail after another. However, like a truly cultured man, Jawaharlal has ever been on the alert to catch the essence of even the faintest glimpse of Nature. Thus in page 93 of his *Autobiography* he describes the sense of relief that he felt by watching the ever-shifting monsoon clouds from the Lucknow District Jail. Not only that, but this particular monsoon came with such completely new associations before him that he "had like joy of having made almost a discovery, and a feeling of escape from confinement." Again, when "the mountains look down grimly," Jawaharlal observes :

"One seems face to face with a mystery that terrifies. The very sight of the Himalayas—mighty sentinels over the vast Indian plain—cooled the fever in the brain and petty conflicts and intrigues, the lusts and the falsehoods of the plains and the cities seemed trivial and far away before their eternal ways." (*Autobiography*, p. 569).

Here is the instance of a man whose "basic philosophy has fallen into focus and who has been able to see things in a true perspective" (*Meaning of Culture*, p. 196). Jawaharlal has practised here "the art of forgetting to its extreme point" of which Powys so often speaks. In the presence of the lordly Himalayas he has forgotten struggling humanity's sorrowful strife.

This feeling, however, is temporary. Jawaharlal is too devoted a practical worker to escape from the madding crowd. But this feeling gives to his mind a detachment—a certain stoical calm of mind, which according to Powys,

"Nature develops in a cultured mind." It is because of this feeling that he can mix so easily with the masses, without getting mixed up with them. This feeling again develop "generous human emotions, with indulgence towards all creatures, with pity for all creatures." (*Meaning of Culture*, p. 96). How admirably Jawaharlal has all these qualities may be seen from Chapter XLV of his *Autobiography* in which he speaks of some "animals in prison." Apart from the literary value of this chapter, which is unquestionably great, this chapter shows how even the lower creation of worms and reptiles afforded a solace to a cultured mind. That indeed must be a marvellously broad and capacious mind which looks at the lower creation with such regard. With what tender humour he describes the wasps and hornets and how he watched the lizards "as they crept about in the evenings and stalked their prey and chased each other, wagging their tails in the most comic fashion." Even three or four snakes which would give the ordinary man the fear of his life are welcomed by Jawaharlal as a diversion.

"Not that I appreciate or welcome snakes, but they do not fill me with terror as they do some people. . . . there would be no feeling of repulsion or overwhelming fright." (*Autobiography*, p. 357).

Though Jawaharlal is a passionate lover of Nature, yet he is not what may be called a Nature-worshipper. His rationalism refuses to entertain the idea of a hypothetical First Cause or the sense of spiritual reciprocity between Nature and man. Commenting on the advice of the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Shrinivasa Sastri to his fellow liberals "to stand by and let events pass" Jawaharlal observes in his *Autobiography* (pp. 413-14) :

"Most of us, I suppose, have lost the old pagan feeling and not gained the new insight. Not for us to have the sight of 'Proteus rising from sea,' or 'hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.' And very few of us are fortunate enough—

To see a World in a Grain of sand,
And a Heaven in wild Flower
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour.

Not for most of us, to sense the mysterious life of Nature, to hear her whisper close to our ears, to thrill and quiver at her touch. Those days are gone."

But these are the very things which, according to Powys, a man of culture, must have. A grass-blade to him must be something more than grass-blade, the scent of a flower more than a sweet fragrance. Jawaharlal does not feel this and yet he has found ample compensation for all this. He continues :

"But though we may not find the sublime in Nature, as we used to, we have sought to find it in the glory and

tragedy of humanity, in its mighty dreams and inner tempests, its pangs and failures, its conflicts and miseries and over all this its faith in a great destiny and a realisation of those dreams. That has been some recompense for us for all the heart-breaks that such a search involves, and often we have been raised above the pettiness of life. But many have not taken this search and having cut themselves adrift find no road to follow in the present." (Italics mine).

These 'many' are of course those who delude themselves with the notion that culture is an armchair quality, which consists in inaction, in "standing by and let events pass." But how many of these so-called men of culture say with Jawaharlal that they have been 'raised above pettiness of life'? To raise the individual above the banalities of life is the whole aim of culture. Jawaharlal's *Autobiography* is the glowing record of a noble and heroic soul that has put selfless service of humanity before every other interest in life and has thus got "exultation from a life of struggle."

Jawaharlal's *Autobiography* goes even a step further in that it throws light on certain points which are not quite clear in Powys' book. Thus on page 292 of his book Powys says that "Culture teaches us to live, in the whole, in the Good and in the Beautiful." Of these, 'The Good,' which consists in following the path of Right through life is the most important. But then, one might ask, how is one to know that the path one is following is the path of Right? This is Jawaharlal's answer to the question:

"Often it is difficult to know which is the right path. It is easier sometimes to know what is not right

and to avoid that is something after all. If I may quote with all humility the last words of the great Socrates: I know not what death is—it may be a good thing, and I am not afraid of it. But I do know that it is a bad thing to desert one's post and I prefer what may be good to what I know to be bad." (*Autobiography*, p. 598).

To feel sorry to leave behind the 'wild joys of living' and to face death with a calm is the attitude of a cultured man—what Mr. Powys would call as the 'stoic-epicurean attitude.' This passage again shows that Jawaharlal has attained that "magnanimity in the presence of Death" which according to Powys a cultured person has to learn from Homer and Virgil (*Meaning of Culture*, p. 188).

One last quotation from Jawaharlal, which gives an apt finish to his "egotistical narrative of adventures through life," provides a test, as it were, to know whether one's life has been that of a cultured man.

Sometimes in prison,

"the ghosts of the dead yesterdays rise up, bringing poignant memories and whispering to me 'was it worth while?' There is no hesitation about the answer. If I were given the chance, to go through my life again, with my present knowledge and experience added.... my major decisions in public affairs would remain untouched." (*Autobiography*, p. 598).

Those blessed few, who can thus look back upon their life with just pride, and without self-deception declare that 'it has been worthwhile,' are the real men of culture.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CRAFTS IN EDUCATION

BY S. I. CLERK, B.A.

THE essential function of education is a creative one. No education is complete without manual training. Hence the importance of crafts in education. Our present educational system has failed mainly because it has ignored crafts in its curriculum. The Wardha Scheme, on the other hand, aims to make education more complete by giving an intense manual training to the students.

The basis of a proper education is self-reliance, and the fundamental pre-requisite of a self-reliant life is the ability to use one's hands. Training in a craft develops manual precision and endurance which our present education obviously fails to inculcate in us.

Besides, a proper training in a craft (*e.g.*, wood-work) gives one a sense of art-appreciation and develops one's aesthetic sense.

A genuinely liberal education (as contrasted to the professional training) must be able to provide for the student the means by which he can use his leisure profitably. Leisure is as important as work, if not more. Professional training consists in the preparation for work. The real education, on the other hand, ought to imply the preparation for a proper utilisation of one's spare hours. Writes Bertrand Russell in *In Praise of Idleness*:

"The wise use of leisure, it must be conceded, is a product of civilisation and education."

Reading and writing alone cannot be said to be the right utilisation of leisure for the students, as these constitute their only work. And besides, crafts are creative hobbies as contrasted to stamp-collecting, collecting cinema star photographs or cinema-going.

The importance of crafts in education is realized to a considerable extent abroad, especially in the United States of America and Russia. There is, for instance, in the United States The Industrial Arts Co-operative Service (New York). This institution claims to be the only Teachers' Co-operative in America organized for the promotion of better educational practice. Its membership is open to all. There are no financial profits in the organization. It supplies Studies (contributions of advanced students in universities or leaders in the field contributing from their experience on subjects of real educational significance developed to meet the needs of the teacher); Pictures (which develop the work of certain units suggested by Studies); Special Materials (which it manufactures and raw materials which it locates); Materials (already on the market which it thinks are adequate for meeting educational needs); Books (approved by its Book Committee as real contribution in the educational field); Loan Collection of Mounted Pictures (on over fifty subjects covering phases of industrial and cultural development); Monthly News Sheet (telling of interesting developments in the field of education particularly that part that is concerned with *the arts, industries, and lives of peoples*); Browsing (in its display rooms, among its pictures, exhibits, materials); The Studio (offers courses for those nearby, and to others the results of its experiments broadcast through its News Sheet). I have described the working of this institution rather in details, for the utility of such an institution in our country cannot be over-emphasised.

In Russia,

"children in school do not only lessons, but useful manual work, so far as their strength and skill permit, and they do this not as education but as part of the duty of a citizen."*

This shows that the Communists with their supreme belief in labour as the only cause of material wealth, attach considerable importance to crafts in education.

The students, besides learning a particular craft, also get an opportunity to cultivate an aesthetic sense. There are many kinds of crafts

—spinning, weaving, calico-printing, lacquer-work, wood-work, leather-work, papier-mache, metal-work, pottery, lino-cut, etching, lithography, etc. However, care will have to be taken that the particular crafts chosen by an educational institution are economically paying. It is essential that the introduction of crafts in the educational curriculum, far from increasing the educational expenditure, actually cheapens the cost of education. The students by pursuing their favourite craft should be able to make their education self-supporting. Thus, the emphasis on spinning in the Wardha Scheme is well justified. All-India Spinners' Association has been successful in creating a considerable demand for khadi (and this demand is further increased on account of the present war conditions) and so, spinning and weaving have at present quite a good market.

Introduction of crafts in our education will definitely bring about a revival of the artistic taste of the masses and this will create a steady demand for hand-made goods "which alone can give scope for self-expression on the part of the men who make them."† This will also bring about an era of prosperity for our cottage industries.

Mr. Moti Chandra (the curator, The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) in his article 'The History of Indian Costumes from 1st Century A.D. to the Beginning of the 4th Century' in the *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1940, writes :

"Dyeing the garments in beautiful colours (*vastraraga*) and sewing the garment were considered to be the arts which a man of liberal education was expected to cultivate."

This shows that arts and crafts were given a high place in a liberal education by the ancient Indian educational institutions. This must have played no little part in the advancement of our traditional crafts and industries which then used to cater for almost the entire civilized world.

If we want to have a bright and prosperous national future, then it is imperative that our educational institutions foster manual training. Both the followers of Sir M. Visveswaraya and his slogan : 'Industrialize or perish,' and those of Mahatma Gandhi and his gospel of decentralization of industries must acutely feel the need of manual training in our liberal educational curricula. Its introduction promises to be a major means of achieving our national prosperity, both economic and cultural.

* Bertrand Russell : *Education and the Social Order*.

† *The Wealth of India* by P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi.



Vladivostok Harbour

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

IN Russia the Summer Offensive has begun. Last year there was the element of surprise and added to that was the new technique of panzer movements. As a result of an assault *en masse* the Germans overran over 600,000 sq. miles before winter called a halt. This year the element of surprise is gone and with it has disappeared the chances of success of a general offensive over an extended front. The new German strategy seems to be based on their far superior organi-

are able to concentrate superior forces on limited objectives, there by breaking down the strong points of Soviet resistance. They succeeded at Kerch and are now engaged in the attempt at the overcoming of Russian resistance at Sevastopol and at the Kharkov sector. The latest news indicates that a third offensive is developing near Kursk. There is no sign as yet of a general offensive being launched all along the 2,000 mile front, but there is undoubtedly the

danger of the initiative passing over definitely in their hands. In the bitter and extremely arduous winter campaign fought by the Soviets' forces the territorial recovery amounted to only about 25% of the areas lost, but the initiative was wrested from the hands of the Nazi High Command and therein lay the principal gain.

The nature of the Russian resistance indicates that the morale of the Soviets' forces is higher than ever, and taken over-all it is doubtful whether the Germanic forces have much of a numerical superiority. The position does not seem to be satisfactory as regards mechanised and armoured equipment and in air-power. It is certain that the Nazi forces are in a superior position in both these



Citadel of Aleppo. Syria

sation of communication, supply and refitting services. With the help of these advantages they

and in air-power. It is certain that the Nazi forces are in a superior position in both these



Singapore

spheres as evidenced by their prodigal use of panzer units and dive-bombers in the sectors at Kharkov and Sevastopol.

The Allied supply of arms and equipment to the Soviets' has become increasingly difficult with the extension of the Japanese naval campaign into the Indian Ocean and the intensification of the U-boat menace. The recent occupation of a part of the Aleutian Islands by Japan will definitely interfere with the American supply routes *via* Alaska and Canadian Pacific ports and the hazards of the Arctic route from North Atlantic have been magnified many-fold through the almost total absence of darkness during the summer months within the Arctic circle. Therefore, Russia is now facing a critical period regarding the replacement of war-wastage. She has undoubtedly her own sources of supply based in the great arsenals and Engineering works in unoccupied and unaffected zones, but even there the question of raw material supply probably still affects the production. In any case Russia cannot be regarded as self-sufficient in the matter of armament production, after the loss of the great production centres of South and Western Russia. Help from the Allied nations must therefore be regarded as a vital factor in the maintenance of Russian resistance at a high level. All talks of the Russians taking the offensive and the Germans being beaten seem to be premature—to say the least—until these problems are solved by the United Nations.

Sevastopol is making a heroic stand against desperate odds. The German admission about

the impregnability and strength of its defences—described as being the most powerful in the world in Nazi broadcasts—is perhaps the greatest tribute paid to Russian valour and determination in this war. Forts are but as powerful as the hearts of their defenders and if the magnitude and formidable nature of the assault that is being withstood by the Soviets' forces at Sevastopol be considered, then perhaps no praise can be regarded as adequate.

In the Kharkov sector Marshal Timoshenko is still parrying the thrusts, made with superior forces and armament, with the skill and determination of a master. Some ground has been yielded, and the Germanic forces have not yet been fought to a standstill but on the other hand there is as yet no general withdrawal or retreat as in the campaigns of last years summer and autumn. It is too early as yet to draw any conclusions from what has happened so far and the latest thrust in the Kursk sector will have to develop much more before it becomes apparent whether a general offensive is on the way or not.

In the Middle East the position is critical. Following the British reverse on June 13th, came a general withdrawal from Libya which was followed by an invasion of Egypt by the Axis forces, who lost no time in pouncing on the advantage. The fall of Tobruk was an incident in the withdrawal which perhaps has been given undue prominence. The loss of a large body of combatant forces and of considerable quantities of armament are undoubtedly bad set-backs, but it must be remembered that in Libya both sides have suffered greater reverses and recovered.

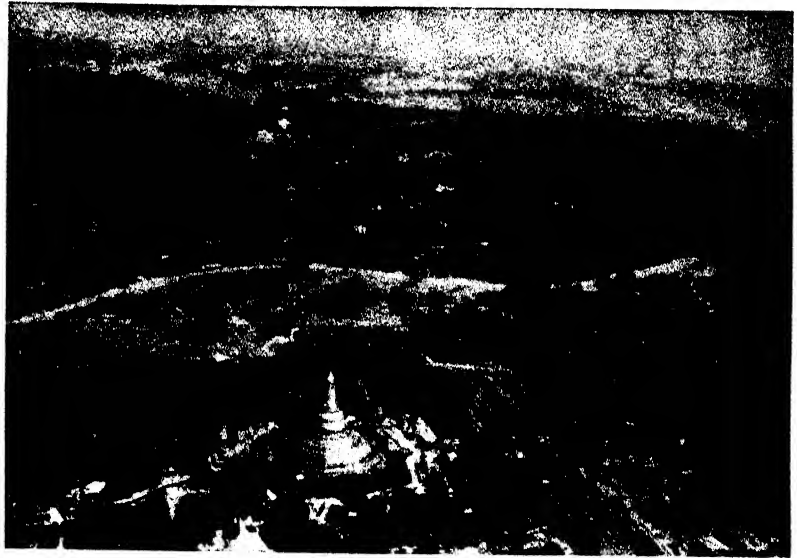
Of far greater import is the battle now in progress beyond Marsa Matruh. Both sides are now playing for very high stakes. The Axis forces are undoubtedly staking everything on one break through which would open the route to the Near-East and the Islamic countries therein to their influence. The British are defending not only Egypt, but also the Suez Canal, Syria, Palestine, and the oil reservoirs of Iraq and Iran. Napoleon's venture on the route to India was a parallel case, but now the conditions obtaining are of an infinitely more complex a nature. The neutrality of Egypt, Turkey and Saudi Arabia and the ownership of the greatest reservoirs of oil in the Old World, all depend on the issues of this campaign.

The Japanese attempt at the final isolation of China and at the liquidation of her armed forces seems to have stalled at the peak of its development. The position is still extremely serious without doubt, but the rapid deterioration of the situation on the Burma road sector and in the Yunnan region has been halted. The monsoons have undoubtedly placed great

to be unable to overcome the handicaps of tropical rainy conditions. In Eastern and Southern China the heroic resistance of the forces of Free China and the skill of their commanders have considerably retarded the progress of the invaders.

But in the case of China the question of supplies is even more vital. China cannot go on for ever matching the flesh and blood of her glorious fighters against the armed and armoured might of her opponent. The magnificent stand

she has made, without help—or at most with meagre help—without resources of her own, against a highly organised foe armed with the most modern equipment, is perhaps without a parallel in history. But she has had to pay a terrible price for it, and if her Allies do not now make up for the neglect shown in the pre-Japanese-war past, her resistance may be in vain. And the fall of China will mean the end of democracy—for at least a decade—on the mainland of Asia, as sure as fate, notwithstanding all the armament



Rangoon

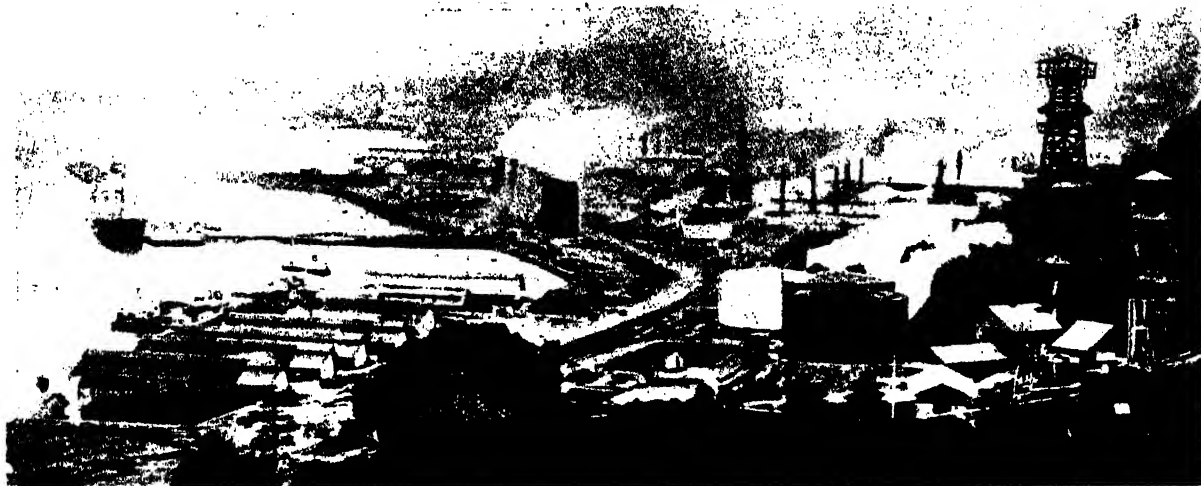


Beirut

obstacles in the way of Japanese transport of material and with the progress of the mechanised units. The Japanese Air-arm in Burma seems

production of America and all the wealth and resources of the United Nations.

Japan has now evidently turned towards



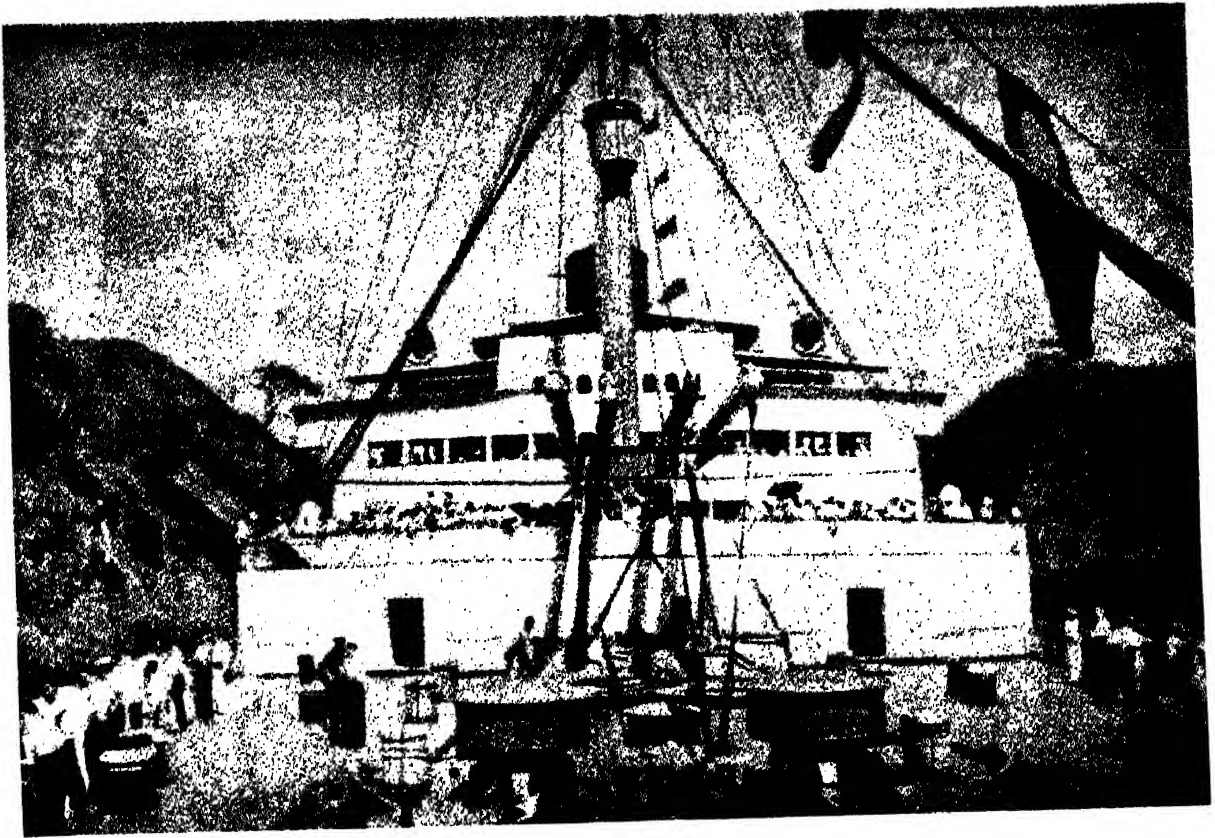
Balikpapan in Borneo : rich oil port before demolition

consolidating her gains. The landing on the Aleutian Islands, the campaign against the advanced Chinese air bases and the attempt on Midway islands are interconnected moves. They certainly have more than the safeguarding of Tokyo against air-raids in view. Japan has now a very far-flung line of defences, which if strongly held would enable her to tide over the period between the depletion of her accumulated resources and the replenishment of her reserves from the occupied territories. The report from Chinese sources about the construction of a railway from Canton to Singapore and various other informations filtering through neutral countries all point to the fact that Japan is losing no time either over consolidation or over development. It is quite possible that in Burma the same accumulation of forces and of munitions is taking place as happened in Indo-China during last year's rainy season.

Here in India we are experiencing a lull before the storm—which may break either way. We have no news and for most of us the news has no meaning anyway. We hear of great preparations from British official sources and liberal doses of foreign opinion of the "correct" type are ladled out to us through the B. B. C. and Reuter, as for example the very large extract from the *Herald Tribune* of America recently released here. A more uninformed and ignorant criticism of the Mahatma's statements can hardly be imagined, and the curious part of it is that the powers that be do not seem to realise that such criticisms help the Axis cause far more than do any amount of propaganda that comes from the Axis over the wireless. Another piece of news that has been sent to us at the same time contains some truth. Some person, thirty after

knowledge, has travelled 30,000 miles in 12 months. He has made a statement that in India he found that the people "seemed to have heard that there is a war somewhere." This statement is correct in so far as it means that this war has not been accepted as a national or people's war in any part of India. But if it means that the people are not feeling the consequences of war, then it is as far from truth as darkness is from light. Prices have soared up everywhere and in all directions and "price control" has become a scandal. Travelling has become a nightmare, what with delay and with lack of accommodation. Big business—greater part foreign-owned—is booming but the smaller concerns are faced with ruin. Graft and corruption is getting more and more rampant in every walk of the ordinary man's life. There are many other factors too in this wholesale upsetting of living and working conditions, the greatest being inefficiency and incompetence. And if with all this the Man in the streets or fields of India cannot feel that there is a war on, then he is a superman indeed! We would like to make it clear that we refer only to those conditions as could have been prevented or provided for. Unavoidable difficulties, such as those due to shipping restrictions, are not cited here.

We have been repeatedly told by eminent authorities that the civilians role is as important in modern warfare as that of the soldier. If that be true, then all we can say is that if there be any person who considers that the present arrangements for the improvement of morale amongst the Indian people—D. O. R. A. and A. R. P., and N. W. F. and all—are satisfactory, then he is a source of danger to the state.



Panama Canal. A great liner passing the Culebra Cut



Panama Canal at Gatun Locks



A view of Tiflis, Caucasus



Manila

[Courtesy : Asia

STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 1940-41*

THE longer the war continues and the wider the area to which it extends, the greater become the obstacles that have to be surmounted in order to obtain impartial information concerning the changes it is bringing about in the financial, economic and demographic aspects of the life of the nations of the world.

The fifteenth edition of the *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations* (1940/41), which has just been published in Geneva, therefore appears at an opportune moment.

Notwithstanding the growing dearth of official data and the difficulties of access to the data still published, this compendium of international statistics supplies information extending to the year 1940 and, in many cases, 1941. Not only have the various series included in the usual collection of tables, which are accompanied by a wealth of explanatory notes, been brought up to date, but there are also special features which give the work an outstanding topical interest. Some of these relate to the most recent territorial changes, to war expenditure and to the monetary measures which have been introduced in most countries since the outbreak of hostilities.

POPULATION AND POPULATION MOVEMENTS

The League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service estimates the population of the world, at the end of 1939, at 2,170 millions, of which 450 millions are attributed to China. The result of the census taken in India in March, 1941—389 millions—largely exceeded anticipations. According to censuses taken in 1940, the population of Japan was 73 millions and that of Brazil 41.4 millions; these results were below what had been expected. Now censuses, the results of which are given in the *Year-Book*, were taken in 1940 or 1941, *inter alia*, in the United States and in their possessions, and also in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Peru, Turkey, Burma, Denmark, Spain, Hungary, Portugal, Roumania, Switzerland and Slovakia.

Even apart from war casualties which, in most cases, have not yet been made public, the death-rate in 1940 was higher than that for 1939 in nearly all European countries. Infant mortality increased in 1940, more particularly in Belgium (89 per thousand births as against 73 in 1939), France (91 as against 63), Italy (104 as against 96), Roumania (189 as against 176), United Kingdom (59 as against 53)—and, it should be added, no data are available for several countries, e.g., the Baltic States, Yugoslavia, Poland, etc., in which an increase in the rate may be regarded as probable.

Moreover, the war could not have exerted its full effect on the birth-rate in 1940, but that effect will inevitably be produced owing to the losses in the adult male population, and also the retention with the armed forces or in captivity of a more or less considerable proportion of that population.

CURRENCIES AND FINANCE

During recent years, public expenditure has shown a very marked increase in most countries, whether belligerent or neutral. For instance, the estimated expendi-

ture of the United States for 1942-43—59,000 million dollars—is eight times as great as the expenditure for 1937-38. In Japan, the special war budgets for 1941-42 by themselves greatly exceed the amount of the ordinary budget. The estimates of total expenditure drawn up in December, 1941 amounted to nearly 20,000 million yen, i.e., almost three times as much as in 1938-39; they have since been largely exceeded. Complete information for Germany and Italy is not available. In Germany, however, the total revenue from taxation and loans in 1940-41 was more than 65,000 million marks. In Italy, war expenditure, from July, 1940 to the beginning of October, 1941, amounted to 76,000 million lire. In the United Kingdom, the original estimates for expenditure in 1941-42, amount to £4,300 million as against £1,100 million expended in 1938-39.

In neutral countries, too, expenditure has risen greatly. In Switzerland, for instance, the estimate for Federal expenditure in 1942, excluding war economy accounts, amounts to 1,700 million francs, i.e., nearly three times as much as in 1938. Losses on the war economy account, more particularly as a result of subsidies for the maintenance of the price-level, are estimated at no less than 150 million francs. In Sweden, the ordinary budget has almost doubled between 1938-39 and 1942-43. Moreover, the estimate of 2,700 million crowns does not include the special defence budget which amounts to 1,300 million crowns.

As a result of this growth in expenditure, the internal debt shows a considerable increase in most countries. The following are a few examples:

	000,000's	000,000's
United States (dollars)	VI. 1937—36,400	XII. 1941— 57,900
Japan (yen)	III. 1938—12,000	VIII. 1941— 33,100
Germany (marks)	III. 1938—17,800	IX. 1941—109,600
U. Kingdom (£)	III. 1938— 7,100	XI. 1941— 12,200
Sweden (crowns)	VI. 1938— 2,400	XII. 1941— 6,100
Switzerland (francs)	XII. 1937— 2,700	XII. 1940— 4,100

For France, recent data are not available, but advances from the Bank of France to the State, which amounted to 44,700 million francs in December, 1939, had increased by September, 1941 to 198,000 millions, of which more than 120,000 millions were for the payment of the costs of occupation.

Exchange rates must be interpreted in the light of the exchange control which is applied by nearly all the countries of the world. A survey of the monetary history of recent years published in the *Year-Book* brings out the increasing complexity of monetary conditions and gives particulars of the chief measures affecting the value of currencies which have been taken since 1929.

Whilst the movement of exchange rates is thus more or less arrested, monetary expansion is evidenced by a continuous increase in the note circulation and in deposits in commercial banks. Prices show a continuous rise.

* Ser. L. o. N. P. 1941. II. A. 3—271 pages. In wrappers 10/-; \$2.50. Bound in cloth 12/6; \$3.50.



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA, DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD : By A. Yusuf Ali, Bombay. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1940.

Mr. Yusuf Ali has written a book which needed writing. In some ways his is a pioneer attempt at this type of book. By the word "culture," Mr. Yusuf Ali has rightly meant all those movements which deal with a people's mind and its social organisation. He has used it in its most comprehensive sense. It is not an easy job to compress into about 300 pages the cultural history of India, if only of the British period. Several volumes are necessary to deal with the subject comprehensively. But that does not take away from the value of Mr. Yusuf Ali's admirable outline.

It is not possible in a review to refer to the various aspects of the cultural history treated in the book. It is interesting to note, however, that Mr. Yusuf Ali does not share the view that the British Courts under the East India Company had introduced a new and better spirit of justice. He quotes Mr. (afterward Sir) Henry Strachey, who was a Judge of Circuit, and who gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to say :

"In Calcutta, I have reason to believe that the morals of the people are worse by means of the system established by us. Nor do I attribute this solely to the size, population and indiscriminate society of the capital, but in part to the Supreme Court. I scarcely ever know a Native connected with the Supreme Court whose morals and manners were not contaminated by that connection."

More interesting at the present moment is Mr. Yusuf Ali's review of Hindu-Muslim relations during the British period. According to Mir Taqi Mir, (1724-1810), author of *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, there was no Hindu-Muslim question in his day in the form it has since taken.

"What could be a worse period than the one in which the country was a prey everywhere to selfishness, internal dissensions, plunder and slaughter, and the last stage of decay and decline had been reached. And yet the mutual relations between Hindus and Muslims were those of brothers among brothers" (p. 25).

Mr. James Forbes, who held a position of authority for seventeen years in India and wrote about the situation in Broach in 1778, expressed mild surprise at the fact that there was no division between Hindus and Muslims, though, curiously enough, there was a schism among the Parsis! Even about the year 1809, the relations between Hindus and Muslims were characterised

by mutual respect (p. 57). There were no cultural conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in pre-British days (p. 180). It was the "profits of English education" that helped to create a gulf between the two communities as such (p. 196). Speaking of Ghalib's works, Mr. Yusuf Ali says that, "their unconsciousness of the Hindu-Muslim problem is refreshing in an age which thinks of public life in no other terms" (p. 214). It was during Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, which reflected the imperial ambitions of Disraeli's rule in England, that "the political cleavage between Hindus and Muslims began to take definite shape" (p. 227). The Partition of Bengal, was "the worst mistake of Lord Curzon," but its reversal in 1911 widened the breach between the Hindus and Muslims (p. 249). Finally, "the creation of separate electorates for Muslims and Hindus under the Minto-Morley Reforms isolated the Muslims from the general politics of India and widened the breach between the two communities" (p. 268). Thus we find that at the beginning of British rule there was no Hindu-Muslim problem, and now it is the main obsession of Indian politics and culture.

An error has crept into the book. The "Nehru" Report was named after Pandit Motilal Nehru and not after Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as stated on page 275.

P. KODANDA RAO

INDIAN CULTURE—ITS STRANDS AND TRENDS—A STUDY IN CONTRASTS : By Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., Vedantaratra. Published by the Calcutta University (1941).

The book is the outcome of the invitation accorded to the illustrious Bengali savant to deliver the "Kamala Lectures" of the Calcutta University. Mr. Datta left the University more than half a century ago, as one of the most brilliant English-educated scholars of that epoch. He drew his inspiration, in the study of Indian culture from the creative writers of Bengal like Bankimchandra and Nabinchandra as well as from eminent Sanskritists. Thus Literature and Philosophy came to be the two master-passions of his life and he has enriched our literature with articles, monographs and volumes of permanent value. As a young scholar, he watched over the birth of the Bengal Academy of Letters (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad) and lives to be its noble President while preparing these valuable lectures on *Indian Culture*. He discussed its antiquity and immortality, its cosmopolitanity and heterogeneity like a great historian. His pursuit of Indian culture into the domains of Indian Religion, Philosophy and Social Polity shows how Mr. Datta is a master of philosophical synthesis, reconciling apparently conflicting elements in

our culture-history. Lastly, writing, as he did, amidst the savage destruction of civilisation by modern man, he could not help speculating as to the place of India in the world-poetry after the war, and also regarding the future of Indian culture. He agrees with Rabindranath when he concludes: "In the new world-order that is coming, Indian culture will have a glorius function to discharge, viz., to act as the pivot to move humanity to a happier and holier living." Thus the author gives us not only a brilliant analysis of the cultural problems of our generation, but also like a true sage strengthens us with a faith and a hope in our future and has thereby earned the gratitude of the nation. The book running to 119 pages, is a masterpiece of lucid exposition demonstrating how the author could condense almost a volume in a brief chapter. We recommend the book to all serious students of Indian history and civilisation.

KALIDAS NAG

HISTORICAL METHOD IN RELATION TO PROBLEMS OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY: By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras. 1941. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1-12.

This booklet, as the author informs us, is based on a course of lectures delivered in 1938, and is meant for the use of students in the Department of History. The main object of the author is "to consider the different types of historical evidence bearing on the specific problems of South Indian History and the methods of dealing with them." After having discussed certain general principles in Ch. I, the author devotes the rest of the book to a detailed consideration of the different types of literary and archaeological evidences available for the study of South Indian History.

While the second part of the book is eminently useful as a guide to the research students, the first part is unnecessarily pedantic, and sometimes contains views and statements which are likely to mislead the beginners in research work for whom the book is obviously meant. One would particularly deplore the dissertation on pp. 3-4 on the question: "How far is a historian dependent upon his authorities?" The author observes that a trained worker is largely "free from the limitations of his sources," and concludes that "an actual historical construction is an act of imagination which is, if not altogether, at least very largely, independent of the authorities." Remarks like these are likely to worsen the present situation in regard to historical study in India which the author rightly deplores on p. 53. Creative or critical imagination of the type which the author seeks to place above positive evidence is not a gift of nature which comes handy to every one, but every one is tempted to regard his own wild fancy as such an imagination, and this constitutes a grim tragedy in the history of research work in every country. One cannot, therefore, be too cautious in using expressions which might encourage such a tendency, particularly among the beginners in research work.

There are other statements in the same Chapter which unnecessarily complicate the main issue and are certainly very questionable. It is certainly not always true that "in an historical argument, what matters is the contemporary man's view of the course of events, not ours." The coronation of Charlemagne at Rome or the Battle of Plassey was not certainly viewed by the contemporary man in the same way as we do today, but it is difficult to contend that the former was right in his estimate of the importance of any of these historical events.

In spite of these somewhat questionable doctrines, the introductory chapter contains a great deal of useful discussion on the meaning and scope of history, and indicates the usual errors and pitfalls which the student of history must try to avoid.

After having discussed the general principles, the author deals in detail with the different branches of historical evidence, such as Literature and Archaeology, including (a) Epigraphy and (b) Numismatics, and concludes with a general discussion on South Indian Chronology. The beginner in historical research would undoubtedly profit a great deal by the very practical way in which the subject has been approached. The learned author has to his credit a distinguished record of research extending over a quarter of a century, and the valuable personal experience he has acquired is reflected in the highly useful directions and instructions which he has laid down for the guidance of research. Although primarily meant for south Indian students, those of North India may also profit a great deal by a careful study of these chapters. For although one might regard South Indian History as a "definite and distinct branch of Indian History," it is difficult to agree with the author that "the types of historical evidence bearing on its problems or the methods of dealing with them" are different. Any one can see that the work of the author refutes his own idea, for barring the examples and illustrations of general principles, there is nothing that may be called specifically South Indian in this book. This is, of course, a minor point. But when vivisection of India on racial, cultural and political grounds is the dominant issue before us, one need not unnecessarily emphasise the division between Hindusthan and Dravidistan as regards method of historical study.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE ORIGINS OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY: By Bisheshwar Prasad, D.Litt. (Allahabad). Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1941. Pp. 428. Price Rs. 7-8.

Provincial Autonomy, as understood in Indian political parlance, means two things, though there is no necessary connexion between them. It means, in the first place, that the provinces are, within a large well-defined sphere, free from central control. It means, in the second place, that in respect of the administration of subjects within this sphere, the provincial executive is responsible to, or amenable to the control of, the provincial legislature which is representative of the people. Provincial Autonomy in this sense has to a very large extent been established by the Government of India Act, 1935.

By the Charter Act of 1833, the Governor-General in Council was made the sole legislative authority in India and was clothed with the power of superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government of India. But centralization in the strictest sense of the term was never in fact a reality. The stubborn opposition of the governments of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the Central Government's lack of knowledge of the detailed needs of the distant provinces, and the impracticability of exercising meticulous control over the provincial governments—all these resulted in actual relaxation of central control.

After the Mutiny of 1857 it was realised that centralization had serious defects and resulted in chronic conflict between the Centre and the provinces. In particular, centralization of financial control, while it failed to effect much economy, became a cause of perpetual conflict between the Government of India and the local governments. The India Councils Act, 1861, restored to the provincial governments the power of

legislation, subject, however, to two important limitations. Lord Mayo's financial reforms of 1870—as indeed subsequent measures on similar lines—aimed primarily at effecting a reduction in the work of the Central Government and at minimizing the chances of friction between it and the local governments. The process of steady improvement in the position of the provinces received a setback, though temporary, especially during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon whose drive and zeal for administrative efficiency were such that, as he himself put it, 'a sparrow can scarcely twitter its tail at Peshwar without a response being detected to masterful orders from Simla or Calcutta.'

The short-lived enthusiasm in this country for the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the increasing ruffling of public feeling and the need to assuage public opinion induced Lord Hardinge's Government in 1911 to suggest to the Secretary of State that greater powers should be conferred upon the provinces. They maintained that in the course of time the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country would have to be satisfied, and that could be best done by gradually giving the provinces 'a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. Since then Indian political opinion rallied round the phrase 'Provincial Autonomy.' The Congress-League scheme of 1916 aimed at provincial autonomy coupled with liberalisation of the Government of India. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their Report on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1918, stated that the provinces were the domain in which the experiment of responsible government should be tried first, but only in respect of such subjects as could, without prejudice to public order and efficiency, be entrusted to the representatives of the people. The provinces were to be given the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative and financial, of the Government of India which was compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities. Accordingly, the Government of India Act, 1919, while it retained the essentially unitary character of the Indian administration, sought to effect a considerable emancipation of the provinces from central control, especially in respect of the transferred subjects. It was left for the Government of India Act, 1935, to introduce a substantial measure of provincial autonomy by providing in essence for a federal constitution. While the earlier stages of decentralization owed their origin to the need for administrative efficiency in the narrow sense of the term, the subsequent measures for emancipating the provinces from superior control were mainly due to the necessity of making concessions to the demands of nationalist India for political power.

Dr. Prasad's book is a history of the relations between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments from 1861 to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Dr. Prasad traces, by reference to copious and authentic documentary evidence, the steps by which the provinces which were once in a position of utter subordination to the Centre gradually came to occupy a position of limited autonomy prior to the Act of 1935. Dr. Prasad's book shows considerable industry and balanced judgment. It is a welcome addition to the literature on Indian constitutional history.

A. B. RUDRA

BRITAIN AND INDIA: *By Reginald Coupland. Published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. Pp. 94.*

This is one of Longmans' Pamphlets on the British Commonwealth. The author is Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. If, however, the readers expect on this account that the pamphlet will throw any new light on the relations between Britain and India, they will be disappointed. It differs in no way from the conventional type of works which have been produced in any number either by peripatetic British journalists or by retired members of the Indian Civil Service.

The pamphlet opens with the usual observation that India had never any political unity before the advent of the British and that it is more a continent than a country. It then takes us through the different wars and battle which the British had to fight before they could create the political unity which is "the most remarkable fact about India today." It then refers to the humanitarian activities of the British Government in respect of the suppression of *suttee*, introduction and expansion of modern education, the adoption of different legal codes and economic development of the country. None of the pieces of information supplied in this connection will add to the knowledge of a school boy. In respect of economic development, the observations of the author are particularly puerile.

The author was a member of the Lee Commission and has an old-fashioned and out of date enthusiasm for the achievements of the Indian Civil Service. He does not refer either to its present-day incompetence or to the constitutional incongruity of this body of officials created for the needs of the 18th century but wholly unsuited to the conditions of modern India. The author further takes us through the Indian struggle for freedom and refers in this connection to the activities of the Indian National Congress, Amritsar massacre, and non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements on the one side and to the doses of political reforms which have been conferred from time to time upon this country by the British Parliament.

The Britishers have a peculiar knack of hypnotising themselves as to the superiority of everything done by people of their own race. Even when Professor Coupland writes on the Indian nationalist movement and on the reaction of the British political reforms on the Indian mind, he depends for his information and opinion upon earlier British writers. It is only in regard to Mahatma Gandhi's views about the present War that he turns to the issues of Harijan, otherwise he cites the authority of Chirol, Lovett and other Englishmen who have written about the nationalist movement in this country. This is why the writings on India even by distinguished Britishers become garbled and untrustworthy. It is unfortunate that they become the medium through which not only the people of Britain but also those of other countries happen to get their facts as well as views about India.

Professor Coupland has not enhanced his reputation by writing this pamphlet.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

THE RAMAYANA POLITY: *By Miss P. C. Dharma, M.A., D.Litt. With Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras, 1941. Pp. ix+102.*

In this short monograph which won for the authoress the Doctorate degree of the Madras University, she claims to have worked up the hitherto neglected data in the Ramayana into a description of "the polity that existed during the period subsequent to the Vedic and

preceding the Bharata period." We may at once concede that the authoress has honestly striven to deal with almost all the aspects of the polity falling within her cognizance. This will sufficiently appear from the titles of her chapters, viz., *General Introduction, System of Government, The Central Administration, The Ministry, Permanent Higher Officials, Revenue Administration, Administration of Law and Justice, Local Administration and Military Organization*. To the credit of the authoress it must also be said that she has spared no pains in collecting materials from her single source-book and has tried to explain their place in the general scheme of evolution of the Hindu Polity. Nevertheless, we have regretfully to admit our inability to accept much of her interpretation of her source-book as well as the data collected therefrom. To begin with the chronological setting and significance of the Ramayana, she accepts the exploded theory of an "Epic Age" (which she further subdivides into the Ramayana and the Mahabharata periods) intervening between the Vedic and the Buddhistic periods: the Ramayana is in her opinion "a biographical sketch" (*sic*) of Rama (p. 1) and is a unique contemporary work (p. 2) dating most probably from "the 6th to the 8th century B.C." (*sic*) (p. 5). Against this alleged extreme antiquity of Valmiki's Epic, it is enough to refer to its metre and diction as well as its historical references to Sakas and Yavanas (1-55).

Turning to the contents of the present work, we must say that while the structure of this polity has been sufficiently dealt with, its functions have not received their full measure of attention. What is still more regrettable, many of the conclusions in this work appear to be based on unproved assumptions or at best insufficient evidence. Witness, e.g., the categorical statement (p. 12) that "the form of government during the Ramayana period was a limited monarchy," which is based on alleged cheeks like "the people's voice in the choice of their king, the limitations imposed upon him by the coronation-oath and the king's dependence on the ministry and the various representative assemblies of the people" (p. 96). Witness again, the confident assertion of "the King's proprietorship in the land" based on no better evidence than a poetical hyperbole (p. 30). Turning to another point, we must say that the authoress's rendering of the technical terms according to modern terminology is often unconvincing: Cf. p. 36 where *paurajanapada* is taken to mean (on the authority of the late K. P. Jayaswal) a representative body consisting of representatives of inhabitants of the capital city and the countryside, and p. 47 where the body of *Amatyas* is translated as 'Cabinet.' On p. 58, the main sources of revenue are stated to be "taxes, tributes and royalties," but the first is based on a very loose rendering of the revenue-term *bali* which means in the Smritis and Epics the land-revenue and nothing else, (the authoress's translation as *profits* bears no scrutiny). In this connexion, it may be pointed out that contradictions are by no means uncommon in the present work, e.g., the statement about the constitutional position of the monarch (p. 12) is accompanied with the observation (pp. 18-19) that the King's office was divine and the King himself was considered to be of divine origin, similarly the *sabha* is described (p. 35) as a Popular Assembly corresponding to "the present-day Parliament or Legislative Assembly" (*sic*), while its constitution is said (p. 36) to be made up of officials as well as non-officials; again, we are told (p. 95) that "from the Vedic period onwards monarchy was consolidating itself as the normal form of government" while later down on the same page occurs the statement that "during the Buddhistic period we find the republican

form of government flourishing." Finally, it may be asked why the authoress has followed only one recension of the Ramayana to the complete exclusion of all other recensions.

U. N. GHOSHAL

AJMER, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE :
By Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. Published by the Fine Printing Press, Ajmer. 1941. Pp. 458.

This is the second edition of Mr. Sarda's well-known book with the same title published in 1911. "The present book, however, is practically a new one. Not only has every chapter of it been rewritten, enlarged and brought up-to-date but several new chapters have been added." It is superfluous to speak of Mr. Sarda's fame as a historian, and his valuable contributions to the history of Rajputana in the form of learned biographies of Maharana Kumbha, Maharana Sanga, and Hamir. With the people at large he is better-remembered as the author of the patriotic volume of *Hindu Superiority*, and perhaps best known as an intrepid social reformer and originator of *Child Marriage Restraint Act*. All his historical works bear the stamp of thoroughness and accuracy.

The book under review is a Gazetteer, Guide-book and History ingeniously made up into an extremely useful and readable volume. Mr. Sarda has utilised all available sources of information in print, and as a genuine researcher got photos of rare MSS. (e.g., *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdulla) from abroad. He has given a full bibliography in Appendix C. His is a book calling up weird memories of a romantic city ever known to fame as an abode of chivalry, learning and valour. We wish every historic city of India had a history as full and accurate as that of Ajmer by Mr. Sarda. Space does not permit a detailed notice of the importance of the book. One has to read it only to admire the success of Mr. Sarda's labour of love. Mr. Seshadri justly remarks in the Foreword, "With him it is an act of pious duty, a son's loving tribute to his mother, to

*The ashes of his fathers,
And the temple of his Gods."*

Diwan Bahadur Sarda with his intimate local knowledge has been able to explode more than one historical myth; e.g., the name of *Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra* given to the Mosque of Ajmer. We quite agree with Mr. Sarda that this fictitious name originated with the *fakhirs* and their huts (*jhonpra*) that clustered round the place during the celebration of *urs* (anniversary) of the Pir which was allowed to last for two days and half under the Maratha rule. Nowhere one comes across a clearer treatment of topography and history of Taragarh (Garh Beethi) as in Mr. Sarda's book. We wish this book a wide circulation among scholars as well as the average reading public.

K. R. QANUNGO

TO THE STUDENTS (Third Edition). Pp. 360.
Price Rs. 4-8 and

TO THE WOMEN (First Edition). Pp. 264.
Price Rs. 3-12.

Edited by Anand T. Hingorani. Agents—Kitabis-tan, Allahabad.

The two volumes consist of articles, speeches, etc., of Mahatma Gandhi on those problems which concern students and women. Lovers of Gandhian literature may miss a few old favourites here and there but it must be admitted by every one of them that great care has been exercised in making the selections which, on the whole, may be said to be representative and to have been done with commendable discrimination.

While these two volumes are addressed primarily to the students and women of India, they constitute an

admirable compilation of certain utterances of Mahatma Gandhi which have a very important bearing on some of the most burning social and economic problems of our motherland. We find these stated in all their stark reality with a frankness not often found in the pronouncements of many of our public men and leaders. Along with it, helpful suggestions for their solution which go to their very roots are offered. This is done with that unerring directness for which our national leader enjoys such an enviable reputation.

The temptation to pick out and to refer to the gems of these two collections is almost irresistible but it is difficult to select them where all or nearly all are perfect specimens.

These volumes are commended to the attention of all who take any interest in the future social, economic and even the political evolution of our motherland.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

WILL WAR COME TO INDIA ? By N. G. Jog. Published by the New Book Company, Bombay. 1941. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 3.

This book is a collection of weekly war commentaries which the author had to write for the *Bombay Chronicle*. These articles have been re-arranged chronologically and cover a wide range of subjects, namely, political ideologies, diplomatic intrigues, military strategy and the like. To anyone who would like to re-read the opening phases of World War No. II of this century Mr. Jog's chronicle will offer a fascinating study. The author is an eminent journalist and has written his commentaries with enthusiasm in an entertaining style.

One would, however, like to observe that the author had to depend entirely on *Reuter's* messages for his interpretations as to the trends of the War. Mr. Jog's treatment has, therefore, remained mainly descriptive, occasionally indulging in wishful thinking which could be mistaken for propaganda. It lacks critical analysis and impartial judgment. The author does not deal with or even suggest the psychological background of this War which is so essential for a proper understanding of the new problems and forces that are emerging from the present world conflagration.

The book bears a title which formulates a very important question but does not furnish the answer. In the meantime, Japan's entry into the War has stopped all speculations regarding India being involved in war.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

A CALL TO UNITY AND ACTION : By Abdul Jabbar. With a foreword by Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, Kt. Published by Abdul Jabbar, Hafiz Manzil, Ajmer. Pp. 214.

A number of verses from the Holy Quran has been published in their English dress under the above caption. The rendering is that of Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., whose name is sufficient guarantee for its excellence, but Mr. Jabbar is responsible for the selection and arrangement. The matter is divided into twelve sections—Allah's injunctions and prohibition, beliefs of Islam, directions about food and fasting, pilgrimage and holy war, prayers and prophets, etc.

The introduction requires more than a passing notice, as it unfolds the special purpose the book is designed to serve—to explain the true nature of Islam, Islam the religion of peace, and, through such correct interpretation, to help to restore mutual sympathy and good-fellowship among the different communities of India, specially the Hindus and the Mussalmans. May the spread of the Holy Quran pave the way to such a unity !

Many of the notes repay perusal. One of them points out in particular that the Muslim must guard himself against every kind of sex abuse or sex perversion. Let us hope all readers who will take the trouble of going through the book will agree with Sir S. Sultan Ahmed that "sympathetic understanding of the most cherished beliefs and ideals of each other is the only permanent means of peace and happiness for mankind." That, at least, was the idea which prompted the editor to the work which he undertook, in a spirit of devotion to the sacred memory of the Holy Saint Khwaja Moinud-din Chisthi Ajmeri (whose Khadim Mr. Jabbar aspires to be) and of service to Mother India.

P. R. SEN

MUST WE FIGHT ? By "Shahid Pravin." Published by Mr. M. P. G. Menam for Pravin Publication from 2/15, Kankulia Road, Calcutta. Sept., 1941. Pp. 176+ii. Price annas twelve.

This is a nicely-got-up brochure on the lines of Pelican books by an enterprising young publicist which deserves to be widely read. It is informative as well as argumentative. This is "a socialist's answer to the question," and the answer is on the well-known lines elaborated for some time past by Mr. M. N. Roy and recently adopted by certain students and youth organisations in the country. Specially suggestive are the writer's chapters on "The Communal Problem," "An Answer to the Pacifist's Case against War," and "What we should guard Against."

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

***THE RED TORTOISE AND OTHER TALES OF RURAL INDIA :** By N. Gangulee. Published by the India Society. Pp. x+90. Price 3sh. 6d.

This little volume, the proceeds from whose sale will be devoted by the India Society to Red Cross Funds, sets out to narrate eight simple but beautiful stories current in the villages of India. They are preceded by a short sketch depicting the village background and introducing Trigunananda, the teller of the tales. Mr. Gangulee must be congratulated for the way in which he has captured the entrancing atmosphere of the stories and the child-like simplicity of their language. An additional attraction which makes the book more thoroughly worthwhile both to read and to possess is the sketching of Feliks Topolski, extremely sensitive and suggestive pencillings.

K. C. ADDY

SANSKRIT

SAKTISANGAMA TANTRA, VOL. II. TARA-KHANDA. GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES, No. XCI : Critically edited with a Preface by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D., Rajyaratna, Jnanajyoti, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

We have here the long-expected second part of the work, the first part of which was reviewed in these pages in February, 1933. The present part also like its predecessors is based on four manuscripts variants from which have been laboriously collected and recorded in the footnotes. This contains a version of the work divided into 71 chapters. It is not clear how the number of chapters is indicated in the different MSS. used for the edition; some of the chapter-colophons in the published edition (like those of chapters 2, 4, 11 and 14) are, it is definitely stated, inserted by the editor himself and the discrepancy with the MSS. in the case of a few others is pointed out. One of the MSS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which omits twenty chapters (39-58) seems to contain a shorter version. The present part principally deals with the details of

Vamacara in connection with the worship of different deities. The colophons systematically refer to it simply as the second part and there is nowhere any reference to the title *Tarakhanda*.

It is rather unfortunate that considerations of the risk of misunderstanding led the learned editor occasionally to omit passages and expressions of the text which are apparently of a revolting nature. This puts unnecessary difficulties in the way of scholars eager to make an important study of the Tantras. As regards the real significance of Tantric injunctions of worship, the genuine Tantra literature as a whole and not any stray portions of it divested from their context should be the basis of any interpretation. Disregard of this principle has led to two extremes in the field of Tantric interpretations: one, seeking an esoteric interpretation into every line and the other, decrying the Tantra as *Kamasutra* in a garb. Wrong interpretations can be discouraged only by the publication of all authoritative works including digests and commentaries, and not by withholding select portions and thereby further exciting the curiosities of adverse critics. We would therefore request the learned editor, on behalf of the world of scholars, to publish the omitted portions in the form of an appendix along with the next part of the work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SRI-VICHARA-VINDU : By Swami Mangalanath. Chapter I. With two commentaries—one in Sanskrit and another in Hindi—by Prof. Nrisinhadev Sastri. Edited by Prof. Gopichandra Varma Sastri, B.A. Published by the same from Dayal Singh College, Lahore. Pp. 448.

This is a book on Vedanta philosophy and advocates the value of discursive and rational knowledge as the only means by which the soul may attain salvation. The two commentaries are very well and ably written and give clear exposition of the subject in an attractive style. The editor also deserves congratulation on the nice get-up and printing of the book. To persons who have renounced the world and are seeking salvation, the book is offered as a free gift. Others also may obtain it by paying annas eight only for postage. There are several centres in Rishikesh and in the Punjab for the free distribution of the book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BENGALI

KACHURI PANA : By Rai Bahadur Debendra Nath Mitra of the Rural Development Department of the Government of Bengal. Published by Globe Nursery, Shambazar, Calcutta. Pp. 1-42. Price annas eight.

The author knows what he is speaking about; and the result is an extremely practical hand-book showing how the water-hyacinth pest can be at least partially checked, if not controlled. The value of the booklet has been enhanced by a lucid account of the life history of the plant, and several plates including a tri-colour one. Every Union Board should purchase ten copies of the booklet, and circulate it among its inhabitants. Our only regret is that the Bengal Government (which sometimes wastes money in permitting its officers to make reflections against non-officials in its official publication, e.g., in the *Resam-Silpa*; the Deputy Director of Sericulture speaks sneeringly of the ignorance of the members of the Silk Committee) has not found its way to publish it officially and distribute it throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Director of Public Instruction should make this a prize-book for all upper-primary and higher schools.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

KOKILA : By Ramanlal V. Desai. Pp. 386. Price Re. 1-8.

SNEHA-YAGNA (IN TWO PARTS) : By Ramanlal V. Desai. Pp. 184. Price annas eight, each part.

SAT INQILABI ITWAR (IN THREE PARTS) : By R. Sander. Pp. 538. Price annas eight, each part.

KARL AUR ANNA : By Leonard Frank. Pp. 98. Price annas eight.

All published by Saraswati Press, Benares.

These are all translations, the first two from the original Gujarati novels of Ramanlal V. Desai, one of the leading novelists of Bombay, made by Gaurishankar Ojha and Shyamu Sanyasi respectively; and the last two from the original English novels, "Seven Red Sundays" and "Carl and Anna" rendered by Narayanswarup Mathur and Devraj Upadhyaya. They all belong to what is known as the Progressive School in Modern Literature and though they "burn and blister," yet they make one sit up and scan things for himself. How much of this "hot stuff" when cooled down, will be found to have in it the bread of life is another matter.

Be that as it may, one cannot but appreciate the aim of the go-ahead publishers, which is to acquaint the Hindi-reading public through competent translations, with some of the most popular books in the present-day literatures of the various provinces of India as well as in English. If culture means making contacts with literatures besides one's own, then Saraswati Press, Benares, is truly serving the cause of culture. And by combining cheap price with neat printing and get-up it has brought that culture to our very doors.

EK SATYAVIR KI KATHA : By Mahatma Gandhi. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 40. Price anna one.

This is a story of Socrates,—that heroic seeker of Truth—by another heroic seeker of Truth living in our days, namely, Mahatma Gandhi. Any one, reading it, is bound to have his "faith in" the ultimate fruitfulness of Truth deepened.

G. M.

TELUGU

PARATATVARASAYANA : By Iswara Phanibhatta. Edited by K. Ramakrishnaiah, M.A., and S. Lakshmiipathi Sastri, Madras University. Telugu Series No. 10. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.

This book, consisting of five chapters, is one of the few Prabandhas in Telugu Literature that have Philosophy for their theme. Phanibhatta adopted the story of Harasnatkumara Samvada from the Mahabharata and treated it in the usual Prabandha form in order to popularise the principles of Sankhya and Yoga as means of final liberation. The legendary content of the work tones down the abstract philosophical ideas contained in it. In form and design the classical quality has been maintained throughout with scrupulous care.

We are glad to receive such a distinguished piece of solid work in Telugu Literature under the patronage of the University of Madras.

VAKULAMALIKA : By Sri Sivasankara Sastri. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 98.

This booklet contains plenty of love-lyrics in popular verse. Several of them are set to music. The

poems are interspersed with emotional and passionate appeal.

These beautifully drawn-out lyrics are sure to interest the modern coterie.

K. V. SUBBA RAO .

MALAYALAM

MUSLIM NAMASKARA KRAMAM. (MUSLIM PRAYER BOOK) : *By A. Muhammed Sahib. Printed at V. V. Press Branch, Trivandrum. (2nd Edition, revised). 8vo. Pp. 32. Trivandrum, 1112. Price 3 chackrams.*

This is a prayer book, or a guide to the prayers of the Muslims, compiled after a careful study by the author of the original and authoritative works on Islam. It has a useful introduction in which there are explanatory notes given with the object of familiarising the readers with the meanings and contents of Arabic ecclesiastical terms, the five Kalimas, ablutions, observances, fasts, etc. It is followed by a series of prayers in Arabic, transliterated in Malayalam character, with their renderings in Malayalam, and the description of the postures in which they are to be said. The effort of the author is to be appreciated which, of course, was impelled by a keen desire to educate his Muslim brethren in Kerala in the true Islamic faith and in the proper and correct observances of Islamic worship. The book therefore will prove to be useful and instructive to those for whom it is intended.

P. O. MATTHAI

TAMIL

SUTHAVANA PURANAM : *By Rm. C. Chokkalingham Chettiar, Karaikudi. Published by C. Meenakshisundaram Chettiar, Devasthanam Superintendent, Kovilur, Muthupet Post, Tanjore. Second Edition. 1927. Price not given.*

A purana of an orthodox type, following the traditions to the minutest details.

SACRED SAYINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA : *Published by Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalayam, Coimbatore. 1942. Pp. xi+53. Price anna one.*

A fine collection of some of the pithy sayings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa on life and religion. The translation has not in any way affected their lucidity.

SRI PRACHNOTHRA RATHNAMALIKA OF SRI SANKARACHARYA, THE FOUNDER OF SRINGARIMUTT, MYSORE : *With the Tamil version by Sri Chandrasekarendra Saraswathi of Kamakoti Peedam, Conjeevaram. Published by B. G. Pal and Co., Francis Joseph Street, Madras. 1941. Pp. 32. Price annas two.*

This booklet is a primer of the Santana Dharma of the Hindus given in the form of questions and answers under the original Sanskrit slokas. The sale proceeds of this work are to be given away as prizes to pupils who come out successful in an examination by school authorities on this.

SRI MUKUNDAMALA : *Translated by T. Sundarachariar, B.A., B.L., Shiyali. With the Sanskrit text and a foreword from Sri Kamakoti Sankaracharya Swamikal of Conjeevaram. Published by B. G. Pal and Co., Francis Joseph Street, Madras. 1941. Pp. 50. Price annas four.*

Sanskrit slokas in praise of Mukunda are reproduced in this booklet in Tamil characters, paraphrased and briefly commented upon with some quotations from Thirukkural here and there.

MADHAVAN

GUJARATI

(1) PARISHAD PRAMUKHONAN BHASHANO, (2) SHRI HEMA SARASWAT SATRA, (3) GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD, THIRTEENTH SESSION, KARACHI, (4) AITIHASIK SANSHADHAN : *By D. K. Shahstri. All published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Office, Andheri, Bombay. 1941. Price Rs. 4, Rs. 3, Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 respectively.*

At a bound, the Director and his Assistant of the Bharabya Vidya Bhavan who were entrusted with the work of publishing these substantial volumes, have made up the arrears and brought up-to-date all that was lying unpublished. The volumes are representative of the varied activities of the Parishad and contribute a valuable addition to the modern literature of Gujarat. The first volume contains the speeches and brief life-sketches of the Presidents of the different sessions of the conference, since its commencement in 1905—thirteen in all. The collection is a storehouse of literary information and research. The second volume is an *In Memoriam* one, commemorating the services of Hemchandra Acharya, the literary giant and Panini of medieval Gujarat, whose monumental services clamored for a home and a place where they could be profitably utilised. Thanks to the imagination and energy of Mr. K. M. Munshi a special session of the conference was held at Patan, the capital of Siddharaj Jayasinh, where Hem Chandra Acharya lived and flourished, and various speeches were delivered and papers read on the inestimable work of the Acharya in various directions. A permanent house is now established in the suburbs of Bombay to continue the work inaugurated at Patan. The third volume records the activities of the thirteenth session of the conference held at Karachi under the Presidentship of Mr. Munshi, and includes the large number of papers read there. The fourth volume is a collection of writings during the last twenty-five years and over of a well-known scholar of Gujarat, whose forte is research in old Gujarati history and mythology, Shastri Durgashankar Kavalram. The six sections into which his contributions are divided comprise different lines of research, and a description of the several holy places in Gujarat. An amount of trouble and hard work have resulted in presenting to Gujarati literature books on various interesting subjects.

BHIKSHU AKHANDANAND : *Written by Trim-baklal Maweklal Shukla. Published by the Ramakrishna Seva Samiti, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 47. Price annas two.*

Bhikshu Akhandanand, who died only recently, had made a name for himself, as the originator of the spread of wholesome Gujarati literature—religious, medicinal, poetical, folk-lore, and popular—by means of cheap printing and cheaply priced books. He had devoted his whole life to it and in spite of insurmountable difficulties, had succeeded by means of his perseverance and honesty of purpose in establishing a printing press and publishing institution which is functioning even after his death. This small book gives a sketch of the life and the difficulties, of the Swami, and thus furnishes a model to others to follow in the footsteps of the deceased.

K. M. J.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for June, 1942, p. 571, Col. 1 (bottom) Read B.E. 804 for B.C. 804.

MALABAR AND CHINA

By T. K. JOSEPH

It is indeed a far cry from Cathay to Kerala—from China to Malabar. Yet even in the early days when the modern means of travel which Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek recently used in their historic visit to North India, were not even dreamt of, the adventurous merchants, and perhaps also the Nestorian and pre-Nestorian Christians of China came in their 'junks' and 'sampans' to South India and Ceylon, and vestiges of their visits still survive in these places.

The earliest extant reference to Chinese visits to the Indian Ocean south of the Bay of Bengal, seems to be in the *History of the Later Han*, according to which Chinese junks began to carry their cargoes to Ceylon, where they were met by ships from the Roman Empire since 166 A.D. In that year some merchants styling themselves ambassadors from "An-tan," Marcus Aurelius Antonius, the Emperor of Ta Ch'in (the Roman Empire), arrived at Lo-yang, the Chinese capital. In the Quilon Syrian Christian copper-plates of about 880 A.D. there are signatures of Persians, Jews, and Muslims (perhaps from Arabia) in Pahlavi, Hebrew and Kufic characters. These people were then in Quilon (in Travancore) for purposes of trade, and if eastern traders were not ousted by them through jealousy, the Chinese too must have been there at that time.

The Latin missionary John of Monte Corvino (about 1291 A.D.), a contemporary of the famous Marco Polo, must have found Chinese junks in Quilon and Mylapore, and gone on to Peking in one of those vessels. A Malayalam poem, probably of 1341 A.D., makes specific mention of junks and sampans, both Chinese craft, 'as going forth from Quilon across the entire ocean like the Quilon King's fame.' Chonaadan (i.e., Coromandel) vessels too are mentioned in the above passage as performing the same feat.

There is numismatic evidence too of Chinese trade with Malabar. Round Chinese coins with square holes in the centre have been found in North Travancore, attached to the ends of strings used in tying up palm-leaf manuscripts. Four sets of these coins have been identified as belonging to—

1. Shao Sheng (1094-98 A.D.).
2. Yung Lo (1423-25).

3. Kien Leing (1736-96).
4. Kia K'ing (1796-1821).

There are others also unidentified. All these are about an inch in diameter. It is worth noting that small Dutch coins of the 18th century (about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter) were found used in the above libraries for the same purpose. Holes had to be specially made in these coins for tying them to strings.

Very big Chinese jars, called *Cheena Bharani*, about 5 ft. in height are found in many of the ancient houses of Malabar. The biggest of these is a jar found in a house in North Travancore. It is a permanent fixture occupying a whole room, and ladders are (or were) used to reach the top of the jar. It is not known whether the jar is still there or not. Tradition says that a Chinaman who came and lived in that house years or centuries ago made the jar for the master of the house. One peculiarity of Chinese jars found in Travancore is that most of them have a portion of the rim broken. It is said that this was done intentionally by the Chinese importers to avoid paying customs duty, which seems to have been levied only on unbroken jars.

There are also other reminders of Chinese intercourse with Malabar. *Cheena-vala* (Chinese fishing net) is very conspicuous in the Cochin backwaters, and the small hat umbrellas used by the fishermen in Cochin seem to be of Chinese origin. There was in use the *Cheenakkuda* (Chinese umbrella) of waxed silk, but it has gone out of fashion. It was foldable like the modern European umbrella. *Cheen* is the name of a kind of large boat, perhaps an imitation of the sampan. The curious-looking snake-boats of Travancore used in the annual boat races have eyes of brass, and something akin to the Chinese dragon. But it is not known whether they are in imitation of Chinese or Burmese originals. Malabar houses and temples have gables not unlike Chinese gables. It cannot be affirmed, however, that these are of Chinese origin. Some ascribe these to Buddhist influence, and some to a North Indian source. The pole (called *kaavu*) used in some localities to carry loads dangling from either end may also be said to be of Chinese origin.

The language of Malabar has several compound words beginning with *Cheena* (Chinese).

But it cannot be said for certain that all of them represent objects of Chinese provenance. For the word *Cheena* appears to have, in later years, acquired the sense of foreign. Here are some of the *Cheena*-compounds with their meanings :—

1. Cheena—kalkandam : Sugar candy.
2. " —kuzhal : Telescope or flute.
3. " —chatti : Cast-iron vessel or cast-iron.
4. " —paavu : Chinese tuber.
5. " —mulaku : Chinese cubeb.
6. " —kaaram : Alum.
7. " —vedi : Coloured fireworks.
8. " —veli : Lattice-work.
9. " —mula : (Yellow) bamboo.

10. Cheena—pattu : Chinese silk.
11. " —kozhi : Chinese fowl.
12. " —avara : Chinese bean (not soya).
13. " —chemparuthi : Hibiscus rosasinensis.
14. Kaanthaari-cheeni : Small capsicum.

The word *Cheeni* itself has five senses in Malayalam—(1) sugar, (2) tapioca, (3) sweet potato, (4) anchor, and (5) flute. Only the last two of these seem to have any connection with China. It is supposed also that the words chaaya (tea), chantha (market), katti (weight), pattu (silk), and kanji (congee) are of Chinese origin.

RAMMOHUN ROY TO WILLIAM WARD, OF MEDFORD—AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

THIS is a letter of Rammohun Roy to Wm. Ward, Jun. of Medford dated February 5, 1824, procured for me by my friend Mr. Amal Home. At that time, as all readers of his biographies are aware, he was very much interested in Christianity. Three days previously, i.e., on 2nd February 1824, he had replied to a letter from the Rev. Henry Ware, Unitarian Minister of Harvard College, Cambridge, United States, answering a number of questions on "the prospects of Christianity and the means of promoting its reception in India." The substance of Rammohun's letter is given on pp. 89-92 of Miss Collet's *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (2nd ed.) where we find him expressing his delight to hear that a large section of the Americans "have engaged in purifying the religion of Christ from those absurd idolatrous doctrines and practices, with which the Greek, Roman, and Barbarian converts to Christianity have mingled it from time to time." The reader will find the same sentiments expressed in this letter, as also an interesting sidelight on the question of building a chapel in Calcutta.

My dear Sir,

As the ship *George* the last ship of the season is sailing for Boston, I take this opportunity of bringing myself to your recollection. Some of your philanthropic countrymen have favoured me by Cap : Keard [sic] with their communications and with some very acceptable works—a correspondence which has afforded me greater

satisfaction than a great favour coming from an absolute Monarch—I have no language to express the joy I feel at the idea that an able and enlightened people have conscientiously engaged in rooting out the remaining Romish corruptions from the religion of Christ. I therefore pray sincerely that their success may be greater than or equal to that of Luther and others whose zeal and devotion to the cause of truth enabled them to free this pure religion from a great portion of heathenism and papish absurdities.

We have not yet been able to build a Chapel on account of the high price of the ground which has at present risen to three times the former value of land in Calcutta.

I hope you have been perfectly well and gratified by the society of your friends and relations in your native country.

The Revd Mr. Adam may perhaps have written you all the local news I therefore conclude this with my best wishes for your health, happiness and success and remain with regard and esteem

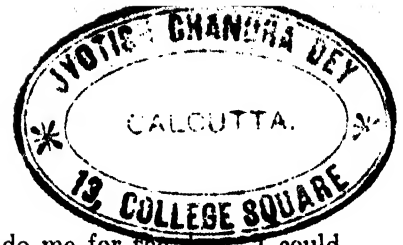
Yours very sincerely
Rammohun Roy

Calcutta
Feb'y. 5th 1824

W. Ward Esqr. Jun.
Boston
United States
By favour of
Cap : Endecott

A HIMALAYAN DAY

By JAMES H. COUSINS



THE road from Darjeeling to Tibet passes through Kalimpong. Long treks were not on our programme for the summer of 1926. A day's march towards the Snows and overnight in a travellers' bungalow was the limit; and after all it would be a good boast seeing that it was fifteen hundred miles and more from our home in the south. Rishisum, the next stage from Kalimpong to Shigatze, was chosen. Two ponies were chartered. She (the other member of the party) mounted in a swoop up and over, having been born next door to a stable and reared side-saddle. My one and only apprenticeship for riding in the lower Himalayas, about six thousand feet up, was an occasion over fifty years previously, when I was cocked up on a broad-based farm-horse by an agricultural uncle on the slopes above Carrickfergus on the Belfast Lough. I had no visible means of support, and could only grip the horse's mane and stiffen my tender arms to stay aloft when the inconsiderate animal bent its head to a stream for a drink. The fright of the occasion was tucked away somewhere in the folds of what I learned afterwards was my sub-consciousness, and did not encourage equestrian adventure. I believed Her and the pony-boys (officially called syces) when they assured me it was quite easy. All you had to do was to get up, and stay up. I put my foot in the stirrup for the mount, whereupon the stirrup-strap broke: a not very reassuring start. The strap was repaired with string, and I actually tried again, and got across the pony's back. By some miracle of balancing I managed to ride through the village radiating the impression that I was a seasoned follower of hounds.

Thus we got to the then narrow and rough path beyond the village, where life ceased to be relatively civilized and became heroic. At one of the countless points at which one could find one's end by falling two thousand feet or less over the unvalled edge of the pony-track, my steed put a foot on a boulder which, being loose, speeded into the abyss where I too might have raced it only for my horoscope or some other expedient of destiny. The pony, after a slight jolt that went down my spine, ambled on as if nothing had happened beyond the ordinary; and all I could do was to give thanks that it had three spare legs over and above the one that proved that fate was not yet.

All the same I had had enough heroism, or

whatever it was, to do me for the day. I could not dismount in the orthodox manner between the cliff on the left and the precipice on the right. So I chose the only other available way of getting my feet out of the stirrups when the syce was not observing me, drawing my breath for a giddy unbalanceable instant, and gliding to earth down the pony's hind-quarters with its tail as a grip. The action was, I fancy, both inartistic and technically impossible. But I am quite sure it succeeded.

And then, at the psychological moment, came the storm that a moment earlier would probably have concluded this narrative. We had been warned to be wary of mule-teams bringing wool from Tibet, and to keep close to the inside of the path if any came. Otherwise.... A call and a gesture by the pony-boy ahead with Her made my boy chivy my pony to the specified place. I had anticipated fate and put my back to the wall in time to let a gang of hooligans in mule-shapes run past with snapping teeth and white-rimmed eyes, moved by some excitement or jest that was beyond my merely human comprehension. None of them went down the abyss; but we were cheered afterwards by stories of quadrupedal and bipedal skeletons that lined the track to Lhasa, apparently to prevent one's losing one's way. She (the partner) had, as usual, ridden the storm serenely.

The remainder of the ten-mile trek to Rishisum was without note, if one leaves out the vast hill-and-valley scenery southwards towards the Plains, and the dropping of leeches from the jungle-branches through which the road passed beyond the precipitous section. I had walked briskly behind my pony for some miles and had developed anything but a Himalayan temperature. When we got within range of the bungalow some sense of dignity (also of allowing the creature to earn some of its money for carrying me) lifted me on to its back again; and, by inspiration, which according to Carlyle is largely perspiration I got into the Iambic rhythm proper to a trot. And thus we sailed up the last incline of the first stage of the journey from Kalimpong to the Snows as if to the manner born. Dusk was descending. Rain came down, persistent and heavy, with vivid lightning and raspish thunder. We were confined indoors and denied the joy of feeling the dark vastness and Shelley's "solemn midnight's tingling silentness." So, after a plain meal in

plain surroundings, illuminated and fumigated by kerosene lamps, we followed the first half of the proverb, "Early to bed, and early to rise..."

The second half of the proverb asserted itself at what must have been the first hint of dawn after the storm of the night had ceased. My sleep was annihilated by the mantram, "Oh! Jim—Snows!" From then, or two minutes later, we sat in any reachable coverings (without distinction of sex, caste or salary) in the mountain-air on the verandah, and watched with almost winkless eyes and throbbing pulses the miracle of impalpably but obviously growing light over what must be one of the most stupendous spectacles on the earth.

But stupendousness was not the first impression. Our view-point was about 8,000 feet above sea-level. From somewhere beyond forested slopes below us a white ocean had been frozen into hills and hollows to the horizon's serrated brim. On the right-hand sides of the waves the coming sun drew pink and rose responses to the pink and rose sky in the east, checkered by long shadows whose colour in the half-light and distance could not be distinguished with more certainty than "dark." Here and there the spume of the frozen ocean had settled as white mists in the troughs of the waves. A second impression was that of a relief-map, recently unpacked from the maker, with bits of wadding in hollows between heights. From our coign of vantage we looked down upon it, though it was twice as high as we were, with what might be the aloofness of Celestials surveying the tiny ups-and-downs of our lives that appear so lofty or so abysmal to us who are among them. In our eyes, at that height and farawayness, the scene before us occupied the same space on the retina as a chessboard or an open book. Distance lent disenchantment to the view.

Then came a spot of burning throbbing gold in the east. A microscopic point it was in the firmament; but it had an influence unrelated to size, for the eastward sides of the waves now gave back gold for gold as the sun swung up over the horizon and from ninety-three million miles sent the invisible rays that through the atmosphere of the earth were transformed into the light of day. And we shared in the illumination. Sight became insight. The image on the retina was translated into the mental equivalents of hundreds of spare miles of high mountains and deep valleys, soaring peaks and sheer cliffs, glowing spaces and gloomy chasms; stupendous, pure—and dead. Dead, to human reckoning; but who shall say that, apart from the invisible gossamer-path laid in and out of the hollows

for the occasional feet of holy pilgrimage or the hooves of commerce, these majestic and unsullied spaces are not the haunts of lives within the Universal Life, lives as far beyond human generation as the Snows are, in their dimensions and texture, beyond the fabrication of human craftsmanship? Shall we not rather cry, as AE cried when he gazed on that other stupendous spectacle, the apparently limitless Atlantic Ocean, from the taffrail of a staggering liner:

"For what winged and wonderful creatures
Shall this wide beauty be home?"

It takes high heroism of imagination to populate the vastnesses among which humanity pursues its miniature existence of sensual acquisition and mutual enmity, touched by pin-points of aspiration, with Presences of the Order of Devas and Seraphim that surround the Throne of God.

Half-way between such imaginative optimism, which may be synonymous with reality, and pessimistic negation, the creative artistic imagination, being Janus-faced, looks not only "before and after" but from here to there; and when intimacy with vastness would becloud its vision, turns away from the Power that in an instant's gesture could annihilate centuries of human achievement, and contemplates the miracle of the finite with which Nature balances and supports and makes exposition of the infinite. Thoughts like these came upon me that morning at Rishisum, and later found expression in verse.

THE BURDEN OF IMMENSITY

I

Bring incense and all instruments of praise
Before the snow-spread altars of the Hills.
Yet, though the soul to solemn worship wills,
Stark sight and sound the sceptic senses daze.
On those colossal steepes no life-print stays.
While death stupendous steepes with silence fills;
While here the earth to awful thunder thrills
Instantly with the lightning-stroke that slays.

Oh! though the brow with eager search be
flushed,

It quails at scriptures writ too large to see.
By frigid power my votive hymn is hushed:
My tribute candle gutters uselessly;
And all my purpose is a petal crushed
Beneath the burden of immensity.

II

Wherefore to you I turn to be made strong,
O comprehensible dear transient things!—
Beauty between a butterfly's frail wings.
A dew-edged leaf, the bulbul's golden song.
To you and to all finite things belong
God's touch familiar on our quivering strings

And when in twilight the cicada twangs
Its jew's-harp for an hour, Oh ! I would sit
Where coils a creeper innocent of fangs,
And worship in an odorous quiet lit
By one bright star that from the night-branch
hangs
Tingling with rumours of the infinite !

At a fork in the path the ponies were diverted to the right for "a short-cut and a fine view." The short-cut was along the ridge of a water-conduit that disentangled itself from

A moment vast in majesty; the next
Dwindled to wanness of a sea-bleached shell;
Then, on the scroll of heaven a shining text
Saying, to spirits joyfully perplexed,
How near the static and ecstatic dwell !

On the broad and solid way at the entrance to the village I remounted my pony, and ambled home with the air of one who could, at a pinch, handle the horses of the Celtic hero Cuchulain or perhaps even of the Vedic Sun-God Surya.

By A. V. THAKKAR

The question of Adivasis is rarely before the public eye. Like Harijans they do not live in our villages and they do not serve us to the same extent as Harijans of various castes do. They are isolated in hills and forests and some in plains too, but there is a barrier between them and the rest of the population. In fact, they shun the people of the plains in general. But their number is not negligible. In 1931, they formed $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores out of a total population of 33 crores for India minus Burma. In 1941, they must have been, therefore, not less than $2\frac{3}{4}$ crores out of a total of 39 crores. The problem of these 266 lakhs of people, illiterate, steeped in poverty and crying aloud for their betterment, is not a small problem.

The following scraps of information regarding some of the tribes in different parts of our country may interest the reader and hence I jot them down.

1. *Bhils of Mewar*:—The State of Mewar or Udaipur has fortunately at present a sympathetic administrator in Sir T. Vijaya-raghavachariar—a name of 20 letters, but happily abbreviated to Sir Vijaya. Bhils and

Meenas are two large aboriginal communities of this State. Bhils, though once very brave and a ruling race, are now very timid and can be intimidated by an ordinary policeman or forest guard. Early this year a public worker explained to them in a public meeting the implications of Sec. 374 of the I. P. C. that anybody who exacts illegal, compulsory labour from any one is liable to 12 months' imprisonment. Taking advantage of this knowledge, they one morning refused to do the unpaid *Begar* or forced labour for a *Thikhanadar* or feudal zamindar of Mewar State, who was building his palace taking all the labour for it on a nominal wage. In Rajputana States these *Thikhanadars* are much more autocratic than the rulers of the States. When all the Bhils in a body refused to do the *Begar* and demanded the full wages—which were comparatively low in that secluded part, 4 as. per man and 2½ as. per woman—the *Thikhanadar* had to submit. The curse of *Begar* exists in many outlying parts of India even in peace times, more in the States. And the aboriginal tribes are more subjected to it than any other section of the people.

2. *Cheapest Liquor in Chhota-Nagpur* :—The province of Bihar has 16 districts and 6 of them are predominantly peopled by aborigines—Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Hos, Bhumijis and others. These were in the habit of making their own beer in their homes from rice and when excise law was enforced by the British Government, they were allowed the liberty to prepare the beer or Handia for their home consumption. But thereby excise revenue was considerably checked and therefore the far-seeing administrator invented what is called the Outstill System, i.e., the distillery and the liquor-selling shop, all in one. The one district of Santal Parganas with a population of about 20 lakhs has about 150 of such outstills, thus providing a drink close to the village, which can be surreptitiously, but almost openly, hawked and that too at a very cheap price. Ordinarily, liquor is sold at 8 to 12 annas a bottle, but here it is only 1 to 2 annas a bottle! Any man is allowed to purchase 6 bottles at a time from the shop and he hawks them in villages nearby as freely as aerated water bottles! The result is that people who are only drinkers on rare occasions have become hard drunkards, and penurious people are made more penurious by this system of encouraging drink at a cheap rate. The Bhils of Khandesh and Panchmahals in Bombay Province are in a much happier position on account of liquor sold to them being much more costly than that sold to Santals, Mundas and Oraons of Chhota-

Nagpur, even granting that some of the former take to illicit distillation.

3. *Nasik Koknis* :—Kokni Kunbis, Varlis, Katkaris and Thakurs form 95% of the population of the taluka of Peinth, one of the 12 and westernmost taluka of Nasik district. Though they call themselves Kokni Kunbis, they are not very different from other aboriginals, wild-looking, meagrely dressed, with a langoti only, addicted to drink and living apart from the rest of the population. They are very timid and even though they may have nothing in their homes and the crops may have failed completely, they would not dare say "No" to the tax collecting *Talati* and would borrow or beg but pay the Government dues. It so happened that the monsoon of 1941 was all concentrated in the month of July and there was very little rain in August to October in Peinth taluka. The result was that the rice-crop completely failed and the *Nāgli* crop, their staple food, came to hardly 3 to 4 annas in a rupee. But the Government records pronounced, irrespective of the actual realities, that the *Nāgli* crop was 7 to 8 annas and hence they were asked to pay the full assessment on land. The people did so without the least demur or even grumbling, much less under any protest. Not only that, but they were made to pay back the loans they had taken from the Government grain *golas*. An over-zealous officer looked into the recoveries of these grain loans very carefully and finding that in the past years recoveries were merely on paper, as the recoveries made were again advanced to those very people, he fully recovered the loans this year, and stocked them. The result has been that thousands of these poor people have nothing to eat at present. They subsist on *Vish-Kanda* (poisonous-root) which they dig out from the earth in the jungle, boil, keep in water for 24 hours and then eat. The Government would not open any relief works to give them employment and has the Government any time at their disposal leaving aside the war-work? So these people are left to their fate to live or die as best they can.

4. *Conflict in Ganjam hills* :—The hill tribe of Savaras has been made immortal by being mentioned in the Ramayana. A woman of this tribe gave sweet berries to Shri Ramachandra, who ate them with great delight though offered by a poor woman. This tribe can be seen in a very unhappy condition in the hills of Ganjam district. For want of employment and fertile land to till, they go in thousands to the Assam Tea gardens, earn a few rupees and return to their homes much more addicted to

drink than when they left for Assam. There is another caste called Panos or Pans, who are a Harijan caste long settled amongst the hillmen. A majority of the Panos in the hills are converted to Christianity under missionary influence. The Panos are petty traders, money-lenders, hawkers, well-versed in exploiting the Savaras. Last year the poor Savaras took it into their heads that these Panos were their blood-suckers and the cause of their economic ruin, hence they should be driven away. They assaulted the Panos in large numbers, burnt houses and murdered a few and were clapped in jail in hundreds. Reform on a large scale is very necessary by indigenous agencies among these Savaras. Weaning off from drink, teaching of better methods of cultivation and starting of good primary schools,—these are very badly needed. A Christian Mission or two are at work amongst them, but no national agency. The late Mr. G. Ramamurti Pantulu and his son Mr. Sitapati of Parlakimedi evinced a great interest in the welfare of the Savaras and had made scholarly study of their language, customs and manners. But we want people of this type to go and settle amongst the hillmen and render them life-long service.

5. *Hillmen of Vizag hills* :—The hills of Vizagapatam district in Andhra are inhabited by the tribes of Koyas, Khonds (or Kandhas) and Savaras. These hills are very difficult of access and have been hardly visited by any considerable national workers, let alone leaders. There is vast scope for social work amongst these people. Shri R. Mandeshwar Sharma, a seasoned worker, though of a very delicate health, is ploughing this unfamiliar field almost single handed, quite creditably. He has been able to introduce spinning amongst the hillmen, a large number of whom have become regular spinners. When I visited their hills in March last I witnessed 250 people spinning on Taklis. Another happy result of Sjt. Sharma's work among these people is that many of them have left off drinking and there is a general awakening amongst them. They ask for schools for their children and roads for communication in their hills. But the curse of these people is the *Muthadars*, a kind of petty zamindars and village headmen combined. They are the *de facto* rulers of these hills. They collect taxes from the people and pay a very small part of the amount to the Government, which has recognized this system. They impose oppressive and innumerable taxes on the people, as for example taxes on marriages, divorces, succession, etc. They exact Bethi or forced labour on pay-

ment of no or very little remuneration, from these innocent and helpless hillmen. Another heavy and unjust burden on these tribals is the Gothi or agricultural debt bondage. But fortunately the Government of Madras passed a Regulation abolishing this kind of serfdom in 1940 and since then the system is slowly dying away.

6. *Banda Parajas of Malkangiri* :—The women of Banda Paraja tribe, which inhabits the Malkangiri taluka of Koraput district of Orissa, wear a strikingly peculiar costume. In fact, the word "Banda-Paraja" means "naked-subjects or ryots." Though the menfolk wear the same kind of dress as all poor aboriginal agriculturists do, the Banda-Paraja women put on a distinct garment peculiar to their tribe. They wear a skirt only nine inches wide and hardly long enough to cover one full round, round the loins. This is the only piece of cloth they put on. Thus they wear probably the 'irreducible minimum' of cloth! Even this bit of cloth is not fully of cotton. The warp is of cotton, but the woof is of a fibre of a jungle tree. They put on innumerable necklaces of beads, which are so many that they almost fully cover their breasts. They shave their heads full and put on a palm-leaf tiarra as a kind of decoration. But I have learnt that for about three or four months, about 50 Banda-Paraja women of seven villages in Malkangiri taluka have begun to put on *Saris*. This should be encouraged, though very slowly and cautiously in order to avoid any sudden revolution.

7. "*Ho*" tribe of Singbhum :—Hos of Kolhan area in Singbhum district are said to be the shyest of all the aboriginal tribes of Chhota-Nagpur. Though the tribes of Ranchi district have been converted to Christianity in large numbers, the Hos of Kolhan have resisted the missionary attacks, and have kept up their primitive religion and customs. For over a year past, Shri K. C. Basu of Ranchi has been doing some social welfare work amongst these Hos. Four village schools, three hostels for boys reading in Middle and High schools in Chaibasa, the capital of the district, a girls' hostel at Jagannathpur, about 28 miles southeast of Chaibasa, and an industrial school at Chaibasa are the result of his efforts. The last one is indebted to the munificence of a Marwari gentleman, Sheth Rungta. It is a happy augury that the Marwaris, who are generally said to be clever exploiters of backward people, are so generous and are interested in the welfare of these poor tribals. In fact, it is the duty of all rich people to help to organise constructive work amongst the neglected tribals.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rabindranath Tagore and Education

Every activity of Rabindranath Tagore was carried on in the joy of the vision, which was vouchsafed to him in his youth. It was vision of the oneness of all Life.—Writes Gurdial Mallik in the Tagore Memorial number of *Education* :

As he himself has said somewhere, he seemed to feel that on that memorable occasion as if from before his eyes, when he was watching the wondrous sunrise from the terrace of his house in Calcutta, there was drawn aside all of a sudden the multi-coloured curtain which envelopes the universe and he saw in that one moment of eternity the essence and immensity of the whole creation.

It is this note,—on which no doubt being a wizard of the sound and sense of language many a change was rung,—which is expressed over and again in one form, or another, in his voluminous, varied and vitalizing works. Santiniketan, too, is but a song of the same tune.

For, what is Santiniketan but an experiment in the synthetic education of the instincts and intuitions, as these are expressed in the activities of the hand, the head and the heart?

In other words, it is an attempt at enabling the individual to integrate his personality into a whole through a harmony of work and worship,—work with the muscles of the body as well as mind and worship of the Beautiful in Truth and in Love and in Nature with the ecstasy and intimations of the heart.

And as all organic things follow the law of their own being and not the plan of any human architect,—howsoever skilful he might be in the art of building,—the Poet did not issue any attractive and omnibus prospectus, when he started his Santiniketan experiment in education, to proclaim to the public in any high-sounding style what his ideals and methods for training the young would be. What he did, instead, was to place his pupils in the heart of the Infinite—expressed on the one hand in the horizon-kissing expanse of the earth and the sky around and over Santiniketan and on the other, in his own deep and devoted love for them. This was the reason when, later on, the number of his students increased and he had to enlist the services of some more co-workers, the only questions he asked them concerning their qualifications for the work were : “Have you love for children? Have you an eye and an intuition for the Beautiful?” He never asked them to produce as a proof of their proficiency in the art of teaching, any testimonials or diplomas.

But the Infinite is expressed also in song and in colour. And being himself a poet and a painter, and thus fully aware of the harmonising and “holy-making” influence of Art and Music, Rabindranath introduced from the very outset Art and Music as part and parcel

of his educational experiment or equipment at Santiniketan.

The Poet and Dinendranath Tagore sang and Nandalal Bose painted. The children watched them at work and were filled with wonder at their creations.

The feeling of wonder soon gave way to the desire to learn. Thus around the nucleus of a teacher's work—the best and truest expression of his personality,—grew up his family and fellowship of pupils, the bonds between them being further strengthened by their living in the same house and taking food at the same table.

But lest their progress in knowledge might make them proud, the pupils,—drawn from various castes, classes and creeds—were imbued with the idealism of mutual aid. They were, therefore, entrusted with the administration of their hostels as well as with the care and cleanliness of their neighbours and neighbourhood. Through sympathy and service, in this way they were, again, unconsciously brought into contact with the Infinite.

Thus, did Rabindranath Tagore strive to give shape to his vision of true education and the way to implement it at Santiniketan. This vision and this way may be succinctly summed up in his own phrase, “God-consciousness,” but consciousness of God who lives not only in the clouds but also in the Heart of Humanity.

Rabindranath's Art

Nandalal Bose writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Rabindranath was all his life a deeply observant student of Nature in all its aspects and moods. To catch the abstract spirit hidden behind forms was with him an easy process. Whenever he would sit down to paint anything, the abstract idea would present itself to his mind almost at once and his pen would readily bring it out on paper. (I use the word “pen” advisedly for Gurudev hardly ever handled the conventional brush and when colouring had to be done the loose end of his cloak-sleeve more often than not was brought into service!) In his art there is ample evidence of how the abstract and the concrete could be brought together to create a harmony. At every turn you feel the hand of a master-artist.

Another characteristic was his keen sense of proportion. There was never a misplacement or the suggestion of a miscalculation in his compositions. Proportion sometimes follows popular convention, sometimes an art tradition. The proportionate dimensions of the figures, say of an elephant and a goat, are easily judged by the eye. When an artist places them together on the canvas showing their respective dimensions in relation to each other, he is only following the popular convention. In decorative art, however, the artist has to fit in a variety of dimensional forms into a given space. The propor-

tion is necessarily disturbed but the artist here has to follow the decorative tradition. When the artist enters into the realm of the grotesque, he must again disturb the proportion in order to create the necessary effect. For instance, when an artist depicts, say, a human figure out of all proportion *vis-a-vis* a diminutive lion, he only follows a particular art tradition, his idea being to create a viewpoint for the display of the grotesque. Often on walls where damp has eaten into the lime and plaster are found lines and patches suggestive of forms and figures as if they were caricatures of Nature. Gurudev's eye would often dwell on these and he would sometimes create similar ones in colour only more superb in their grotesqueness and more decorative in effect. In these attempts too are found all the characteristic qualities of his art: virility, adherence to the life principle and correct proportions. Besides, there is a keen appreciation of the grotesque and the decorative.

* * * * *

Gurudev, in the pursuit of his art, followed the Indian tradition. In his pictures there is more of suggestion than an attempt at detailed expression. The strength of Indian poetry rests in its sound-suggestion, words and their meaning taking but a secondary place. In Indian art too, line and colour are of secondary importance, the primary consideration being the suggestion that could be conveyed through their rhythmic blending. In the West, art is viewed from a scientific angle. Mathematical accuracy is aimed at in proportion. The three dimensional forms are very much in evidence and light and shade are a necessary adjunct. On the other hand, in our old paintings there is hardly ever found more than two dimensions. They are painted flat on walls or papers with no attempt at realistic treatment. This was also Gurudev's way.

* * * * *

I once described Gurudev's art as "real without being realistic." This requires further elucidation perhaps. In the West, objectivism has been carried too far. An artist of the realistic school concerns himself mainly with correct technique in his presentation of an object. But if he has failed to reproduce the reality behind the object, he has failed to produce a work of art. For instance, a lion may be painted with correct anatomical proportions, but if that which constitutes the "lionhood"—dignity, strength and fearlessness—in the lion is not found in the composition, it might pass as a realistic representation of the lion, but it will certainly not be a work of art. The Oriental artist would, on the contrary, lay emphasis on the "lionhood" when he paints a lion. He would ignore anatomical details. In spite of this, his lion would be real enough—it would not appear to be anything else even to the untrained eye—though it would not be "realistic." Gurudev chose to follow the latter school.

Scientific Purpose and Thought

In the course of his article on scientific purpose and thought in *The Aryan Path* Sir Richard Gregory observes:

Our senses determine the range of objective phenomena, whatever instrumental or other means are used to extend them; but creative thought has no such limitations. It is the source of the greatest human achievements, whether expressed in music and poetry or in scientific discovery and invention. Its exercise is determined not by what is known but by what is unknown; and whether a pursuit is worth while must be measured by originality of inten-

tion and result rather than by direct intellectual or practical service. Here, then, is the common standard by which all scientific inquiries, and all expressions of human feeling, may be judged. It makes no distinction between pure and applied science, so long as the object is increase of knowledge and the endeavour is the discovery of truth.

When this is borne in mind, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake becomes just as estimable an occupation as that in which the purpose is use or action. It is generally acknowledged that researches undertaken to solve purely scientific problems, and without thought of their proximate or ultimate usefulness, have been the starting-points of most of the great achievements of modern science; and such academic or philosophic activities should not be excluded in planning scientific work for the benefit of the community. Science has transformed so many aspects of modern civilization that structures of society designed in earlier times have been shaken to their foundations by it. Its sources and resources give almost unlimited powers to construct a world in which life can be made worth living to all peoples of the earth, if they are wisely used. They are the material basis upon which sound plans of reconstruction must be built and provision be made for the expansion of knowledge in the intellectual as well as the practical service of mankind.

India and the U. S. A.

The years which followed the last World War were rather difficult and unpleasant so far as Indo-American relations were concerned. In the course of his article in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy observes:

It need not be emphasised here that these were years of an intensified struggle for freedom in this country. As the fight for political independence thickened in India, the British Government saw to it that American interest was not favourably aroused in it on any large scale. To this end they persuaded men who could tactfully 'educate' American opinion in the "right" way about Indian problems, either to go over to the States personally or to contribute articles and papers on India to influential American journals from outside. They also gave every facility to the "right" type of American visitors to India in collecting garbled accounts as to our ways of life. We may refer to the book which Professor Van Tyne wrote on India about four years after the close of the War. His British sympathies were well-known. It was, therefore, not unexpected that in *India in Ferment* he would not tell the American people anything very complimentary about the Indians. His successor in this work of defaming the Indian people was more notorious and more skilful as a propagandist. She was no other than the woman publicist, Miss Mayo, whose *Mother India* was described by Mahatma Gandhi as a drain inspector's report. Books like these could not have left any pleasant impression in Indian memory, either regarding their authors or regarding the country of which they were honoured citizens.

It should also be remembered that the American Immigration Law, which was passed in 1917, was so tightened in 1924 as to exclude drastically from citizenship all persons who were not of Caucasian origin.

Whatever "Caucasian origin" might mean, it became an effective cover for the exclusion of all

Asiatics. Not only, again, they were not to be admitted to American citizenship, but what was more, they would not even be admitted to the U. S. A. unless they could prove themselves to be *bonafide* visitors or students with sufficient bank-balance to support them in that country. It should also be remembered in this connection that the United States Supreme Court even decided, in Bhagat Singh Jhind case in 1924, that those Indians who had already been admitted to American citizenship and had enjoyed the privileges which it conferred for years, could not remain American citizens any longer. The wrong thus done to a number of Indian "Americans" was, however, later rectified. But otherwise the law continued to be inexorable, and all Asiatics including Indians were excluded from citizenship. The United States was thus declared a whiteman's country and the Indians with other Asiatics were branded with the stigma of inferiority. The Japanese savant, the late Dr. Nitobe, whose wife was an American woman, felt this slight so much that he told an American friend that inspite of all his love for the United States he would never again set his foot in that country. The feelings of many Indians were no less wounded and they became no less chagrined at the unwise step which the Americans had taken. The independent Asiatic countries complained through their Governments but the Government of India, being foreign in personnel, affiliation and responsibility, would do nothing of the kind. The feelings of the Indian people, though muffled, could not, however, be anything but bitter.

The colour prejudice has always been great in the United States.

The presence of more than thirteen million Negroes, who had been kept in slavery till 1865, has been mainly responsible for this prejudice. The Negroes, who were described only as *darkies* were not at one time in certain circles even regarded as human beings. They were mere chattels to be used for furthering the whiteman's interests. A Civil War had to be fought between the North and the South before *darkies* were up from slavery. But even after freedom, many Americans have hesitated to regard them as human beings of the same category as themselves. The prejudice has, to the annoyance of all liberal-minded people, lingered to this day. When the Indians first visited the United States, they were treated, inspite of the pigmentation of their skin, without prejudice, which was then confined to the Negro community alone. But after the last War, the situation changed to some extent. Indian visitors and students continued to be treated, as a rule, very courteously and even cordially. But here and there, particularly in the South, incidents happened which left behind an impression of bitterness. The present writer knows of one Indian lady who was forced at dead of night to alight from the train and enter the jim-crow car (meant for the Negroes in the South). He also knows of one Indian gentleman who had to move from pillar to post in a Southern State to find accommodation in an hotel. What was equally silly and uncharitable was that he had to grow his hair long as no white barber would entertain him in his saloon. It must be said that incidents like these have not been many but few and far between though they are, they leave behind a wound which festers. Reference should also be made to the dreadful Ellis Island where on more than one occasion Indian visitors were taken. They had to put up there as best they could while awaiting permission for the privilege of entering the city of sky-scrapers.

In the Ganges

The following, quoted from *The Indian P. E. N.*, is a translation by herself of Shrimati Balamani Amma's Malayalam poem entitled "Ganga-yil" :

At last I come to thy shores, weary from roaming in foreign lands, O Mother Ganges, bestower of all happiness !
Thrilled are my limbs as thou with foam-white smile caressest my feet.

Motley crowds from unknown regions rush to thee and jostle and push each other, eager for immersion in thee, the nectar of earth.

Although unable to understand each other's heart by reason of the difference of tongue, we become brothers while playing on thy breast.

Turbulent, awry, and roaring, O Embodied Movement ! flow thy waters.

In bygone days there drifted along thy current the flowers and the offerings with which the unattached ones worshipped thee. But now our wanton desires, dancing and spitting smoke, trouble thy heart and proclaim their triumph over the world.

Nevertheless, the mother enjoys the naughtiness of her children who have gradually out-grown the innocence of infancy.

Let me be immersed in thy waters, cool and milky, even if it besmear me with mud, O thou deliverer from sins !

How many winters freeze thee ; how many summers heat thee !

Neither is able to slacken thy pace, hastening to perfection.

Thy cheeks are lit from day to day by the golden light of dawn and dusk.

On thy forehead there shine the placid moon and the stern sun as sandal and *gorochana* paste.

Eternity itself adorns thee with blue robe ; and fleeting clouds fan thee.

The day's smile is a pearl necklace to thee ; and the night's glistening tears are diamonds in thy crown.

We kneel to thee who transcendest dualities, who art adored by spheres of light and surrounded with indescribable splendour.

Let me be immersed in thee again and again until my senses are benumbed with joy.

From thee sprouts the primeval seed of life ; the life-breath of a universe is purified among thy lashing billows ; in thee dissolves life burnt to ashes ;

Hail to thee, O Untainted One ! who createst, nourishest and destroyest.

Let me repose on thy breast free from all cares like an infant in its cradle.

From the shrine of *Viswanath*, looming afar, there comes the boom of the conch wafting peace around.

My companions on the shore shout impatiently : " Futile is immersion in the Ganges unless followed by the worship of *Viswanath*."

How can I go whilst thou art fondling me with hands that intoxicate by mere touch !

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Beating Our Breast

The New Review writes editorially :

Tokyo is drunk with joy about the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Burma. But should we not, in sackcloth and ashes, take our place in their military parade? Why should all the glory go to the "Little Men of the East?" Why should they boast of their guns, ships and planes? Are not these, gifts of ours? Taking only the year 1938 into consideration, the United States, the British, French and Dutch Empires provided Japan with 86 per cent. of her essential war materials : namely 77 per cent. of her aircraft, 99 per cent. of her oil and petroleum, 90 per cent. of her metals and ores. In 1938, the U. S. A. sent her 3½ million dollars worth of aircraft, British Malaya 67½ per cent. of her rubber and 92 per cent. of her tin. Japan got from Canada 50 per cent. of her aluminium and 91 per cent. of her nickel, and from India 97 per cent. of her mica. Judging from results, it was all first class material we foolishly gave them. Now we should not put all the blame on our Governments which failed to prepare for war, nor on the parties which demurred to conscription, nor on the appeasers who wanted to gain time. Most of the lurid glory goes to the policy of economic liberalism. We allowed the private-profit motive to dominate public life, we permitted undue concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. Already in 1931, a true picture of the evil was made, which we quote :

"Immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and these few are frequently not the owners but only the trustees and directors of funds who administer them at their good pleasure. . . . This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are also able to control credit. . . . This concentration of power has led . . . first to the

struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere, then to the fierce battle to acquire control of the State . . . finally to the clash between States themselves."

This picture was not cut out of any revolutionary pamphlet; it is a short excerpt from the serene *Quadragesimo Anno*.

The Birjhia—Asurs

The Birjhia-Asurs form a section of the population (generally known as Asurs) in the Chota Nagpur and Surguja area. S. B. Das Gupta writes in *Science and Culture* :

They are differently named at different places. In the Kasmar Pargana, they are known as Asur-Birjhia, in Barwe and Chechari as Agaria-Birjhia or simply as Agaria or Birjhia, while in the Surguja State they are called Kol-Birjhia. But whatever the difference in the prefix of their name they belong to one single tribe.

There is a further division of the tribe with respect to their attitude towards the use of vermilion at the time of marriage and at other times for the beautification of the body. With the Sinduraha the use of vermilion is deemed essential at the time of marriage while the Telhas detest the use of vermilion.

In the economic sphere the Birjhias are one of the poorest classes of the Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring area, if not of the whole of India. In spite of hard labour and frugal habits, the people cannot store enough food for the whole year. Many families go without food sometimes for two or three days at a stretch; and most of them remain ill-fed for a large part of the year.

Agriculture is the chief food-producing activity of the people.

But we find the Birghias occupied in different kinds of works at different seasons in their endeavour to replenish their meagre food-supply.

Hunting forms an important economic pursuit for a considerable part of the year.

The period between the months of January and May may be said to be the hunting season *par excellence*.

Deer, boars, wild goats, hares and porcupines are among the chief game animals while wild fowls, partridges and green pigeons form the chief game birds.

Bows and arrows and axes are the chief weapons of chase. But apart from these, the Asurs improvise various kinds of traps to capture birds and animals.

Fishing plays no important part in the Birghia economic life.

The few methods of fishing known to the people are those that can be conveniently employed in small hill streams and narrow courses. Poisoning is the most important of these methods and the people use five different kinds of materials including fruits and barks of wild trees for the purpose. Automatic basket traps and fish hooks are also used. In rare cases nets (*Pilni Jal*) may also be found.

For a very considerable part of the year the main, if not the only, food of the Birghias are wild roots, tubers, flowers and leaves that are collected from the forest at different seasons of the year.

Ordinarily the womenfolk collect these vegetable products. The men sometimes help their women in digging out the roots and tubers with the dibble.

The Birghia-Asurs keep pigs, poultry, cattle, goats and dogs.

Pigs and poultry serve as sacrifices to the various deities as also as food on special occasions such as marriage or when guests are to be entertained. The cattle are used mainly to draw ploughs where plough cultivation has been adopted.

The fertility of the lands ploughed by the Birghias is very poor.

The lands of the Birghias are mainly of two kinds: the Beonra lands on the slopes of hills where shifting cultivation is practised and the ploughable lands. The Beonra lands are not fixed but have to be changed every year. The ploughable lands are however various in nature.

The Birghias follow two kinds of cultivation.

The members of a village together clear a large patch of hill-slope by cutting the trees and the undergrowth and burning them after they are dried in the sun. At the advent of rains with the simple implements, such as the dibble (*Ramba*) and the scratcher (*Gorgani*) they sow Arahar, Marua, different types of beans, cucumbers, gourds and several other less important crops.

This type of cultivation is known as Beonra cultivation in this area. Along with it they also cultivate a few plots at the foot of hills with the plough.

The plot of Beonra land cultivated one year almost loses its fertility next year, when only Marua and Gudli can be grown; a new Beonra land has to be prepared that year as before.

Plough cultivation seems to have been adopted from the agricultural people, such as the Oraons, who live in their neighbourhood.

Most of the religious ceremonies of the Birghia are connected with cultivation.

Sowing and harvesting of crops and such other activities associated with cultivation offer opportunities for individual and communal festivities.

Besides the above occupations the average Birghia also engages himself in some other avocations, such as iron-smelting and basketry.

Iron smelting in fact is a very old industry of the Asurs traditionally associated with the very creation of the tribe itself. The method followed by them is very simple. They build small earthen furnaces (*Kuthi*) about three feet high, circular in horizontal section and slightly tapering from bottom upwards. The diameter of the base is about two feet and that at the top eighteen to nineteen inches. Through the middle of this structure runs a vertical aperture, about six inches in diameter from top to bottom slightly widening towards the base. This is the hearth proper. This is first filled with charcoal and as the charcoal is burnt down it is fed from top with fresh quantities of charcoal mixed with small pieces of iron ore. A continuous blast of air is blown into the furnace, throughout the operation, with the help of a pair of bellows (*chapua*), adjusted near the opening of the hearth at the bottom of the furnace. The bellows are worked by foot. The opening of the furnace at the bottom is kept closed with dusts and ashes. After the operation is continued for some time a small hole is made in the dust and ashes at the opening with a poker, and the molten slag runs out through this hole. The slag hardens as soon as it comes outside and is removed with the pincers.

It has been found that after about five hours a furnace may yield about eight pounds of iron on an average.

These occupations are not, however, of much economic importance at present, but the entire tribe seems to be divided into two groups on the basis of the two industrial occupations—iron smelting and basketry. There is no restriction whatsoever on inter-marriage and commensality between the members of the two groups.

From a study of the different economic activities of the Birghia-Asurs throughout the year it is found that from April to July, the people have no crop to reap but that almost all the seed-crops have to be sown during this period. Mahua flowers collected in the previous months no doubt serve for some time but in June and July they get practically nothing to fill their stomach. A way to avert total starvation, and that is followed mostly, is borrowing money from petty money-lenders. The interest charged by these unscrupulous usurers is simply shuddering. For a rupee borrowed two rupees are to be paid when the crops are gathered; or if paddy is taken as loan double its quantity is exacted when paddy is harvested.

Indeed the economic conditions of the Birghias appear to be more and more staggering as we go into the details of their life.

Dictatorship

Dictatorship as personal or autocratic rule is not a new phenomenon. But certain tendencies had of late developed in the world situation which led to its wide prevalence. Prof D. P. Mukherji writes in *Triveni* :

A Dictator would have to be a doer and not a talker, a go-getter and not a legal formalist achieving success on files; a man whose word was action and action a satisfaction of immediate urgencies, and above all, a representative man, a hero who would symbolise the common aspirations and feelings. Once these roles could be fitted into a person, he would be a 'charismatic' or a spell-binder, a priest, a prophet and a king all rolled into one, the leader, the Duce, and the Fuhrer. It was in this way that the identification with the Father could be achieved with the people. The long-lost primal principle of oneness with the super-Ego was at last restored, and human beings could be rid of their responsibilities imposed by the Ego.

Sufficient unto the day if the dictator could deliver the goods, if he could mirror the average susceptibilities, if he could impress upon his people that they could not do without him. The goods wanted were self-respect and the removal of fear and guilt; the average demands were economic security, and the common sensibilities were not very cultured ones. What is wanted is effectiveness.

Every dictator draws his power from the active or passive consent of the sovereign body, who may be the people or the prince.

Neither the 'commissionary' dictator like Mussolini or Kemal Pasha nor the monarchical dictator has inherent right to be such, and none can retain permanency against the wishes of the people. Politically, the dictator is an autocrat in so far as his rule is independent of the consent of the governed, though not without it. The independence is not absolute, being modified by the ruling interests that brought him to power and influenced by party or entourage. But the power is his, though the influence resides elsewhere. Technically, dictatorship must have a well-developed technique of dictation, positive and negative in scope, the sole object of which is to make dictatorship equated to the people, by crushing opposition and eliciting consent. The historical aspect depends very much upon the existence of liberal traditions. In a country where liberal 'mores' had developed, the unfamiliarity with autocracy breeds resistance. Here the distinction between liberalism and democracy may be noted. Concessions to the former may be curtailed during an emergency and lead to absolutism, but the democratic habits cannot be foregone. Beneath these aspects runs the thread of autocracy. Such autocracy may be personal or collective, and divide the political structure of dictatorship accordingly. The first type works out the principle of leadership to its logical conclusion. From the status of the first among equals, the idea of Fuhrer as the leader because he is the leader has evolved as an exorcism. The separation of the status from the political and economic functions invests the Fuhrer with spell-binding powers. He is the shaman-magician of today. Other Fuhrers are appointed by the Fuhrer in a descending series. On the other hand, collective dictatorship is usually of the Party, as in Soviet Russia, or of the administration irresponsible to the legislature, as in British India. None of these types have Fuhrers, though they have leaders.

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In the administrative type there is a hierarchy tapering towards the 'chiefs.'

The 'Party' is a school of leadership and, in its attempts to equate itself to the people, must needs consider qualities other than those of birth and privilege, e.g., positive achievement and subscription to the basic views of the Party as the primary qualifications. Obviously, the party structure tends to be democratic and mobile within the limits of loyalty to its guiding principle. The sub-type of administrative dictatorship, though it may be recruited by the rigorous test of competitive examinations, is immobile and sacrifices leadership at the altar of seniority. Usually, it degenerates into an exclusive group or caste with a set attitude towards attempts at opening its ranks. The real difference between the personal and the collective types of dictatorship consists in the greater facilities for information and discussion in the latter and more opportunities for 'graft' in the former. The administrative dictatorship on these points is more akin to the personal type, though graft as such is usually absent. Probably the code of honour and the high salaries which every administrative caste possesses make 'graft' unnecessary. Another difference is that while, after the death of the Dictator, nobody wields the original, personal, magical influence, the collective dictatorship may continue and raise any other person to a similar status.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Egypt

It is not any exaggeration to say that, Egypt is at present undergoing a renaissance never before experienced in her long history. Precisely on account of this revival Egyptians themselves take the view that it is but the beginning of a great achievement. Now that the enemy is knocking at the door, we hope, Egypt will rise to the occasion, keep intact her independence and ensure a sound future. Dr. Taha Hussein, professor of Literature at Cairo University, writes in part in *The Asiatic Review*:

The nation's independence has now taken firmer shape, and her relations with foreign countries have grown steadily and continuously. Egypt has regulated her economic, political, and cultural relations with the other nations of the world. Never before did Egypt attain such a measure of prosperity, liberty, and independence as she now possesses. And therefore never before did she attain the vigour and vitality she enjoys in her mental life today. Never before in her long history did Egypt know a period when the law decreed, that it was the obligation of the Government to teach her people free up to a fixed standard of education, while the people are themselves legally obliged to send their children of both sexes to the public schools. Never before did Egypt know an era in which all branches of learning were legally open to every citizen who wishes to study them; while the Government is compelled to grant the means of learning to all its people, and not to the rich alone. In every Egyptian village, there is now at least one primary school; and in every larger town there is at least one secondary school. In Cairo itself, besides the ancient religious university, the renowned and influential Azhar, there now stands the modern Egyptian University, where the various branches of modern learning are pursued, and where the same modern standards and methods of research have been adopted that the Europeans use in their own universities. In addition, there are various technical schools, the numerous branches of the Azhar spread throughout the country, and, finally, the new Alexandria University, still in process of being organized.

Never before through the many long epochs of Egyptian history have such efforts been devoted to the pursuit of knowledge as now. Egypt, admittedly, possessed the Library at Alexandria in the Hellenic age; she has long possessed the Azhar and other schools founded by the Sultans in Islamic times; but these, though extremely important historically, have been as nothing when compared to the schools and institutions outlined above, which already spread far and wide all over the country, and are, in fact, the very beginning of a grand and far-reaching programme.

Not even the great events that shake the world today have diverted Egypt from her task of bringing this programme to fulfilment. There is, moreover, other evidence of the vigour of her mental life. There are, for example, numerous scientific societies founded on European models, which work in the fields of re-

search and communicate their findings to similar foreign—especially European—organizations with which they maintain close contact. Also to be mentioned is the political Press, which plays so important a role in Egyptian life. The influence of new books published in increasing quantities cannot be over-emphasized.

Wanted: A Democratic Patriotism

Patriotism is a virtue. But we must differentiate between True Patriotism and False Patriotism. Narrowly conceived Patriotism is harmful, while Patriotism based on the idea of World Republic and conceived in terms of "Human Family" is capable of doing immense good. *The Commonwealth* writes:

Has not Patriotism in the past been too narrowly conceived of? It has been thought of by many as "My country right or wrong"—militaristic Offence or Defence—"My nation over against other nations"—"Loyalty to Race"—"Tradition," Emperor, King.

A true patriot loves "his neighbour" nation as a part of his own "Patria," and his own "Patria" as a member of the great "Human Family." His aim is not nationalistic, but World Republican, and that his nation should help to lead the way to "the Parliament and the Federation of the world." The nation that will be "greatest among the nations, let it be servant of all," must be its motto, however far it may have been, in the past, from acting up to it.

But the Democratic Patriot cannot stop short at defensive patriotism. His aim must be to undermine the False Ideal of Humanity out of which war springs, and to plant in its place the True Ideal of Humanity as One—not a mechanical Uniformity, but a world-wide Unity in Difference and Difference in Unity—a Unity of aspiring, progressive beings, at different stages of evolution, but made for each other, and restless until they unite in helping one another's evolution.

It is a tremendous Idea. But is not this a tremendous Universe—material, physical, mental, moral, spiritual—of which each of us is a member?

Education on Wheels

In spite of the protracted war, Free China is busy in her constructive efforts. Now and then we get information of novel experiments in nation-building work of far-reaching importance. Here is one such reproduced from an article by A. Gordon Melvin in the *Asia* magazine:

Dr. Tai, who is a distinguished graduate of Teachers College in Columbia University, New York, has invented a most ingenious form of minimum equipment which serves as the material base for a remarkable series of economic, social and educational objectives. It is called in translation "The Universal Education Cart," a title which it merits to the full. Its compactness is amazing. In its travelling form, it is a small box on four wheels,

measuring only one foot in thickness and two feet in length and in height. In this small compass is packed away material which serves five basic uses: that of a travelling school, of a circulating library, of a movable exhibition, of a store from which goods are sold and of a sleeping cot for the teacher. The cost of this school and more than school is forty dollars in Chinese currency.

The first such "cart" was used in the rural area to the West of Shanghai, where the movement started. The pioneer teacher-organizers were, as is natural to expect in China today, patriotically minded students, for the most part from Great China University. Today many students voluntarily contribute an average of one free hour of work a day.

Striking out into a near-by rural section, the volunteer teacher gets to work. In some open space, preferably by the side of the road, he sets up his outdoor school. Perhaps, he first attracts attention with his museum of exhibits. Here the passer-by finds objects of personal interest to him, powders to kill the worms that destroy his crops, improved seed of the yellow soy bean developed in the University of Nanking, American maize, and the white cotton seed of Kiang Ying Hsien. When the teacher has attracted sufficient interest, he may begin to talk about his school. Suiting the action to the word, he changes the scene. The covers of the box are set up as blackboards. Folding benches attached to the side of the box are set out to accommodate, if necessary, forty persons. School is on. The blackboard is essential for the presentation of written characters, which the pupils copy on another bit of the school's apparatus [the slate].

But the teachers of the Nien Erh Movement are no mere teachers of elementary literacy. They have a double task. They aim to carry on a realistic education of the rural people, on the one hand, and to assist with their economic rehabilitation on the other. It is in the practical teachings of these itinerant outdoor schools that one of the real triumphs of the movement is to be discovered. It proposes that the learners shall know the elements of healthy behavior, as well as the rudiments of Chinese history and the place of China in the modern world. It directs its attacks on undesirable forms of conduct such as the use of cosmetics and drugs, sex laxity, gambling and excretion in public places. It urges that each individual develop some form of skilled production such as chopstick manufacture. It gives instruction designed to improve simple hand crafts. Thus it hopes to provide technical aid designed to carry people through a transitional stage in which they move from handicrafts to an era of socialized technology.

Cultural Understanding Between Britain and India

Prof E. H. Johnston, D.Litt., in a thought-provoking article in *Indian Art and Letters*, journal of The India Society, London, puts in a strong plea for a cultural understanding between Britain and India. He concludes his article with the following words:

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Now I don't want to be thought to hold the view that to understand India it is necessary to become a scholar, an archaeologist, a connoisseur or the like, or that it is only the old culture that is worth study. The point rather is that Indian civilization has developed continuously for very many centuries without the great breaks with which we are familiar in European history, and you cannot come to an informed opinion on the present unless you are always conscious of the past which enters so largely into it. In the last 150 years this ancient highly complex civilisation has been subject to powerful outside influences, which have profoundly modified and are every day modifying its character; ordinarily, as history teaches us, there are periods in the life of every country when the influx of new ideas from outside is desirable and has the effect of rejuvenating it. After the preliminary indigestion is over, the culture of the country reasserts itself, but in a different form, and is capable of reaching new and hitherto inaccessible heights. Such periods have occurred before in Indian history, and the ensuing storms have been safely weathered. The difficulty in the present case is that the foreign influence was so quickly followed by an economic revolution which has affected the traditional bases of society in an unprecedented way. We stand too close to these changes to say what will emerge from them, but of one point I feel convinced—namely, that the Indian culture, now in the throes of rebirth, will retain all that was vital in the old culture; and I would plead that we should do what we can to make the transition as smooth and as little catastrophic as possible.

The Story of Paper

Dr. Julius Grant, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C., in a lecture before the Royal Society of Arts recounted the story of the invention of Paper and the early days of paper-making. The following excerpts are reproduced here from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The necessity for a medium on which to convey messages must be almost as old as mankind itself, and some of the earliest examples were probably marks made in smooth sand, and subsequently scratches on stone, wax or smooth wooden surfaces. It is a far cry from this, however, even to the comparatively early date of 3700 B.C., which marks the origin of papyrus as a writing material. Even papyrus however, cannot be classed as paper in the modern sense since it was made by sticking together thin slices of stem cut from an Egyptian river plant, the juice of the plant itself being the adhesive—a very different process from that of paper making as described below. Similarly, parchment is not a true paper, but a hardened skin. It derives its name from the town of Pergamus in Asia Minor, where it was made in 200 B.C. following restrictions on the export of papyrus from Egypt; there is evidence, however, that it dates back to 2000 B.C.

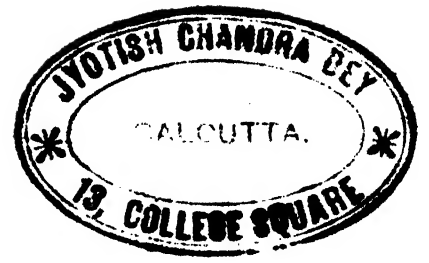
We have to turn to the early history of Chinese civilization for the origin of paper as we know it today. The Chinese made their paper from the fibres of native trees (such as the paper mulberry) which were broken up and steeped in alkali, such as lime or the ashes of certain plants. Vegetable starches and gums were used for sizing, and chalk for loading the pulp so obtained, and it was finally formed into sheets on a sieve supported in a bamboo framework, which retained the pulp but allowed the water to drain through. The mat of wet pulp could then be pressed (to remove as much water as possible), and dried in the sun.

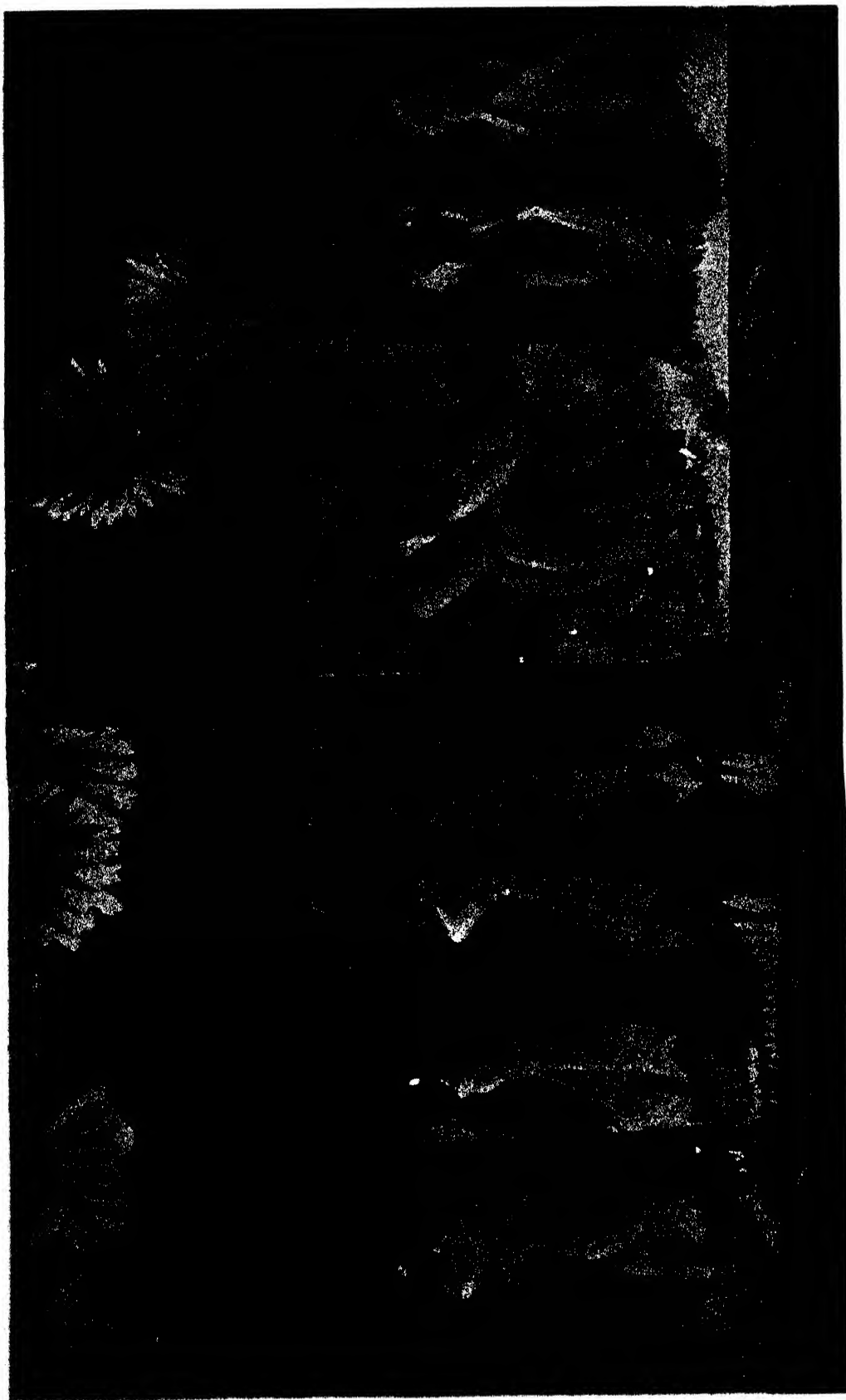
This method of paper making appears to have spread from China into Europe along two routes; one *via* Tartary, Greece, Venice and Germany. The Arabs however, also learned the art from the Chinese prisoners captured in the attack on Samarkand in A.D. 751; and when, with the Moors they invaded Spain in the eighth century, they took it with them. Paper was known in Spain in the tenth century, and made there in about 1150, but its spread northwards was a slow process and it was not until 1490 that the first mill was founded in England by John Tate at Hertford. The early paper makers in England were not very successful. Civil wars, the fear of plagues and contagion from rags of doubtful origin used for paper making, and the general illiteracy of the people were probably the main reasons. Four separate attempts had to be made before the industry was finally placed on a sound basis in about 1678. As with several other of our industries, the Huguenot refugees played an important part in these early efforts, so that in this case at any rate, religious persecution as well as war has helped to make possible one of the greatest victories of peace.

Up to this time science had played little or no part in the art of paper making; and except for minor improvements the operations were very similar to those followed by the Chinese. Paper is still made by hand to-day, and it is very interesting to note how little the process has changed in its essential features.

One of the most important milestones in the history of paper making is the beginning of the nineteenth century, because this period saw not only the first machine for making paper, but also the first signs of the influence of science on the industry. Two names are outstanding in this connection. The first is that of the Fourdrinier brothers, who at Frogmore in Hertfordshire in 1804 made the first marketable machine-made paper by running wet pulp on to a moving endless belt of wire, in such a way that the water drained through while the fibres remained on the surface and could be picked off subsequently as a continuous sheet of paper. At the same time (also in Hertfordshire) John Dickinson was working independently on the so-called cylinder machine, which he patented in 1809. This consists of a hollow metal cylinder covered with wire, which is immersed and rotates in the diluted pulp. The water from the pulp then drains through the wire and is removed from the centre of the cylinder, while the pulp remains on the surface of the wire and is carried round with it to be lifted off and ultimately dried and reeled-up. Both principles are still in use today, the former for the manufacture of most ordinary papers and the latter for speciality papers and boards.

The advent of machine-made paper resulted indirectly in many other technical advances. The increased output of paper, for instance, gave rise to a serious shortage of the raw materials then used, which are called collectively "rags," although only linen and cotton are of any real importance in paper making. In 1854, *The Times* offered a prize of £1,000 for a suitable substitute for rags, and the Society of Arts had begun as far back as 1787 to offer prizes with a similar object. Eventually, after experiments with numerous likely (and unlikely) materials (strongly reminiscent of those of the last nine months), it was found that esparto grass from North Africa or southern Spain could be used satisfactorily. At the same time, however, work was also in progress on a very obvious source of paper making fibre, namely, tree-wood, and when eventually the numerous technical difficulties were overcome this became the basic raw material for paper manufacture throughout the world. So far as this country is concerned, for instance, it provided some 80 per cent. of our pre-war pulp supplies, 17 per cent. of which were esparto, the remainder being rags. Incidentally, since the dates on which these various fibres were first used is known with certainty, their presence (which is easily established by means of the microscope) provides an excellent method of dating paper. This has proved very useful for the detection of forgeries; an alleged first edition of Tennyson's *Morte D'Arthur*, for instance, dated 1842, was found to contain esparto—which was not used in paper until 1861!





IN THE STORM
By Nandalal Bose

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NOTES

"India And Freedom" : "Ireland And Snakes"

The title, *India And Freedom*, of Mr. Amery's volume of speeches as Secretary of State for India reminds us of the famous school-boy essay which contained only the single sentence, "Ireland has no snakes."

If one were similarly to say, "India has no freedom," there would be a chorus of protests from Britishers and pro-British others, mentioning the different kinds and degrees of 'freedom' enjoyed by India. But all these 'freedoms' are enjoyed not as a matter of human right but merely by favour of an alien government. Any Indian can be deprived of any of these freedoms at the will and pleasure of the Executive.

That freedom which depends on the favour of another party is no freedom at all.

Mr. Amery's Boasts

In the foreword to *India And Freedom* Mr. Amery says :

"There is no charge to which British public opinion has been more sensitive than the reproach that our policy towards India bears no relation to our professed war aims. We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India. We are charged with denouncing the spirit of new aggression and domination on the part of Germany and Japan, while stubbornly resolved not to part with fruit of old aggression in the shape of our present domination over India. That is one charge.

There is another charge even more wounding perhaps to our self-esteem. It is that we may be willing today to give freedom to India but that this is only the result of belated recognition of past error, of a

sense of our own incapacity to govern or defend India, or a deathbed repentance in the face of overwhelming danger.

In the case of India so far from depriving her of pre-existing freedom and denying to her the opportunity of regaining it, we have rescued her from anarchy which is the last negation of freedom. We have established within the vast quadrilateral encompassed by her mountain ranges and twin seas peace and order and the reign of law—indispensable foundations of freedom. More than that we have inspired a passionate demand for self-governing freedom which India had never known.

How to meet that demand—as we must meet it and should gladly meet it—without sacrificing foundations, how to transform an administrative unity into a self-sustaining, self-determining national life without reversion to anarchy? That is the problem which cannot be solved by phrases or by irresponsible abdication but only by constructive tolerant statesmanship and patient good-will. To that task we have made our own contribution over the last generation or more. We have reached a stage when the main contribution must be made by Indians for themselves. We have laid the foundations: It is for them to plan and build the house in which they wish to live.

TRUE TO OUR INSTINCTS

In all this evolution of policy we have been true to our inherited instincts: our instinct for order, our reverence for law, our faith in freedom, our sense of realities. We have every right to be proud of what we have done in India. We have every right to be even more proud of what we are attempting to do in India. We have every right to hope that we shall, with Indian help, win through not only the immediate issue of the war but the more abiding issue of India's freedom and India's friendship. In any case our share of that task is one which we should approach not in any spirit of apology for past or of defeatism for future but in the proud and confident belief that the principles and instincts which have achieved the separate miracles of the creation of the present Indian Empire and of the evolution and the British Commonwealth of Free

Nations will achieve yet another miracle of partnership of freedom transcending and transforming both."—*Reuter*.

The first charge which Mr. Amery mentions can be best met and met only by Britain *actually* giving up her present domination over India and thereby actually promoting the cause of freedom and democracy here *now*, instead of promising to do so at some indefinite future time if Indians fulfilled some practically impossible conditions. As Britain has not met and does not intend to meet that charge in that way, it stands and stands unrefuted.

The second charge mentioned by him is also true. Whatever constitutional progress or seeming progress Britain has allowed India to make, she has allowed under pressure of some compelling circumstance. If Britain agreed to India making a step forward in the immediate or not distant future, that would also be under pressure of the then existing situation.

The government of one country by another, however good that government may be in the opinion of those who rule, is a negation of freedom. When we speak of a country, being free or independent, one of the things implied is that that country is governed by men who are permanent inhabitants of that country, no matter whether they be despots or oligarchs or bureaucrats, or real democrats. In that sense, the different parts of India were undoubtedly free before British rule, and Britain undoubtedly deprived India of that freedom.

Previous to the establishment of British rule over parts of India there was much fighting among contending parties for taking the place of the Mughal rulers, as the Mughal empire was then falling into pieces. If at that time the British had not appeared on the scene and succeeded in establishing their power, there would have been either Maratha rule or the rule of some other Indian people, or there would have come into existence the United States of India. Britishers may congratulate themselves on having become the top-dogs in those days, but they can hardly expect to be acclaimed by Indians as deliverers from anarchy. They sought and obtained power for their own selfish ends, not in pursuit of any philanthropic object. Fighting among different states in the same country is not the same thing as anarchy. There has been such fighting in different parts of Europe in various periods of European history. Historians of Europe do not speak of every one of these periods as periods of anarchy.

If Mr. Amery studies the detailed history of India under the rule of the East India Company, he will find anarchy prevailing in some parts of British territory, and he will also be able to decide who were responsible for that anarchy.

We have repeatedly examined and exposed in some previous numbers Mr. Amery's oft-repeated boast that Britain has given India peace and order and the reign of law. We do not intend to do so again. To the extent that Britain has established peace and order in India, she has emasculated the people. Her policy has been responsible for communal conflicts and clashes, which are the negation of peace. As for the reign of law, it is not law which is supreme, but it is "lawless laws" and ordinances and "rules" which are supreme.

No boast is more ridiculous than that Britain has inspired a passionate demand for self-governing freedom in India. That passionate demand is the result of several factors. The same time-spirit which has made Turkey free, which has revolutionized China and has produced a democratic turn of mind in many other parts of the East which were never under British rule or tutelage, can claim a great part of the credit for our passionate demand for self-governing freedom. Some British authors and a few British statesmen can also claim some credit. The arbitrary rule of British bureaucrats in India has, in part, produced the demand by way of reaction. That is the kind and share of the credit which may be claimed by the British governing classes and bureaucracy, in whose opinion, according to so high an authority as the late Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, the demand for freedom had been equivalent to sedition.

"How to meet that demand?" The answer is quite easy. Just meet it by giving up the role of Human Providence and Arbiters of India's destiny.

Mr. Amery says :

We have reached a stage when the main contribution must be made by Indians for themselves. We have laid the foundations : it is for them to plan and build the house in which they wish to live.

Yes, please. You have laid the foundations of class and communal quarrels. Do please allow us to plan and build the house in which we wish to live, *without any of your patronizing interference and without expecting that we shall wait for your approval and permission*. Do please let us alone.

A Few Questions to Self-Complacent Mr. Amery

Mr. Amery says :

We have every right to be proud of what we have done in India. We have every right to be even more proud of what we are attempting to do in India. We have every right to hope that we shall with Indian help win through not only the immediate issue of the war but the more abiding issue of India's freedom and India's friendship.

We have neither the desire nor the right to deprive any Britisher of his right to self-complacency or self-delusion. But we have a few questions to ask.

Of all countries in the world under civilized government, British-ruled India has the highest percentage of illiteracy. Is Britain proud of that fact ?

Of all countries in the world under civilized rule, British India has the lowest per capita income. Is Britain proud of that fact ?

Of all countries in the world under civilized government, British India has the highest death-rate. Is Britain proud of that fact ?

Of all countries in the world under civilized rule, the people of British India have the lowest expectation of life. Is Britain proud of that fact ?

What Britain is attempting to do and intends to do after the war may be surmised from the activities of such corporations as Imperial Chemicals, the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, and the many (India) Ltds. Perhaps Britain is proud of these.

Before the expression "Indian help," the word "commandeered" should be inserted. The words "India's freedom and India's friendship" should read "India's freedom, made in Britain, and India's enforced friendship."

A True American Freeman on the Cripps Proposals

John Haynes Holmes writes in the May (1942) number of *Unity* just to hand :

The rejection of Britain's proposals to India was forecast from the moment the terms were announced. How the American newspaper press could believe that there was any chance of acceptance argues not so much propaganda deception or wishful thinking as sheer ignorance of India. A promise of dominion status after the war!—this satisfy Gandhi and Nehru and the multitudes they lead after the deliberate repudiation of a similar promise in the last war, followed by the Rowlatt Acts and Amritsar, and after the heroic sufferings and sacrifices of the last twenty and more years for independence ? India has already paid too much for her dream to sell it back again for such counterfeit payment as Britain offered. The only surprising thing

in the whole business is how such an able and well-informed man as Sir Stafford Cripps, and so true a friend of the Indian people, could have journeyed to India as Churchill's emissary with what apparently was the sincere conviction that his mission would be successful. He must have been counting on the war pressure to break down Indian resistance. But if this bargaining attitude was his, then he forgot that the war pressure was as heavy upon Britain as upon India itself. And Gandhi in any case does not yield to that kind of pressure. With such weapons as he wields, the Mahatma fears the new enemy as little as the old. One may well mourn this outcome, not only for the direful results impending, but also for the tragedy of missing an opportunity which might have been so easily won. What could have been simpler, or more effective, than for Britain to have said, in the large spirit of magnanimity and goodwill, "I bring you liberty ! Organize your government forthwith. The Empire here and now withdraws, save as it may be invited to remain as a friendly ally for victory in this war." Can anybody doubt that the invitation would have been instantly proffered—and that a free India, like a free China, been bound, by bonds tighter than any that now exist, to the great cause of the United Nations ? But, alas, Britain seems under some curse in India, as earlier in America and in Ireland. Yet will freedom come in India, as earlier in America and in Ireland !

American "ignorance of India" is phenomenal. It is not merely the American man in the street who is lamentably ignorant of India. When Col. Johnson was in India, a very high-placed Indian statesman informed us from personal knowledge that even that American gentleman was very ignorant and misinformed relating to India. Presumably Mr. Roosevelt is equally or perhaps more ignorant.

It is a pleasure to find that at least the editor of *Unity* knows what is what. How prophetic his words are ! He wrote in April last (what has appeared in his May issue) the following words put in Britain's mouth :

"The Empire here and now withdraws, save as it may be invited to remain as a friendly ally for victory in this war."

This is exactly what Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee have asked Britain to say and do, and it is for this that the British press and the bulk of the American press have fallen foul of them.

Professor Laski On How India Can Win Independence

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, July 13 (Delayed).

"I wish the Congress leaders could be made to understand that whatever form of agreement is made now, if they insist on raising a great army which plays its part to defeat Japan, nothing and nobody in this country can prevent the attainment of independence by India after the war," observed Professor Harold Laski, a famous political writer, surveying the last week's development.

Prof. Laski expressed doubt whether anyone was greatly impressed by the changes in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

He added, "Mr. Gandhi's attitude does harm to the Indian cause everywhere. For, if he cannot see that independence that is worthwhile is worth dying for, that his hesitations break the will to resist Japanese aggression among his own people, he is by his blindness gravely prejudicing the prospect of Japanese defeat."

"If I may adapt a phrase," Prof. Laski added, "from a Chinese communist leader, Moosu Tung, it is no use preaching passive resistance unless you have the country in peace. Let the Congress help in breaking down Japan. It will not find that the British people will support any politician who seeks to deny the right that follows from that gesture. But those who in this momentous battle refuse to choose, are making thereby a very definite choice."—(Copyright).—*Hindusthan Standard*.

How can Congress insist on raising a great army unless there is a national government in India in which Congressmen can accept office as members? When Sir Stafford Cripps was in New Delhi Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested the raising of a big volunteer army consisting of millions of soldiers, but Sir Stafford did not accept the suggestion. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, is even for conscription, of course under National Rule. What clearer indications of the Congress mind on the subject can there be?

It is absurd for Mr. Laski to seek to teach Mahatma Gandhi his duty. Gandhiji knows perfectly well that independence is worth dying for. Only he is prepared to die non-violently, that is, he is prepared to lose his own life without wishing to take or taking anybody else's life.

Though he is firm in his non-violent attitude, he has made it quite clear that he would not stand in the way of India's National Government having a very big army and of that army fighting Japan or any other aggressor.

Congress Working Committee's Resolution Demanding India's Independence

On the 14th July last at Wardha the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution unanimously:

"The events happening from day to day and the experience that the people of India are passing through confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination, even at its best, is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but also because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the World and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of Imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another."

Ever since the outbreak of the World War, the Congress has studiously pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its "Satyagraha" ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated. And that real power would be transferred to popular representatives, so as to enable the Nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the World, which is in danger of being crushed. It had also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's strangle-hold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the National Demand, but to no avail.

This frustration has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms. The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension; as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection.

The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign Power. The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into goodwill and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom for the Nations and peoples of the World and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power, and only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis.

The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, the realisation will come home that the princes, jagirdars, zamindars and propertied and monied classes derived their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong.

On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the Country will come together to form a provisional government, representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme by which a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression.

It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's

united will and strength behind it. In making the proposal for the withdrawal of the British rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increase pressure on China by the Japanese or any other power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers.

The Congress is therefore agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China. The proposal of withdrawal of the British power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such a withdrawal takes place with goodwill it would result in the establishing of a stable provisional government in India and co-operation between this government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and helping China.

The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more specially at the present critical juncture in order to save the Country and the larger cause of freedom, the world over from far greater risks and perils. While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid in so far as is possible any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal herein made not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

Should however this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and the weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920 when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of the political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A-I. C. C. will meet in Bombay on the seventh of August, 1942.

This resolution has met with a very hostile reception at the hands of the British and the American press. The hostility of the British press can be easily understood. Some British papers are openly imperialistic, and they cannot, therefore, think with pleasure of any future time, not to speak of the immediate future, when British domination in India will come to an end. There are other British papers, like the *Daily Herald*, organ of the British Labour Party, which have claimed to be democratic and friendly to Indian aspirations. We do not question their sincerity. But we cannot understand their

hostility, except on two or three suppositions. One is that, though they are consciously democratic, they are subconsciously imperialistic. Another is that the Congress resolution has reached Britain in an abridged and garbled form. A third is that the papers which have indulged in hostile comment and criticism have not had the patience to read the whole resolution calmly and to reflect on it, assuming that it has reached Britain unabridged and ungarbled.

American hostility is more difficult to understand. But there is very great ignorance of matters Indian in America, and there is a probability that the resolution has reached that country in an abridged and cooked form. Moreover, British anti-Indian propaganda has been very active there to create prejudice and misunderstanding against India.

The resolution states in very clear and unequivocal language that the object of the demand for the withdrawal of British domination is to intensify the spirit of resistance to all aggression and to increase the war effort. The psychological effect of a declaration of independence would be to give a very great impetus to recruitment and to production in all war industries. Such being the case it is sheer perversity to say that the resolution will encourage the Axis powers and have a depressing effect on China. And it is still more perverse, and impudent, too, to insinuate that the object of the resolution is to help the Axis powers indirectly!

There is no reasonable ground for the American outburst contained in the following cable:

NEW YORK, July 21.

Major G. F. Eliot in a "copyright" article in the *New York Herald Tribune* explaining why Congress leaders cannot expect American sympathies for their demands, says, Americans engaged in a fierce total war, must adopt a realistic attitude and abandon sentiment. "Those who are not with us in this struggle are against us. And those whose acts or attitudes, whether so intended or not, would deprive us in whole or part of the enormous military advantage derived from the possession of India, can hardly expect the Americans to regard them with anything but hostility."—*Reuter*.

Considering that the object of the resolution is to make India's help to the cause of the United Nations (which is India's cause, too) more effective and also considering that the presence of American troops in India as friends is not and will not be objected, the insinuation that India is not with America and, therefore, against America, is entirely gratuitous.

The resolution itself realizes and recognizes that there may be risks in the course suggested

in it. But the risks would be greater if the British Government did not accede to the Congress demand than if it acceded to it. Should the demand be not met, there may be mass civil disobedience, affecting the war effort. But if, on the other hand, the British Government acceded to the Congress demand, the transitional arrangements needed during the period leading from India's subject status to a free and independent status, or for the duration of the war, would not present any insuperable difficulties. For, though Mahatma Gandhi has said that "there is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal for negotiations: either they (the British) recognise India's independence or they don't," Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, has made it clear that there may be negotiation *re* matters other than the recognition of independence.

NEW DELHI, July 20.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview to the *Associated Press*, replied to the question whether there was any basis for the impression prevailing in certain quarters after the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru that there was hardly any room left for any negotiation with the Congress.

"If," said the Maulana, "this refers to India's right of independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if the question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war, there is a clear procedure envisaged in the resolution of the working committee itself, and there is no reason to suggest that there is no room for negotiation. It is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiation."

Question : Suppose there is a declaration on behalf of the United Nations guaranteeing India's independence, will it satisfy what you regard as fundamental principle?

Answer : It will depend entirely on the form and content of the declaration and, in any case, I can assure you that there is no reason why the Congress should not give the fullest consideration to any declaration of the kind you have mentioned.—A. P. I.

Any actual or possible objection from the British side that the course suggested would involve Parliamentary legislation and that in war time that would not be practicable or possible, is easily refuted. During the war there *has been* much legislation in Parliament affecting the United Kingdom. There has been Parliamentary legislation relating to India, too, several times, the Government of India Act of 1935 being amended.

At one stage of the war, when the situation was very critical, there was a serious official proposal from the British side that there should be a joint Anglo-French citizenship—a thing unheard of in history. If circumstances had not

stood in the way of the materialization of the proposal, there would have been Parliamentary legislation to give effect to it.

It is only when India's advancement is concerned that the objection is raised that in war time there can be no Parliamentary legislation.

As Congress itself has recognised that there may be risks in the course suggested in the resolution, it may be asked, "why take any risk? Why not avoid all risks?" The answer is given in the resolution itself and need not be repeated. India's independence is required not only for that independence itself but also for making the Allies' victory more certain than it is, thereby promoting the cause of world freedom and world democracy. If Indian Nationalists had cared only for India's independence, they could not have been blamed.

But supposing British politicians thought that the Congress was selfishly (!) seeking only the independence of India, these politicians might ask, "As you have got Britain's promise that, after the conclusion of the war, Indians themselves will frame India's constitution, on certain conditions being fulfilled, why make this demand now?" The reply obviously would be that Indian Nationalists do not believe that when once Britain is out of the woods she would be in a hurry to redeem her promise, that what has been promised is not independence but a sort of nebulous Dominion Status, that the Cripps proposals involve the vivisection of India, and so long as Britain wields sovereign power she would be able to and would see to it that the conditions are not fulfilled—one of them being an agreed settlement between all Indian parties, the parties meant not being mentioned or mentioned exhaustively.

The resolution and those who have framed and passed it have been subjected to criticism by some Indians also. The members of the Congress Working Committee may ask the critics some such questions as the following:

Do you agree that India should have independence? If you do not, you go your way and we ours. But if you agree that India should have independence, what do you propose to do to secure that independence? Just wait patiently on the pleasure of Britain to have it at her convenience, and do nothing in the meanwhile? Or go on praying, petitioning, making representations, etc., coupled with protests or threats which are meant never to be carried out or which cannot be carried out? For the last 22 years Congress has had no faith in either of the two courses briefly stated above and it is, therefore,

that the Congress Working Committee would appear to have resolved upon non-violent direct action in the last resort, subject to the approval of the All-India Congress Committee at its forthcoming meeting on the 7th August, 1942.

Mr. N. R. Sarker's Statement on Congress Working Committee's Independence Resolution

In the course of a long statement on the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker says :

"If the policy advocated by the Congress Working Committee is seriously and vigorously pursued, it is certain to impede war efforts, and may bring in its trail anarchy and confusion. Instead of taking advantage of the powers which were offered to them under the Cripps proposals, the Working Committee now propose to launch a movement on the widest scale on the off-chance of compelling the British Government to 'quit India.' Whatever the strength of the move may be, there are very big stakes involved in the process.

"I observe that Congress leaders urge that immediate independence is necessary to stimulate war effort among the masses and prepare them for a general resistance to the aggressor. The Congress can undoubtedly do much to rouse the enthusiasm of the people for the defence of the country. But when the task of winning the war is in question, surely it cannot be presumed that India, under present conditions, could carry on the fight alone and unaided.

"The claim of the Congress to be able to offer resistance to the enemy and win the war on the basis of an independent India could have some force if this independence could be attained during the present critical times with the goodwill and co-operation of the United Nations and particularly of Great Britain. But I do not think one can expect goodwill by threatening to force the issue at a very critical stage of this war, and if in the place of goodwill there should be open hostility, the spirit of resistance of the people sought to be roused by the Congress by precipitating a conflict with the Government could only weaken India and increase the threat of Axis aggression.

"On an examination of all the issues involved I venture to think that there is no justification in this grave crisis to adopt the policy as embodied in the resolution of the Working Committee.

"I sincerely hope that the A.-I. C. C. will seriously weigh the grave consequences of the policy that has been advocated by the Working Committee and give a right lead to the country so that the catastrophe, which is threatening the almost assured freedom of India and allied efforts towards victory, may be averted."—A. P.

Mr. Sarker's statement contains an explanatory defence of the Cripps proposals. We do not propose to reproduce or examine that defence. Whatever its merits, it suffers from the disadvantage of coming before the public too late, when all Indian political parties, including the so-called Moderates, have already pronounced them unsatisfactory and unacceptable.

Statements on the Congress resolution may contain an appeal to the British Government to accede to the demand for independence, explaining why the demand should be acceded to; or they may appeal to the Congress to refrain from pressing the demand now or to refrain from starting civil disobedience if, the demand having been made, it be not acceded to. Mr. Sarker appeals to the Congress not to launch the civil disobedience movement. But such a movement would not be necessary if the British Government ceased to treat India as a subject country and declared it free and independent. Mr. Sarker's statement does not contain any appeal to the British Government to make such a declaration. As a member of the Government of India, he could not make such an appeal. Or perhaps he thinks that nothing more requires to be or can be done from the British side to ease the situation and that that side has been entirely reasonable and has done all that it could have done, and it is only the Congress which requires to be appealed to to be reasonable.

Mr. Sarker writes :

"... when the task of winning the war is in question, surely it cannot be presumed that India under present conditions could carry on the fight (against the aggressor) alone and unaided."

But as the Congress agrees to the presence of foreign (British, American and Chinese) troops in independent India to fight the common enemy, the question of fighting the aggressor alone and unaided does not arise. If the United Nations declared that they would fight the aggressor only if India remained or agreed for the present to remain in bondage and that they would not aid India to repel the aggressor in case she became or insisted on becoming independent, then certainly India would have to decide either to carry on the fight alone and unaided, or to submit to the aggressor. But such a contingency has not yet arisen.

Mr. Sarker uses the words "threatening to force the issue." If the warning conveyed in the Congress resolution can be interpreted as a threat, it is a threat only to Britain. Why should the other 'United Nations' deprive India of their goodwill and co-operation for desiring to be free and thereby giving them effective help and co-operation in furtherance of the common cause, unless it be assumed that they are supporters of Britain's imperialistic aims in India?

The A.-I. C. C. will undoubtedly weigh all the pros and cons. But so should the British Government also.

Mr. Sarker desires that the A.-I. C. C. may give a right lead to the country and avert the catastrophe that may result from the policy advocated by the Congress Working Committee. The "catastrophe" may be averted in another way, namely, by the British Government immediately declaring India free and independent and doing all that is necessary to implement such a declaration, including measures to promote communal harmony and to discourage communal separatists.

Dr. P. Banerjea's Statement on the C. W. C. Resolution

Dr. P. Banerjea, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, concludes in the following words his statement on the Congress Working Committee's resolution :

"It is true that the attitude of the British Government has led not only Congressmen but also many nationalists outside the Congress organisation to believe that India's freedom will have to be wrested from the unwilling hands of Britain. But if a non-violent struggle be inevitable, it may be started after the cessation of hostilities when all sections of the Indian population may join in order to make it successful. The consequences, however, of a struggle in the most critical period of the war are sure to be disastrous to the country in many different ways.

"I, therefore, earnestly entreat the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee to consider very carefully all the aspects of the question before coming to a final decision."—A. P.

The Congress Working Committee desires and demands independence not merely for the sake of India's freedom but also because at the present crisis India can render to the United Nations all the effective help in the war which it is possible for her to render only if she is independent. The suggestion that a non-violent all-party struggle for wresting independence from Britain should be started after the cessation of hostilities does not take into account the second object of the independence demand made in the resolution.

The Congress Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee will undoubtedly consider very carefully all aspects of the question.

"Manchester Guardian" Asks : "Is It Armed Resistance or What ?"

LONDON, July 23.

The *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial commenting on the Wardha resolution says, that the resolution suggested that if Britain would immediately withdraw India would help her and the Allies to resist aggression. In India as here it is being asked what is meant by 'resistance'. Would it be armed resistance or would it be 'resistance' of the kind which Mr. Gandhi has always

advocated—non-violent non-co-operation ? The text of the resolution ought to settle the question, but it does not. Pandit Nehru and some other Congress leaders have said that they themselves believe in offering armed resistance, provided that Britain made the necessary political concessions. But Mr. Gandhi's belief is that Indians would most effectively 'resist' Japan and any other aggressor by pure non-violence. How is Britain to know what sort of 'resistance' the proposed Indian Government would organise, concludes the *Manchester Guardian*.—*Reuter*.

It is common knowledge in India, though it appears to be all too common ignorance in Britain and America, that in free India Congress is for raising and mobilizing a vast army, Maulana Azad going so far as to be in favour of even conscription. Gandhiji, while rigorously adhering to his non-violent principles and policy, will not in this matter stand in the way of Congress going its own way. Gandhiji's latest pronouncements on this subject are contained in the next two notes.

Congress Attitude Towards Japanese Aggression

NEW DELHI, July 23.

• Answering question put by a correspondent whether Gandhiji is willing to see the British go out of India while the Japanese are in the frontier, Mahatma Gandhi says : "This question should not occur to anybody who had read my writings, for they contemplate allied arms operating in India during the war."

The correspondent asked whether he urge non-co-operation with the Japanese after occupation, Gandhiji says : "Japanese occupation is inconceivable, while allied arms are operating on Indian soil. If the Japanese inflict defeat on allied arms and succeed in occupying India, I will most decidedly advise full non-co-operation."

Asked whether he persist in urging non-co-operation if the Japanese shot non-co-operators, and whether he would rather be shot than co-operate, Gandhiji said : "Non-co-operation worth the name must invite shooting. In any case I would rather be shot than submit to the Japanese, or any other powers."—U. P.

Free India To Be A Real And More Effective Ally

The following answers given by Mahatma Gandhi to the questions of the correspondent of the *Daily Express*, London, during the recent session of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha, are reproduced in the *Harijan* :

BOMBAY, July 19.

"Would you say that your movement will make it more difficult or less difficult for us to keep the Japanese out of India ?" was the correspondent's first question.

"Our movement," said Gandhiji, "will make it more difficult for the Japanese to come in. But, of course, if there is no co-operation from Britain and the Allies, I cannot say."

"But," said the correspondent, "think of the war as a whole. Do you think that your new movement will

help the Allied nations towards victory, which you have said you also desire?"

"Yes, if my submission is accepted."

"What do you mean by your submission? That Britain should offer non-violent battle?"

"No, no. My submission that British rule in India should end. If that is accepted, victory for the Allied powers is assured. Then India will become an independent power, and thus a real ally, while now she is only a slave. The result of my movement, if it is sympathetically responded to, is bound to bring speedy victory. But if it is misunderstood by the British and they take up the attitude that they would like to crush it, then they would be responsible for the result, not I."

SYMPATHY FOR LONDON

The correspondent asked: "Mr. Gandhi, you have been in London yourself. Have you no comment to make on the heavy bombings which the British people have sustained?"

"Oh yes. I know every nook and corner of London where I lived for three years so many years ago, and somewhat of Oxford and Cambridge and Manchester too; but it is London I specially feel for. I used to read in the Inner Temple Library, and would often attend Dr. Parker's sermons in the Temple Church. My heart goes out to the people, and when I heard that the Temple Church was bombed I bled. And the bombing of the Westminster Abbey and other ancient edifices affected me deeply."

"Then don't you think it would be wise to postpone your movement until we have settled with the Germans and the Japanese?"

"No, because I know you will not settle with the Germans without us. If we were free, we could give you cent per cent co-operation in our own manner. It is curious that such a simple thing is not understood. Britain has to-day no contribution from a free India. To-morrow as soon as India is free, she gains moral strength and a powerful ally in a free nation—powerful morally. This raises England's power to the ninth degree. This is surely self-proved."—(U. P.)

China Urges International Co-operation As The Way To Peace

BOMBAY, July 4.

The hope of attaining peace through international co-operation by all the people of the world, was expressed by the President of the Co-operative League of China in a speech broadcast to America and England this morning from Chungking on the occasion of the International Co-operative Day.

He stated: "We believe that no system for international peace or security can be stable if it is not based on true international co-operation."

"The League of Nations failed in its mission because there was an alarming lack of co-operation between its members."

The speaker pointed out that almost all human miseries were caused for economic lead. "Nations have taken up arms against one another through economic rivalry. Therefore, if we want to attain peace, we should have a system which is so perfect that it gives no chance to anybody for economic exploitation. Co-operation offers this system. Co-operation as an international movement should be able to prevent the occurrence and the reoccurrence of wars."—A. P.

The views expressed by the President of the Co-operative League of China are quite worthy of the ancient, wise and peace-loving nation to which he belongs.

Ban On Communist Party Withdrawn

NEW DELHI, July 22.

The Government of India have decided to remove the ban on the Communist Party of India and its organs "The National Front" and "The New Age."

CHANGE OF FRONT

A Press Note issued today states:

"The Communist Party of India in their announcements and circulars to Party members have recently indicated a change of front and recognising this war as a people's war, in which the Indian people must in their own interest make common cause with the united freedom-loving nations have decided, if permitted, to throw their energies into the task of co-operating with the existing war effort. According to their statement of policy, if the members of the Party are free to act they will devote all their energies to teaching the people what the war means and organizing them for self-defence and resistance to the enemy. The Government of India welcome this statement of their intentions and desire that full opportunity should be given to them of putting those intentions into practice. In order, therefore, that they may function legally as a Party, the Government of India have decided to remove the ban on the Communist Party of India and its organs "The National Front" and "The New Age."

The Government of India and Provincial Governments have already released from detention or restriction a number of individuals associated with the Communist Party who desire to assist in the war effort. They will continue, and as far as possible accelerate, this process in the light of the policy now adopted dealing with each case on its merits and not excluding from review the cases of members of the Communist Party who as such, have been convicted by criminal courts of offences not involving violence.

The Governments concerned are confident that those who are released will make use of their freedom by devoting themselves wholeheartedly to giving their fullest assistance in the war effort.—A. P.

BENGAL GOVERNMENT REMOVES BAN

In view of the India Government's notification, the Governor of Bengal has, under the Defence of India Rules, cancelled the orders of the Government of Bengal passed early in 1940 on all printers, publishers and editors in the Province of Bengal, prohibiting the printing or publishing of and the use of any press for the printing of the periodicals entitled "The National Front" and "The New Age" or any successor of these periodicals.

We entirely support this removal of the ban on the communist party of India. We have no objection to their aiding the war effort.

The New Delhi correspondents of some papers had already told us the ban on the communists and the Khaksars would be removed, and that they would be used by the Government to fight the Indian National Congress in case of

need. If the communists really agreed to be tools in the hands of Government to be used in this way, they would write themselves down not only as friends of imperialism but also as asses.

Mr. Nimbkar on Communists Checking Gandhi's Movement

What some New Delhi correspondents surmised as the object of Government in removing the ban on communists finds support from what Mr. Nimbkar has said :

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, Labour Welfare Officer to the Government of India, interviewed by the *Associated Press* on the Government of India's order lifting the ban on the Communist Party of India, said :

"I am in entire agreement with the Government declaration and I welcome it as the most opportune action on their part. The Communists are pledged to support the war efforts and it is but natural that the Government should give them the facilities to help them, particularly in the industrial areas. The action is most timely in view of Mr. Gandhi's proposed move to start the Satyagraha campaign, which, if carried out, would no doubt hinder the war efforts that we must all unitedly put in at this time. I am sure, the freedom afforded to the Communists will help a good deal in checking to some extent this inopportune move of Mr. Gandhi."

We are above all for unity of aims and objects and, as far as practicable, of methods among all political parties working for the liberation and uplift of India. But such unity may not be available. Nevertheless, we are in favour of all parties pursuing their objects in a legitimate way. But we are absolutely against internecine fights among the parties.

Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar To The Communists

Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Muzumdar, M.L.A., General Secretary of the Labour Party of India, has issued the following to the Press :

The Government of India have decided to remove the ban on the Communist Party of India and its organs following close upon the declaration made by Sir Feroz Khan Noon, the new Defence Member, on the 19th July, to the effect that the Princes, landlords, communalists and communists would be mobilized to counteract the move of Mahatma Gandhi.

The ban on the Communist Party was imposed 8 years ago in 1934 when this party was accused of wanting to end foreign rule and establish the freedom of India by revolutionary means.

The latest Government order in its contexts and circumstances today has really put the Communist Party on its trial rather than confer on it any freedom, either of opinion or action. Is the Communist Party expected to range itself against the national aspirations of the Indian people for freedom and democracy ?

What, after all, is Mahatma Gandhi's move ?—A demand that freedom and democracy,—for which the British and the American Governments profess to be fighting,—be vindicated in India here and now.

Mahatma Gandhi has demanded that British rule in India must end immediately so that the people of the soil can win freedom and defend their freedom against any aggression. One fails to understand how any honest anti-Fascist could oppose the Congress demand ? If Fascism meant 'denial of freedom and democracy of the people' what else would it be denying both freedom and democracy to the Indian people ? Yet the simple and irresistible Indian demand would appear to evoke none but angry snarlings from many quarters.

The Daily Telegraph of London prefers to call the Indian demand 'Civil Disobedience' and adds with a sinister significance in its editorial on the 16th July : "Faced as we thus are with the option between Civil Disobedience and Civil War, there can be no question as to which we should choose." The implication is clear and needs no comment. It is no wonder to us that unable to bear the scratching of their skin the British Labour Party and its organ should also join up in the same tune.

Not by their words, but by their deeds will the friends of freedom and democracy be put on their trial and the verdict will be writ large on the Indian soil.

Mr. Dutt-Muzumdar is right.

Letters of Rabindranath Tagore

So long as Rabindranath Tagore's health had not been utterly shattered, he answered every letter received from anybody of either sex, old or young, known to him or unknown, in his own hand. How many thousand letters he wrote altogether will never be known or computed. Some of these letters were brief, some long enough to fill many pages of books of ordinary size. Many of these letters had been published by the Visva-Bharati in book-form and some had appeared in monthlies like *Prabāsi* during the life-time of the Poet. After his death some monthlies like *Prabāsi* and many newspapers published letters addressed by him to numerous correspondents. Even quite recently *Prabāsi* has done so.

The Visva-Bharati has now undertaken to publish the Poet's unpublished letters in book-form serially. The first book of the series, entitled *Chithipatra*, contains letters written by the Poet to his wife, who predeceased him by some four decades. The second book contains letters addressed by him to his son Rathindranath Tagore. These two books illumine the domestic aspects of the Poet's great and complex personality in particular, besides throwing interesting side-lights on it in general. Probably some of his letters which have already appeared in periodicals and newspapers will be included in subsequent volumes of the series.

Is It A People's War ?

It is claimed on behalf of the 'United Nations' that they are fighting a "people's war,"

that is to say, they are fighting in some regions and countries to defend and preserve the people's freedom and in others to make free those who are in bondage. Is this claim rightly made?

China, it may be said without any fear of contradiction, has been fighting her people's war. Soviet Russia's fight is also undoubtedly a people's war. Britain's fight, so far as it is concerned with warding off German invasion of the homeland of the British people, is certainly a people's war. The United States of America is also engaged in a people's war.

If immediately in the course of the war India be allowed to become independent, or if at any rate after the end of hostilities, she be allowed to be independent, Britain would be entitled to claim that she was engaged in a people's war in Africa and Asia with the help of India's resources and men, money and materials. But not until India has been allowed to be independent can Britain claim that her fight, both West and East, is a fight for the freedom of all peoples. Promises of what she will do after the war do not count. Only actual performance can be taken into consideration.

So far as America's part in the war is concerned, Edwin R. Embree, a distinguished American author, has contributed to the April number of *Asia*, just received, an article entitled "For Whose Freedom?" prefaced by an Editorial Note which says, in part:

If Americans rightly ask, "Are we fighting to save England's imperial grip on the colored peoples of Asia and Africa?", so equally can Britons ask, "Are we fighting to save an American democracy which denies equality to 13,000,000 colored Americans?" And the Chinese and Indians will say, "If we as colored peoples fight by your sides in the cause of freedom, we have the right to ask 'Whose freedom?'"

In a people's war the people have a guiding and controlling voice in the conduct of operations in general through their representatives in the legislature elected by them and through the Executive directly or indirectly selected by them. In India the people have no such voice. Even the mere advice of their elected representatives is not sought.

Churchill And Roosevelt As Political Leaders And As Military Strategists

According to *The Catholic World* of America for May, 1942, in the *Boston Globe* and other papers for April 9th (1942) appeared the following forthright utterance of Fletcher Pratt. He had been speaking of Bataan and Java, of the

sinking of the *Prince of Wales*, the *Repulse*, the *Dorsetshire* and the *Cornwall*. He continues:

"They are all gone and the Japanese losses are nil. Why? It goes straight back to the high commands, the highest commands, in the cabinets, in Downing Street and the White House. We are being led into this war by a pair of wonderful and successful political leaders. A political leader is successful because he can find a middle road among conflicting claims and unite all parties in support of that course. This is what Churchill and Roosevelt have done in the political field, with the greatest skill.

"Unfortunately both men have dabbled in military affairs, Churchill far more than Roosevelt, and in the military field the very qualities that make the two men inspiring political leaders are fatal. This quality of compromise, of satisfying everybody, is losing us the war by inches. It is throwing away in pairs and dribbles naval power enough to have stopped the Japs cold. The one thing necessary was clear-cut decision to put all the strength there was into a blow at some spot. That decision has never been made at any time by our side; it can hardly be made by a political leader, thinking on political terms."

Need of A Second Front in Europe

The need of a second front in Europe has been pressed on Britain and America by Soviet Russia. And even those who are not in the thick of the fight see clearly that such a front is very urgently needed to divert Germany's attention and resources, which are, so far as the European arena is concerned, being concentrated on the sole object of destroying Russia's resistance and conquering and occupying it. Both Britain and America cannot but be convinced that a second front is indispensably necessary. Perhaps Britain's man-power is not sufficient for the purpose and enough American troops have not yet reached Britain to supplement it.

Reduced Working And Indian-owned Jute Mills

Capital, the journal of British mercantile interests in this country, wrote in a recent issue that the Indian Jute Mills Association (which represents British-managed jute mills in this country) had received a letter from the Government of India that in compliance with the instructions of the American Technical Mission the working of jute mills should be considerably reduced so that many wagons which were ordinarily employed in carrying coal for these mills might be released for carrying war materials. The proposal is apparently innocuous, as the object of all governments must necessarily be self-protection in time of war. What we apprehend, however, is that the occasion may be utilised in killing the competition of Indian-

owned jute mills, which have been a thorn on the side of British-managed jute mills for a long time. When Sir John Anderson had just arrived as Governor of Bengal, the Indian-owned mills for fear of an ordinance being issued had to agree to work as many hours as the Association desired and not as many as the law of the land embodied in the Factories Act allowed. Later on, a number of small jute mills owned by our countrymen grew up and as they were not bound by any agreement they worked full time. The Jute Mills Association approached the Government of India with the request that these mills might be compelled to fall in line with the rest, but it must be said to the credit of the government of Lord Willingdon at that time that the request was twice refused. Subsequently a new Ministry was formed in Bengal under the Government of India Act and it readily came to the rescue of the Association with an ordinance. Thus it is clear that the British-managed mills have all along tried to impose their will upon the Indian-owned mills. If the small mills be now compelled to work reduced hours on the same basis as the large, they will have simply to close down, because they will be rendered uneconomic units and will be unable to earn their expenses. Can not some protection be afforded to indigenous enterprise? The number of looms contained in these mills are 2 to 3 per cent of the total, so that a little leniency here will not make much difference in Government requisition of wagons.

The result of reduced working of mills will be disastrous to the cultivators. The Hon'ble Chief Minister of Bengal has gone to Delhi to secure some relief from the Government of India, at whose request the present Ministry doubled the acreage of jute this season. But it is commonsense that the resources of the Central exchequer are inadequate to do anything tangible in such a vast problem as that of jute. The only way out is to ask men employed under the Jute Restriction Scheme to bind and seal excess jute of the new crop in each cultivator's house and not allow it to be sold till the next crop is harvested about this time in 1943. This will at least ensure a good price for the cultivator in respect of whatever jute is purchased by the mills. But to do this the Government of Bengal should take immediate action. — Siddheswar Chattopādhyaya.

Re-expanded Viceregal Executive Council

The re-expanded Viceregal Executive Council cannot be considered as part of a National Government. It is not a thoroughly Indianized

Council. It is not necessary to discuss the qualifications of the Indian members—able men in their own particular lines, but it is no reflection on their fitness to say that they have not been elected, selected or nominated by the people of India either directly or indirectly. Neither by statute nor by convention is the Viceroy under any obligation to abide by or give effect to even the unanimous decisions of this Council. The Secretary of State for India in London continues to be India's dictator. The Council is not responsible to the Legislature. Important portfolios like Home, Finance, etc., are held in it by Britishers. The Indian Defence Member cannot add a single recruit to the Army and is without power in other very important matters of defence.

Below are given important passages from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's statement on the recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

"In my opinion, the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, though it raises the number of Indians to ten, does not really betoken any change in the political and constitutional character of the Council or its powers. It is only continuation of the policy of the declaration of August 8, 1940.

"Sir Stafford Cripps, who had been admired so much in England, in my opinion, bungled, and bungled hopelessly, as I can say from personal knowledge. He alienated all other sections of politicians by telling them that he was anxious to secure the consent of the Congress and the Muslim League alone.

He failed in that. Do Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow seriously think that they are going to satisfy the Congress or the Muslim League? Perhaps, it would be more correct to say that they fully realise that the changes effected by them will produce no impression on these two parties, but will they produce any impression on the despised others? If they think like that, they are greatly mistaken.

I take full note of the fact that a sort of defence portfolio, which was anathema in the beginning of the conversations with Sir Stafford Cripps, has been created.

To the extent to which it makes a breach in the citadel, I approve of it, but I do not think we need attach any exaggerated importance to it. Side by side with that remains the fact that the home and the finance portfolios remain where they were in British hands. In addition to that, is the fact that the war transport portfolio also goes to a non-official British representative of big business.

As a debating point it may be very well to say that Indians hold ten as against five portfolios which will be held by the British. It would however be wrong for any one to think that the present change is anything in the neighbourhood of a National Government. It is not even a fully Indianised or non-official Executive Council. In ordinary circumstances, the control of the Secretary of State over the Executive Council which is invisible to the outsider, is very real and persistent.

The true dictator now is Mr. Amery, the one man in the British Empire who is most distrusted by Congressmen, non-Congressmen and politicians of nearly every school. It is impossible, in my opinion, to rouse a spirit of trust and confidence in this country or to fortify the position of those who honestly like to give

any help to the British Government as against Japan and Germany unless there is a change of personnel and the first man to go should be Mr. Amery.

So far as the personnel of the new expanded Council is concerned, I am free to admit that some of them are very able and good men, but it is not able and good men that matter, it is the powers which they enjoy and the freedom which they enjoy from the paralysing control and influence of the India Office which alone can change the situation in India. Let there be no mistake about it. If trust begets trust, distrust also begets distrust.—A. P.

Dr. Moonje on the Expanded Viceregal Council

BANGALORE, July 3.

"In this extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council I see a complete picture of an Anglo-Muslim Pact which was the one objective of Sir Stafford Cripps's mission. People believed that Sir Stafford Cripps's mission had failed but the Hindu Mahasabha thought otherwise," observed Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a Press interview today on the latest announcement of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Dr. Moonje arrived here last night to perform the opening ceremony of the 2nd Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha Conference which is to be held in Bangalore on July 5.

Dr. Moonje added that Sir Stafford Cripps came to India—rather was sent to India—with one particular objective and that objective was to assure the Muslims that so far as Britishers were concerned, they were prepared to grant Pakistan to them. They could then settle their quarrel with the Hindus as best as they could.

This was depicted in the present extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Dr. Moonje went on: "It is a complete picture of an Anglo-Muslim Pact. In the present crisis, administration in India means war administration and this war administration is now the monopoly of an Anglo-Muslim Pact, all other portfolios being subsidiary and complementary to the war administration. After the war, Dr. Moonje continued, with the victory of England, will come a second stage. That is the final stage of the Cripps mission, when India will be partitioned and Pakistan established with or without the consent of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and the Congress. Thus will be achieved a complete success for the Cripps mission. Those who can see perceive in this a fulfilment of the Cripps mission in the scheme of expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Defence has been handed over to non-official hands with a vengeance," he concluded.—A. P.

Seth Walchand Hirachand on the Expanded Viceregal Council

BOMBAY, July 3.

"Whatever may be the real motives of the British Government in expanding at this critical juncture the Viceroy's Executive Council, All-India will deplore that they have once again missed the psychological moment in harnessing goodwill and moral and material support of the people of this country in their war effort, because nobody will be deceived in this country into believing that the new Council can by any stretch of imagination be called a National Government," observed Mr. Walchand Hirachand in an interview to the *United Press* on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

He added, "Not only is there no transfer of real power from British to Indian hands, but the traditional policy of distrust of Indians is writ large."

Proceeding Mr. Walchand Hirachand said, "How else to account for the creation of the new department of war transport and the appointment to it of a non-official Britisher when the whole country has been demanding Indianisation of the Executive Council with a view to having a National Government at the Centre. That unwillingness to Indianise the Executive Government of India have again shown themselves in the maintenance of *status quo*, both in the Home and the Finance Departments. Add to this the creation of a Defence portfolio without any direct control over the policy for organising and directing the man power of India for defence on land, sea and air and there will stand out eminently the futility of the expansion of the Council, just announced. Not only will the new Council fail to meet the legitimate demand of the Indian public, but it is based on a new and reactionary policy regarding its constitution and introduces into the Council a new element hostile to Indian interests. That such attempt should be made particularly at a time when it is most essential to carry the Indian public opinion with the Government of this country, makes one despair of anything good materialising from the policy of expanded Council adumbrated now."—U. P.

Idea of Bargain Behind Removal of Ban on Communists

ALLAHABAD, July 25.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement on the removal of the ban on the Communist Party says: He was glad they can now function as an organisation. It was the height of absurdity and impropriety for the ban to be continued for so many years in India. It was not by attempting forcible suppression that flow of ideas would be stopped, as Government ought to realise by this time.

He added, however, in this removal of the ban, there was a spirit of bargaining. He did not agree with the present policy of the Communists. It was odd to see this alliance of the Government of India with the communists. It was not long ago, the Home Member stated the Communists in India were far worse than Nazis and Fascists.

Pandit Nehru was glad, he was gradually groping his way out of the darkness enveloping his mind.—U. P.

Synthesis of World Culture and Civilization The Object of Visva-Bharati

SANTINIKETAN, July 19.

"A grand synthesis of world culture and civilisation was Rabindranath's message to the nations of the world. It is treasured up in this great University as the Poet's immortal legacy. It will survive the ruthless onslaught of forces of aggression, when Santiniketan will be called upon to play its noble part in the cultural reconstruction of a battle-scarred humanity." Thus observed the Hon'ble Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu addressing a gathering of teachers and scholars of Visva-Bharati yesterday evening.

It is a pleasure to note that, unlike many other prominent Bengalis in particular and many other prominent Indians in general, the Hon. Minister for Local Self-government in Bengal knows that the main ideal of Visva-Bharati,

partially realized during its Founder's life-time, is to synthetize and be a home for all cultures and civilizations of the world, and that it is not a mere institution for preparing students for public examinations and teaching them painting, singing, dancing and acting in addition.

How Britain Can Put Japan's "Asia for Asiatics" Slogan To Acid Test

If Britain can rise to her full moral stature and declare India independent and free, declaring Burma and Malaya also independent, she can ask Japan to restore Korea's and Manchuria's independence and withdraw from occupied China and from Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. If Japan refuses to do so, her slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics" will be *demonstrated* to be sheer hypocrisy, as it really is. But no Western nation which rules any Asiatic country can put the Japanese slogan to this acid test without first ceasing to be an imperial power in Asia.

European Prestige and New Order In The East

SYDNEY, July 19.

Sir Bertram Stevens, former Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council at New Delhi who recently returned from India said in a speech here today (Sunday): "If Japan is defeated a new order in Asia is inevitable. The East will never return to its old quiescent subservient state. We must think of the Chinese, Indians, Malaysians and Javanese as friends of equal status. European prestige in the form in which it used to exist has been shattered. While the breach between many Indian political leaders and Britain appears to be widening it is well to remember that India is definitely anti-Japanese and a close friend of China. India well knows that a Japanese victory would mean an end to the plans for Indian freedom."—*Reuters*.

Gandhiji A Communist

Sj. Bijoylal Chatterjee's article on Gandhiji in the present issue of *The Modern Review* shows that the Mahatma is a communist in essential principles.

We have repeatedly heard Rabindranath Tagore declare himself a communist.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the Congress Independence Resolution

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has circulated the following statement on the Congress Working Committee's resolution through the Associated Press of India:

"I have read the recent Congress resolution. In my opinion it is an ill-considered and inopportune resolution and I sincerely hope and trust that there is still room for further consideration of the whole situation

and the methods intended to be adopted for dealing with that situation. This does not mean that I have in any way changed my opinion on the ineffective steps taken by the Government in meeting the situation, but I think that the war situation and its reactions on India are so grave that instead of throwing the country into a mass movement, the possibilities of which no one can foresee, the better and wiser course to follow would be to make a concerted effort on a collective basis for the settlement of our internal disputes and the establishment of a spirit of harmony and co-operation among ourselves. There is no reason why the leaders of different parties and different communities should not at this juncture meet at a round table to discuss how best to remove the present tension and to arrive at some settlement for the period of the war leaving the larger question of a permanent constitution for times of peace, immediately after the war. We must meet there without any commitments or without serving each other with any kind of ultimatum in advance. We are painfully conscious that our differences are being exploited in England and elsewhere and referred to in the press daily as an answer to our demands. This, however, is all the greater reason why we should exert ourselves to bring about a spirit of harmony and agreement, the absence of which is an encouragement to our critics and enemy. I agree that a new spirit has got to be created among the people to face the enemy who is next door to us but I fear that spirit cannot be created by a mass movement in this country. It may easily cause still further differences between one section of the community and another. For the achievement of internal unity all parties have got to make their contribution and Government themselves should not continue to be passive spectators of our internal disharmony, but make their active and constructive contribution. Now is the time for the Indian members of the Executive Council at Delhi to step forward and to make their contribution to the solution of the deadlock. I think, they can and there are at least some among them who can play a great part at this juncture.—A. P.

Though we do not consider the Congress resolution ill-considered and inopportune, we agree with Sir Tej that both Government and the leaders of different political parties should try to achieve internal unity in the country.

Sir Azizul Haque on India's Fundamental Unity

Hindusthan Standard's London correspondent writes to that paper in relation to the tour in some cities of England recently undertaken by Sir M. Azizul Haque, India's High Commissioner:

The High Commissioner recently undertook a tour on the north-west towns of England and visited the "Bevin boys" undergoing training in various factories. He was entertained to lunch by the Indians in Manchester and Liverpool. Lord Mayors of Manchester and Chester also, gave a luncheon and a dinner respectively to him and the British Council held a civic reception in Liverpool, where the Lord Mayor welcomed Sir Azizul, who during his three days' tour made scores of speeches striking a note of independence and frankness.

At the British Council reception in Liverpool, His Lordship said that "Sir Azizul's must be a formidable

task in representing a country like India where people profess so many religions and speak so many languages—something like two-hundred.”

The High Commissioner was quick in reply and said: “Yes, India has differences but what country in the world is without its differences? Ours is a vast country and therefore it is natural we should have many languages but please remember Indians are essentially a united people, despite their many languages and creeds.”

Sir Azizul frankly told the correspondent: “It has become a fashion in this country, to describe India as a land of diverse creeds, races and languages, be he the Secretary of State speaking in the Commons or the Lord Mayor, this fact of India's diversity is dinned into the listeners' ears.”

Will Muslim Leaguers note?

H. R. H. Duke of Gloucester on India's Unity

In the course of a farewell broadcast on the 16th July last His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester said:

The first thing that struck me was that India is a country fashioned by nature to be united. Divided against herself she would be weak: united she can be great and powerful beyond measure. While uniformity is not to be expected in such a vast country, where there is room for differences of race, religion, language and custom, unity is a necessity: and it seemed to me that already there are strong influences at work, breaking down the barriers of division and emphasizing the fundamental unity of the country. Of these influences, the strongest today is the war.

None are so blind as those who will not see. Hence, the unity of India which strikes even a casual visitor from abroad is denied by some interested persons who and whose ancestors have lived in this country from time immemorial.

Kerosene May Be Mixed With Mustard Oil For Lighting

LUCKNOW, July 24.

As a result of investigations made at the instance of the U. P. Government, it has been found that a mixture of equal quantities of kerosene oil and mustard oil can be successfully used in place of pure kerosene oil in Dietz lanterns and familiar types of street lamps.—A. P.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's Reply to Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar 're' Automobile Industry

BOMBAY, July 17.

In reply to the Commerce Member's recent speech at a gathering of students relating to the automobile industry, Sir M. Visvesvaraya in the course of a statement says that the Commerce Member has stated that in the first year cars made entirely in America would be brought here and sold; the production of some parts may be undertaken in the course of years till at the end of the eighth year or thereafter, perhaps 50 per cent. of the parts may be manufactured here.

Sir Visvesvaraya adds: “All this is a mis-statement. A letter, dated January 7, 1941, addressed by the promoters to the Government of India, Commerce Department, distinctly stated the plant would be an assembling plant only for the first seven months while the factory buildings were being erected and within the next three years 60 per cent. of the parts of the vehicles will be of Indian origin.

“An enclosure to the above letter, giving a clear statement prepared by the engineers of the Chrysler Corporation showing the programme of manufacture and the parts to be manufactured from year to year was submitted. This disposes of the allegation that the proposal was nebulous.”—U. P.

Jawaharlal Says, India Ready To Dive In This Storm

NEW DELHI, July 18.

“Today the world has to face a heavy storm of bloodshed and the war is now knocking at our doors,” declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting in Gandhi grounds to-night under the presidency of Mr. Asaf Ali. Despite rain, the meeting was largely attended. “The recent article of Mahatma Gandhi clearly indicates our intentions how to face this crisis,” continued the Pandit. Though the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha is not yet final and it will be placed before the A. I. C. C. for final decision, it is sufficient to show that we have decided to have a dive in this storm, though we do not know the results. But this, he asserted, will be the final attempt for our freedom. We have not decided anything in a hurry, but have considered it in all its aspects. To create a movement against the slavery of our country is our profession and it should be the duty of everyone to raise his voice against slavery. The Congress had its own principle regarding the background of this war and therefore we raised our voice when Japan invaded China and Italy conquered Abyssinia and we condemned these and other attempts of Hitler and Mussolini.

The Working Committee, the Pandit said, has clearly explained that they do not want to make Japan stronger by starting civil resistance movement. The Pandit concluded that it is our duty now not to sit silent but to fight for the freedom of India.

Pandit Nehru left for Allahabad to-night.—A. P.

Dr. Moonje On What Hindu Mahasabha Stands For

AHMEDABAD, July 18.

“The Hindu Mahasabha has never been, nor does it ever intend to be a purely communal organisation” declared Dr. B. S. Moonje presiding over the Brihad Gujarat Hindu Yuvak Parishad held today.

Unfortunately, continued Dr. Moonje, the Congress, due to its belief that there could be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, had developed a pro-Muslim mentality in its desire to placate the Mussalmans. If the Congress had cultivated a stern attitude of true nationalism, casting favours or frowns upon none and treating all the communities of India equally on the basis of equity, justice and fair play, then there should have been no need for life-long Congressmen like the speaker to organise a separate organisation to fight the Congress. The fight of the Hindu Mahasabha against the Congress was purely for the purpose of bringing it back to the path of true nationalism. The Hindu

Mahasabha was carrying on its work in the firm belief that the day was not far off when the Congress would repent its mistakes and its pro-Muslim mentality and come to the right path of true and unalloyed nationalism, freely merging into the Hindu Mahasabha for the glory and prosperity of Akhand Hindustan.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE SETTLEMENT

Proceeding Dr. Moonje said that Mr. Rajagopalachari wanted a Congress-League settlement. When the Lucknow Pact was brought into being was it not a Congress-League settlement? Was not Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, being one of the foremost disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, responsible for its lapse? Hardly, three years after the Lucknow Pact, Mahatma Gandhi came into the Congress with a slogan "No Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity." Now Mr. Rajagopalachari had come forward having broken away from the Congress with a proposal to grant "Pakistan." By the grant of "Pakistan," India would be divided and partitioned into, who knows how many parts, each having sovereign power in itself. Let not Mr. Rajagopalachari delude himself and delude others, said Dr. Moonje.

Concluding Dr. Moonje appealed for the recruitment of not less than 75 per cent. of Hindus and not more than 25 per cent. of Muslims in the Indian army and said that there would thus be a balance maintained in the army and it was this balance which would bring about a Congress-League settlement.—A. P.

Why India's Village Economy Should Be Self-sufficient

Forward writes :

The necessity of the reorganisation of India's village economy on the basis of self-sufficiency will be clearer if we consider how without occupying India Japan has drained off the wealth of this country. In 1887, India imported from Japan goods worth Rs. 332,748. Since then the volume of import had been constantly on the increase. In 1938, the total value of Japanese imports was Rs. 188,040,449. It is needless to point out that the balance of trade remained always in favour of Japan. But that is not the whole story. Japan has gained this advancement by killing at every point of it some of India's, and particularly Bengal's indigenous industries which fed millions of men and women. Half a century ago, countless families of Bengal earned their livelihood by producing silk, cotton goods, earthenware, toys, shoes, bone studs, etc., to name only a few. In course of the last two generations all these industries of Bengal have been destroyed and the descendants of those who were engaged in these industries are now day labourers. It is true that this mass impoverishment has been caused not by Japan alone but by many others. But Japan has taken the major share. Thus Japan supplies 33.6 per cent. India's total import of shoes and boots, 48.7 per cent. of glass articles, 57.4 per cent. of earthenware and porcelain, 41.7 per cent. of cotton piecegoods, 97.7 per cent. of artificial silk piecegoods, 56.6 per cent. of umbrella and umbrella-fittings, 33.3 per cent. of tea, 19.3 per cent. of stationery, besides make-up articles, such as handkerchief, tooth brush, comb, mirror, etc., worth about 40 lakhs a year.

It should be borne in mind that this huge expansion of Japanese trade in India and the large-scale destruction of India's indigenous industries have taken place without military occupation and often in spite of tariff walls. It can be easily imagined what would happen to

India's lot if she with her present ill-organised economic condition comes under Japanese military occupation. We say 'ill-organised' because from the point of view of economic organisation India is in a transition period. The old village economy is in a state of dissolution while large-scale industrial economy has not yet gained a firm footing on the soil. Indigenous capital cannot gain a firm footing so long as the country remains in the clutches of imperialism. Had India been industrially well organised like Britain or America, this problem of resistance to Japan would not be so difficult as it is now. We would have faced Japan in the same way as Britain or America is facing her. But we are in what may be called an amorphous state. The old is in a process of dissolution, the new has not yet crystallised. The wisest policy for us is therefore to arrest, for the time being, this process of dissolution and make the old structure of self-sufficient village economy as hard as granite; so that it can shelter us from the all-destructive onslaught of a ruthless, conscienceless imperialism.

Muslim Students in Medical Colleges

The recently published "Triennial Report on the Working of Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Presidency of Bengal" for the years 1938, 1939, and 1940, contains the following :

"During the triennium under report, there were annually on the average 1,405 male and 35 female students under training in the two institutions (Medical College and the Carmichael Medical College), as compared with 1,326 male and 21 female students annually in the previous triennium. The number of students who passed out was as follows :

MEDICAL COLLEGE, CALCUTTA			
	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
Male	64	71	80
Female	5	3	4
CARMICHAEL MEDICAL COLLEGE, BELGACHIA			
	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
Male	69	90	95
Female	—	—	—
Total	138	164	179

There was no Muslim students in the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, but in the Medical College, Calcutta, 21 seats were specially reserved for them. All these seats were not, however, taken up by Muslim students. The number of Muslim students admitted was 13 in 1937-38, 16 in 1938-39 and 13 in 1939-40. The number passed out during these years were 10, 12 and 6 respectively. From the year 1938-39, special scholarships have been given to the Muslim students in order to attract students of the community to the study of medicine. The number, however, remains steady. (Page 3 of the Report).

—Jatindra Mohon Bhattacharya.

Burma Facing Starvation

According to *Reuter* the following cable has been received from New York, dated July 24, 1942 :

The Burmese are feeling the dreadful results of Japanese occupation. The Japanese are following their usual pattern of issuing worthless money, placing Japanese in all responsible positions in business and industry, and inflicting on the Burmese all the old and many new forms of mental and physical torture.

One of the latest first-hand reports on the Burma situation appeared in July 23 edition of *The New York Times*. It was written by W. S. Munday, who visited a Burma village, north of Akyab in company with a British military patrol.

The Burmese, he says, told him that Burma was now facing famine. Formerly, the Burmese exported three million tons of rice each year.

They added that the Japanese, in an effort to solve their labour problems after failing to win the support of the Indians in Burma, decreed a new arrangement whereby taxes were made payable in docks and highway labour. Every Burmese village was ordered to give its labour to the Japanese.

The report says that the Japanese flooded Burma with their currency, and drove the Burmese currency almost entirely out of circulation. The remaining Burmese money was hidden.

The villagers estimated that there were 1,000 Japanese at Akyab. They have raided the surrounding country in all directions in their search for rice and other food.

Jap colonization has also begun in southern Burma. Reports state that Burmese shopkeepers, merchants, and officials have been replaced by Japanese. More than 700 Japanese traders and their families have reportedly arrived at Moulmein from Rangoon.

In Rangoon itself, hundreds of other Japanese who had a smattering of the Burmese language, including typists and other women workers, are being placed in jobs, the Burmese previously filled.—*Reuter*.

That the Japanese are placing Japanese in all responsible positions in business and industry, is the usual imperialistic way;—it is not peculiar to the Japanese.

The British Imperial Government is not a little responsible for the present miserable plight of the Burmese, who were kept by the former incapable of self-defence.

Gandhiji's Reply to Mr. Jinnah on the Congress Offer to Muslim League

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*, dated July 26, 1942 :

If the Quaid-E-Azam really wants a settlement, I am more than willing and so is the Congress. He will forgive me for suggesting that his reply leaves on one the impression that he does not want a settlement. If he wants one, why not accept the Congress President's offer that Congress and League representatives should put their heads together and never part until they have reached a settlement. Is there any flaw or want of sincerity in this offer ?

Gandhiji adds :

I have read with attention Quaid-E-Azam's reply to my article in *Harijan*. "Pakistan," according to him, in a nutshell, "is a demand for carving out India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and sovereign State." This sovereign State can conceiv-

ably go to war against the one of which it was but yesterday a part. It can also equally conceivably make treaties with other States. All this can certainly be had, but surely not by the willing consent of the rest. But it seems he does not want it by consent. For he says : "Pakistan is an article of faith with Muslim India and we depend upon nobody except ourselves for the achievement of our goal." How is one to offer one's service in these circumstances ?

But later he gives me hope for he says : "Show your sincerity and frankness for an honourable settlement." In order to show both, I wrote the article to which the Quaid-E-Azam has objected. How else is one to show sincerity and frankness except through one's action and speech or pen.

Let me state my limitations. I cannot speak as a mere Hindu, for my Hinduism includes all religions. I can speak only as an Indian. If Pakistan as defined above is an article of faith with him, indivisible India is equally an article of faith with me. Hence there is a stalemate.

But today there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan. It is Englistan. So I say to all India, let us first convert it to the original Hindustan and then adjust all rival claims. This is surely clear. After the restoration of India to the nation there will be no Central Government. The representatives will have to construct it. It may be one Hindustan or many Pakistans.—A. P.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League forget that there are Hindus (represented by the Hindu Mahasabha), Indian Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, etc., outside the Congress, as well as Muslims outside the Muslim League.

Flood Devastation in Sindh

The following is only part of accounts of the devastations wrought by the unprecedented flood in the Indus :

KARACHI, July 26.

By all accounts material damage on an unprecedented scale has already been wrought by the Sind flood. Unofficial estimates place the total loss at crores of rupees. So many details of local damage over a very wide area continue to be received that it is impossible to delineate a clear picture of the devastation caused. Not only property of all kinds but even valuable canals themselves have suffered extensively. Apart from the losses of houses and movables, reconstruction etc., may require funds themselves running to crores. The danger still persists. While the river at Mitankot is reported to have fallen slightly, the level at Attock may influence the situation for the next few days. The main flood current after running across the three barrage canals, it is reported, has reached Jhali encampment.

Cuts are being given to the river bund in order to divert the main current towards the river again. While this may reduce the danger to Larkana and Dadu districts, it cannot be said these areas are safe. The coming of Larkana within the danger zone brings into limelight the world-famous Mohenjodaro excavations situated in Larkana.

Although danger to this site is still distant, every precaution is being taken to prevent damage by water to the Mohenjodaro relics.

Threat to Sukkur barrage, if the river should change its course along with the flood water northwest

of Sukkur, is still theoretical and in any event may be expected to be temporary merely aggravating the indirect material loss for the time being.

Dr. Choitram Gidwani, President, Sindh Provincial Congress Committee, who visited certain flood-affected areas accompanied by Professor Ghanshyam and Mr. Shreevalecha, M.L.A., has issued an appeal for funds for relief. We hope it will be adequately responded to.

We hope all moveable relics have been already removed to a safe place from the Mohenjodaro museum and site.

Woman Vice-Chancellor for Women's University

We heartily congratulate the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thackersey Indian Women's University of Poona and Bombay on its acquisition of Shrimati Sharadabehn Mehta as its



Shrimati Sharadabehn Mehta

Vice-Chancellor. For years she has been a very great and at the same time a very quiet worker. We consider it a privilege that we were able on one occasion in Bombay to make her personal acquaintance.

Born of a progressive Nagar family of Surat, Shrimati Sharadabehn Mehta is one of the two first lady graduates of Gujarat, and, during a long useful career, she, with her equally eminent sister Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth, has left an indelible imprint on the public life of the province. She is associated with almost all the progressive movements and institutions affecting the welfare of Indian womanhood and is an active worker of the All-India Women's Conference.

Not only in the field of social reform but also in politics and the educational fields she

has made a remarkable contribution. The Ahmedabad Mahila Vidyalaya and the Chinna-bai Samaj of Baroda and many other similar institutions owe their present enviable position to the efforts of Mrs. Mehta. At the time of the Bardoli Satyagraha she with her husband Dr. Sumant Mehta was in charge of one of the camps, and was a member of the deputation that met the then Governor of Bombay for a settlement.

She has rendered yeoman's service to the S. N. D. T. University in its earlier days and in its present growth she has a large share. She has been a long-standing member of its Senate and Syndicate. She was for long a member of the Senate of the University of Bombay and it is just in the fitness of things that she has been unanimously elected the Vice-Chancellor of the S. N. D. T. University, a position she has richly deserved. She is perhaps the first woman Vice-Chancellor of a University in India and the S. N. D. T. Women's University has honoured itself by honouring a lady-educationist of Mrs. Mehta's eminence.

Sir Stafford Cripps' Broadcast to America

In the course of a broadcast from London to America on the 26th July last, Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the British House of Commons, quoted passages from Mahatma Gandhi's pronouncements torn from their contexts and concluded it thus :

He (Mahatma Gandhi) may gain a measure of support for mass disobedience, but for the sake of India as well as for the cause of the United Nations it will be our duty to insist on keeping India as a safe and orderly base for our joint operations against the Japanese. Whatever steps are necessary to that end we must take fearlessly.

VICTORY FIRST

Once victory is gained, India has been offered complete freedom to provide in whatever way she chooses for her own self-government. But that victory must first be gained. We cannot allow the actions of a visionary, however distinguished in his fight for freedom in the past, to thwart the United Nations' drive for victory in the East.

The issues are too grave for the whole world. American, Chinese, Indian and British soldiers must not be sacrificed in their gallant struggle for the liberty of the world by a political party manœuvring in India or any other country. It is the interests of India that are at stake as well as that of China, Britain and the United States.

I am sure that we in this country can rely on you to give us your understanding, your help and your support in doing whatever is necessary to maintain intact the front of the United Nations in India and re-

open the life-line of our gallant allies the Chinese.—*Reuter.*

The opinion of the Congress is that the independence of India is necessary for assuring the United Nations' victory and that, in any case, India's independence will not make that victory less certain than it is.

We Indian Nationalists do not see any reason why, while other nations like the Chinese, the Russians, the Americans and the British are fighting all the better because of their possession of freedom, in the case of India alone independence is expected to destroy or decrease her fighting capacity; and why we should wait for independence till the Allies have obtained victory.

Sir Stafford has made some statements in his broadcast which will be challenged by Congress leaders, to whom that task may be safely left.

The following passage in his broadcast will be found by the Japanese curious reading when they read along with it Gandhiji's appeal and warning to Japan :

Certainly the action which he is now threatening—mass civil disobedience by his followers—is calculated to endanger both your war effort and our own and bring the greatest aid and comfort to our common enemies.

Mahatma Gandhi's Appeal and Warning to Japan

The whole of Mahatma Gandhi's moving appeal in *Harijan* "To Every Japanese," which comes straight from his heart, is worth reproduction. We transcribe below only a few passages.

Mahatma Gandhi says : "I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China. From your lofty height you have descended to imperial ambition. You will fail to realise that ambition and may become the authors of the dismemberment of Asia, thus unwittingly preventing World Federation and brotherhood without which there can be no hope for humanity.

"Ever since I was a lad of eighteen studying in London over fifty years ago, I learnt through the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold to prize the many excellent qualities of your nation. I was thrilled when in South Africa, I learnt of your brilliant victory over Russian arms. It was a worthy ambition of yours to take equal rank with the great Powers of the world. Your aggression against China and your alliance with the Axis Powers was surely an unwarranted excess of that ambition. We are in the unique position of having to resist an Imperialism that we detest no less than yours and Nazism. Our resistance to it does not mean harm to the British people. We seek to convert them. Ours is an unarmed revolt against British rule. An important party in the country is engaged in a deadly but friendly quarrel with the foreign rulers. But in this they need no aid from

foreign Powers. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity we should have done it as soon as the war broke out nearly three years ago.

"Our movement demanding the withdrawal of the British power from India should in no way be misunderstood. In fact, if we are to believe your reported anxiety for the independence of India, a recognition of that independence by Britain should leave you no excuse for any attack on India. Moreover, the reported profession sorts ill with your ruthless aggression against China.

WHY INDIA SHOULD BE FREE

"I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. The end and aim of the movement for British withdrawal is to prepare India by making her free for resisting all militarist and imperialist ambition, whether it is called British Imperialism, German Nazism or your pattern.

OFFER TO BRITAIN

"Our appeal to Britain is coupled with the offer of free India's willingness to let the Allies retain their troops in India. The offer is made in order to prove that we do not in any way mean to harm the Allied cause, and in order to prevent you from being misled into feeling that you have but to step into the country that Britain has vacated. Needless to repeat that if you cherish any such idea and will carry it out, we will not fail in resisting you with all the might that our country can muster. I address this appeal to you in the hope that our movement may even influence you and your partners in the right direction and deflect you and them from the course which is bound to end in your moral ruin and the reduction of human beings to robots.

"The hope of your response to my appeal is much fainter than that of response from Britain. I know that the British are not devoid of a sense of justice and they know me. I do not know you enough to be able to judge. All I have read tells me that you listen to no appeal but to the sword. How I wish you are cruelly misrepresented and that I shall touch the right chord in your heart! Any way I have an undying faith in the responsiveness of human nature. On the strength of that faith I have conceived the impending movement in India, and it is that faith which has prompted this appeal to you.

I am your friend and well-wisher M. K. Gandhi."

Sir Stafford Cripps on Atlantic Charter

LONDON, July 25.

"The Atlantic Charter was an attempt to express in general easily understood terms the direction in which the political leaders of the democracies envisaged world progress after victory had been won," declared Sir Stafford Cripps, Leader of the House of Commons, speaking at the British Association Conference. The United Nations must at the end of the war undertake international regulation of production and distribution of essential raw materials. The form such a regulative system should take must be worked out by common agreement among the United Nations. We have today reached a degree of co-operation between the

United Nations in the use of raw material and the employment of finished products greater than had ever been reached before in the history of the world.—*Reuter*.

Who are the United Nations? Is India among them? If so, why did Mr. Churchill exclude her from the benefit of the Atlantic Charter? How can there be *co-operation* between "the democracies" and a vast country like India ruled autocratically by an alien people?

Anti-Pakistan Campaign

NEW DELHI, July 24.

Dr. B. S. Moonje in a statement to the Press says that he and Mr. V. G. Deshpande toured Madras Presidency to counteract pro-Pakistan campaign. Everywhere they were accorded a hearty reception and huge meetings were held to protest against the partition scheme.

Dr. Moonje claims that Hindus in Madras are not in favour of Pakistan, but they are strong supporters of United India.—*A. P.*

China's Air Raid Experiences

We cordially thank the Calcutta Office of the Chinese Ministry of Information for a big book on "China After Five Years of War" and pamphlets on "China's Air Raid Experiences," etc. We hope to notice the book at some length in our next issue. "China's Air Raid Experiences" is adequately illustrated. It is divided into seven sections: Air raid experiences in China; Chungking's bomb-proof dug-outs; The May Third Chungking Bombing; Let India Draw a Parallel; Chungking, World's Most Bombed City; Air Raid Casualties in China; and The Cost to Japan. "Let India Draw a Parallel" by Gordon Jolly concludes by telling the reader:

Of course, people are frightened when bombs fall. It's a terrifying experience, but the people of China, like the people of Britain, know that the loss of human life can be avoided by following simple precautions. Cities are bombed with the object of throwing civil population into disorder. You will play your part by beating the enemy at his own game. The Japanese have dropped thousands of bombs on Chungking, but the Chungkingites have taken their measure. China's ability calmly to withstand air raids will go down in history. As in England, the people have demonstrated that they can "take it." Let India draw a parallel.

Though the Chinese Air Force was built up only a few years before the war while the enemy's air arm has had a 20-year history, the former has achieved notable successes against its adversary.

Long Range Industrial Possibilities

The first meeting of the reconstituted Bengal Industrial Survey Committee was held on the 26th July last under the presidentship of Dr. P. N. Ghosh.

The committee discussed at great length the co-relation between the comprehensive enquiry regarding long range industrial possibilities of Bengal, which had been entrusted to it at the start, and the additional enquiry now referred to it regarding the efforts of the war on the industrial situation of the province.

The committee considered that while an enquiry on the present situation was necessary and desirable, it should not interfere with its normal work in connection with the original terms of reference. At the same time, it admitted that the present situation, although a passing phase, would have a far-reaching influence on the long range industrial possibilities of Bengal, and for the matter of that, of the whole of India. The committee, therefore, decided to carry on its work of investigation and formulate suggestions on the present situation as well as consider long range industrial problems of the province in all their aspects.

Bengal Cotton Mills and the Present Situation

The view that to be prepared against all eventualities was the only safeguard against the dark threat "to our Motherland" and that it was incumbent on all of them to face the realities of the situation with calmness and fortitude, was expressed by Mr. D. N. Chowdhury, President of the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, at the second Quarterly General Meeting of the Association on the 27th July last.

Referring to the denial of material and facilities of immediate military value to the enemy, Mr. Chowdhury pleaded for a better understanding between the Defence Department and the general public in the matter. Non-official interests should, in his opinion, be taken into full confidence by the authorities in such a vital matter. He also referred to the War Risks (Factories) Insurance scheme which covered measures to be adopted in pursuance of a policy of denial and deplored that compensation to owners had been limited to 80 per cent. of the damage under the scheme. But the question of demolition or destruction of plants, machinery and stocks under the denial policy, he said, was admittedly of national importance, and according to him, should be compensated in full in the long-term economic interests of the country. He pleaded for a clear declaration on the subject.

He divulged that it had been possible for the Bengal centre to make a large contribution to the war effort by executing Supply Department orders for textile articles. With remarkable adaptability the member mills had been manufacturing goods required by the Defence Services in increasing quantities. They had even agreed to set apart 35 per cent. of their looms for war supply purposes if that was necessary.

In connection with the sale and production of standard cloth, which the Bengal mills had agreed to manufacture and distribute even "at a considerable sacrifice,"

Mr. Chowdhury failed to understand how Government would prevent the development of "black markets" and back door dealings so long as there would be an acute shortage of supply in relation to the demand.

He also referred to the scheme for the extension of cultivation of long staple cotton in the province, which had been submitted for the consideration of the Indian Central Cotton Committee at its recent meeting in Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi on the "Bullying" British Press

LONDON, July 27.

Mr. Gandhi has sent the following message to *The Daily Herald* following its criticism of his present attitude :

"Amid universal bullying *The Daily Herald's* is the unkindest cut. This bullying seems inspired for it has no foundation."

The Herald writes editorially today (Monday) :

"Presumably he is hinting that we were asked by the Government to write the article. He is wrong. We are 'inspired' only by the belief that we are rightly interpreting the outlook of labour men and women which is our daily task."—*Reuter*

Whether inspired or not, neither British nor American bullying should or will frighten India into a servile attitude.

American Liberal Press on the Congress Resolution

The terror-stricken and alarmist note in the comments of the American Liberal press on the Congress resolution is very much to be regretted. It is evident that American papers are writing without adequate knowledge of the implications of the Congress resolution and its elucidations by Mahatma Gandhi and by the Congress President Maulana Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders. The following contains perhaps the only sensible comment and suggestion :

The *New Republic* declares that a formula for a successful solution other than any thus far advanced should not be impossible. "This formula" it says, "should be hammered out in further negotiations. No one can possibly oppose negotiations unless he wants the British rule continued in this country, and anyone who wants that, has no business pretending to fight on the side of Democracy."

The British paper *Manchester Guardian*, too, thinks that a fresh approach and negotiations are necessary. The British Government has not done even that which it could have done and can do without changing the present constitution of India. It is sitting tight, perhaps wrongly feeling confident that it is master of the situation and that the Indian Congress is contemptible. In spite of the demonstration of Japan's strength and of the superior staying power and heroism

of China, Britishers and Americans appear to be guided by a contempt for Asiatics. Now that Japan and China have proved by their unaided might that they are above contempt, it is India which is sought to be bullied. The Indian National Congress and other truly Nationalist bodies are expected to give a rude awakening to both British imperialists and their American sympathizers.

What the British Government could have done and can do even now without changing the constitution now is to declare that after the end of hostilities India would be independent and Indians themselves would frame a new constitution and that in the meantime during the duration of the war the Viceroy's Executive Council is to be immediately thoroughly Indianized, the Defence Member being a real Defence Member, and the Viceroy is by convention to accept all decisions of the Executive Council and the Secretary of State for India not to interfere. We know, whole-hoggers among Indian Nationalists would not be satisfied with these minor reforms, but the British Government, too, on its part perhaps considers such suggestions revolutionary.

Defence Member, Demobilization Member, or Canteen Member ?

The Tribune of Lahore writes :

It is not customary today to call a fig a fig and a spade a spade. It is customary to call debating societies parliaments. No wonder that Sir Feroz Khan Noon should be designated as Defence Member, though he has nothing to do with recruitment. In fact, one of the subjects entrusted to his care concerns demobilisation. He has also to run canteens and look after prisoners of war. There are many other subjects assigned to his department. All these subjects arise out of the war, but no one can say that these concern the immediate requirements of the defence of the country. It would have been nearer the truth to designate the member either as Demobilisation Member or Canteen Member. But as Shakespeare says : What is in a name ? That which we call a rose, by any other name would smell as sweet. A canteen member is a canteen member and would smell of canteens even if he were called the Defence Member.

Sir Feroz Khan Noon belongs to warlike Panjab, and it is Panjab's premier daily which has criticized his appointment in this strain.

By way of camouflage some Indian had to be called Defence Member. Sir Feroz may have been given the job for various reasons : being a Panjabi, he is *ipso facto* a valiant warrior; he is subservient; he is rabidly anti-Hindu and anti-Congress; and he did good anti-Indian and pro-British propaganda work in Europe and America.

He has not been made a real Defence Member for the very good reason that the imperialistic British Government cannot think of giving such a key position to an Indian.

There may have been a secondary and subsidiary reason, too. Those in charge of the Defence of a country, like commanding officers of all grades, are expected to possess a knowledge of the principal campaigns and decisive battles of at least the principal countries of the world. Britishers consider the early Bengal-Bihar campaigns of the East India Company noteworthy campaigns and the battle of Plassey one of the decisive battles fought by Clive, one of their empire-builders.

But so comprehensive and accurate is Sir Firozkhan Noon's knowledge of military history that in his small illustrated book on India, he has written that the battle of Plassey was fought between Clive and Dupleix, not between Clive and Siraj-ud-daulah's forces! That battle was fought in 1757. But the French General and Governor Dupleix had gone home in 1753, never to come back to India! How could the British Government then make Sir Firoz a real Defence Member?

Mahatma Gandhi's Defence of Himself, Congress and Recent C. W. C. Resolution

Under the caption "To My Critics" Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan* of July 26 last:

"The critics who impute motives to the Working Committee or to me harm the cause they profess to serve. The members of the Working Committee are all seasoned servants of the nation with full sense of their responsibility. It is no use damning me as a dictator like Herr Hitler. He does not argue with his co-workers if he may be said to have any. He merely issues orders which can only be disobeyed on pain of death or worse. I argue with my friends for days. I argued at the last meeting for eight days. The members agreed when their reason was satisfied. My sanction with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love. It is a travesty of truth, therefore, to compare me with Hitler or to call me dictator in any current sense of the term. It is an equal travesty of truth to abuse the Congress by calling it a Hindu or communal organisation. It is national in the fullest sense of the term. It is a purely political organisation with which can undoubtedly be compared the Liberal Party, which is without the slightest communal taint. Unfortunately today, although it has politicians, who have a record of distinguished service, it has admittedly little or no following in the country by reason of its members holding unpopular views.

"Thus the Congress remains the sole representative national organisation in India with a mass following. Its gains belong not merely to itself but to the whole nation, irrespective of caste or creed or race. It is mischievous and misleading to discredit this organisation in America and Great Britain as a communal or

pro-Axis or a purely Hindu organisation. If it was a pro-Axis organisation, it has courage and influence enough to make a public declaration to that effect in disregard of the consequences that might overtake it. It is not, and has never been a secret or a violent organisation. If it had been either, it would have been suppressed long ago.

"So much about some manifest misrepresentations.

CONGRESS POSITION

"Now about suppression of relevant Congress position. Nobody has contended that the demand for withdrawal of British power is not an inherent right of the nation, irrespective of the demand to the contrary by those who by centuries of habit have lost the sense of freedom. It is said that it is wrong not intrinsically, but because of the Congress declaration of non-embarrassment to ask for such withdrawal at this moment.

HONESTY DICTATES THE COURSE

"The critics conveniently omit to mention the fact, that in order to prove its *bonafides* and to prevent the Japanese attack, the Congress has agreed that, in spite of the withdrawal of the British, the Allied troops should remain in India, naturally under a treaty with the free India Government to be. So long as that Government, provisional or otherwise, has not come into being, there will be no authority to check their operations to save their honour. For by declaring India free they will have absolved themselves from consulting any body formally, as they have to consult today members of their nomination.

"CONGRESS DEMAND IS FOOL-PROOF"

"In this sense the declaration of independence leaves them freer to adopt the military measures they may consider necessary. I know that this is an anomalous position for a free country to be in. But honesty dictates the course. As I have said and repeat here, the Congress demand is fool-proof. Critics who are anxious to serve the Allies would do well to examine the Congress position and point out flaws, if there are any. Let me inform them, that those who have come to me to understand my demand and who had serious misgivings went away convinced, that it was wholly just and that if justice was not done, the Congress would be right in taking action to vindicate its position.

First Anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore's Death

Rabindranath Tagore died on the 7th of August last year. This year on or about that date the country will observe the first anniversary of his death. He lived and worked for the spiritual, moral, intellectual, social, political and economic emancipation and reconstruction of the world. Let us bear this in mind and be inspired by his example.

"Punya-smriti" or "Sacred Memories"

This is the name of a timely Bengali book by Srimati Sita Devi, who like some others enjoyed the affection of Rabindranath Tagore and came into close contact with him like daughters. From her diaries of past years she gives a vivid picture of the everyday life of the Poet—how

he worshipped, talked, taught classes, wrote and read out poems and political and other discourses, composed, set to music and sang songs, wrote and acted plays, received and entertained guests and visitors, made himself one with the pupils of his school, and the like.

August A Fateful Month ?

Bengal proclaimed boycott of British goods in the month of August years ago as part of her agitation against the Partition of Bengal.

Lokmānya Tilak died in the month of August.

So did Rabindranath Tagore.

The last world-war began in August.

The British Government made its momentous offer to India in August, 1940 !

The All-India Congress Committee meets on the 7th of the current month of August to decide whether, in case Britain refuses to recognise India's independence and withdraw from the seat of power, there shall be mass civil disobedience. It bids fair to be a most momentous decision.

Cripps' American Broadcast Deliberate Misrepresentation or Due to Misunderstanding

The Congress would not mind if complete power was handed over to the Muslim League or other non-Congress parties, and the Congress was kept out.

This statement was made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at a Press conference at New Delhi answering Sir Stafford Cripps' broadcast to Americans, which he described as the "climax of propaganda." He emphatically stated : India's right to independence is not subject to negotiation.

MUSLIM ATTITUDE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of a statement said : Sir Stafford constitutes himself the champion of the Muslims and the Depressed Classes and others. I know my Muslim countrymen a little better than Sir S. Cripps does and I know that what he says about them is a calumny, for vast numbers of them are devoted to the cause of India's independence.

COMING MOVEMENT

Anarchy is always preferable to slavery, as there is hope of independence arising out of anarchy, declared Sardar Patel at a Press conference.

The Sardar continued that while the previous movements were in some way or the other restricted in scope, the present movement was not, and it was likely to command greater public support than the previous ones. —U. P. and A. P.

Heart Surgery

A RARE SURGICAL OPERATION

NEW YORK, July 21.

One of the most rare and difficult operations in medical history has saved the life of a 17-year-old war

worker who had been stabbed in the heart. Seven stitches were inserted in the heart after the Surgeons had cut away three ribs to reach it. The blood which spouted from the main heart chamber was later poured into the veins in the patient's arm.—*Reuter*.

American Model of Peace And British Feeling About the Right of the Common Man

NEW YORK, June 9.

The United States Vice-President, Mr. Wallace speaking at a dinner here last night said : "American peace—the peace of the common man—must be translated into freedom everywhere. For the first time hemispheric consciousness begins to merge as a new and powerful entity in world affairs." America was building a peace not based on imperialistic intervention. "America will not have made her contribution until nine out of ten of the world's adults can read and write, until the children of the world can have at least a pint of milk daily and until education brings such a sense of responsibility that all the people of the world can be made to take full part in democratic government."

Mr. Wallace said history had hitherto seemed a prelude to a magnificent world symphony. There had been many themes played in the prelude. One theme was the building of the British Empire by a people who "had a stronger feeling about the right of the common man than the Roman Empire had had."—*Reuter*.

The British people undoubtedly have a very strong feeling about the right of the British common man and perhaps also about the right of other white common men. But the political status of non-white common men in the British empire shows that the British people have not this strong feeling about their rights.

Mr. Wallace's ideal is all that it should be. The question is how and when America will begin to give a concrete form to this ideal. Will a beginning be made at any time in India ? Or will India be left out as being the domestic concern of "the people who had a stronger feeling about the right of the common man than the Roman Empire had had ?"

In independent India there would be a probability of 90 per cent. of the adults being able to read and write and of Indian children getting at least a pint of milk each daily. In India in bondage there is no such probability.

Non-official America's Sympathy for India in Written and Spoken Words

BOMBAY, June 23.

The confidence that the United Nations would defeat the Axis powers because of the overwhelming production of America and the not negligible production of Britain and Russia was expressed by Mr. Louis Fischer, the American author-journalist, at a talk given at the Journalists' Association of India today. He added that not only did the United Nations have a preponderance of production but the Axis also lacked the staying power.

Mr. Fischer explained that the natural reaction of the average American towards the cause of Indian independence was one of unending sympathy. While from every point of view America would like to see India get a new deal it was not possible for the American Government to go beyond certain limits in its endeavour to make India a free country. Mr. Fischer emphasised that he held no brief for British rule in India but pointed out that governments operated differently and America could not give orders to Britain.

America would not like to be guided in solving the problem of thirteen million Negroes in the United States by Britain nor would it be possible for the United States and Britain to change the internal administration in Russia despite the fact that Russia was receiving vast quantities of war materials from them.

Mr. Fischer was right in holding that "it was not possible for the American Government to go beyond certain limits in its endeavour to make India a free country." But did that government ever make any endeavour at all—we mean a minimum endeavour—to make India a free country? None that we know of. That government, it was said, could not go beyond certain limits in its endeavour to make India free. But when there has been no endeavour at all, why speak of limits? Not going beyond certain limits implies going to some extent within some limits. But when there is no "going" at all, the question of limits does not arise.

"America could not give orders to Britain." True. But Chiang Kai-shek did not give orders to Britain when he asked the British Government to give real political power to India. We do not know that any dire calamity has overtaken the Chinese Generalissimo or Government owing to that exhortation, and we venture to think that none would have befallen the American President if he had made a similar request, or had at least said that the Atlantic Charter applied to India also.

Mr. Fischer maintained that the greatest chance of freedom for India lay in a democratic victory of the democratic powers. If the Fascist powers won India had no chance, but if India was associated with those elements and powers that fought and won the war and made peace, India could look forward to a brighter future in a better ordered world.

It is quite true that if the Fascist powers won, the chances of India becoming free would become indefinitely remote. But it is not quite certain either that the democratic powers, if victorious, would actively help India to be free.

As one who had lived for many years in the dictator countries and who had seen the terrors, horrors and repression there, Mr. Fischer thought that nothing the people of India had undergone in their complaints of repression could compare with the conditions there. Almost every second man he met in India had come

out of jail and was proud of it. In Russia, Germany and Spain one never met people who had ever been in jail—because they never came out and frequently they were shot. That was the simple difference between conditions in India and dictator countries. There was no question of holding free meetings or writings in the press as one liked in those countries.

Mr. Fischer, who had lived for a considerable time in Russia, paid a tribute to the many achievements of the Bolshevik regime in the matter of education, industrialisation and agriculture which enabled them to resist the Nazi invasion and hurl them back, but he was very critical of the Stalin regime in Russia.—A. P.

Statement On Roosevelt-Churchill Pourparlers

On the return of the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill to London from America, the following statement was issued on the 27th June last :

"This week of conference between the President and the Prime Minister covered very fully all major problems of the war which is conducted by the United Nations on every continent and in every sea. We have taken full cognizance of our disadvantages as well as our advantages. We do not understate the task. We have conducted our conferences with a full knowledge of the power and resourcefulness of our enemies. In the matter of the production of munitions of all kinds the survey gives on the whole an optimistic picture. Previously planned monthly output has not reached the maximum but is fast approaching it on schedule. Because of the wide extension of the war to all parts of the world, the transportation of fighting forces together with the transportation of munitions of war and supplies still constitute the major problem of the United Nations.

SUBMARINE WARFARE

"While submarine warfare on the part of the Axis continues to take a heavy toll of cargoships, actual production of new tonnage is greatly increasing month by month. It is hoped that as a result of Steps planned at this conference our respective navies will further reduce the toll of merchant shipping. The United Nations have never been in such hearty and detailed agreement on plans for winning the war as they are today.

RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

"We recognise and applaud Russian resistance to the main attack that is being made by Germany and we rejoice in the magnificent resistance of the Chinese army. Detailed discussions were held with our military advisers on the methods to be adopted against Japan and for the relief of China. While our plans for obvious reasons cannot be disclosed it can be said that the coming operations which discussed in detail at the Washington conferences between ourselves and our respective military advisers will divert German strength from the attack on Russia.

"The Prime Minister and the President have met twice before, first in August, 1941, and again in December, 1941. There is no doubt in their minds that the overall picture is more favourable to victory than it was either in August or December, last year."—*Reuter*.



WHY INDIA HELPED BRITAIN IN THE LAST WORLD WAR

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

IV

THE ATTITUDE OF THE MASSES

THE immediate impact of the war on the masses, as will be remembered by those who kept their eyes and ears open at that time, was a feeling of some danger rather inadequately realised. The British official who summed up the situation by observing that they "were but dimly conscious of what was going on" was quite correct. The wildest rumours passed from mouth to mouth and were believed. This phase, however, did not last very long.

For some time, the masses scarcely noticed that there was a war. Their needs were few and these were easily satisfied. They began to recognise the gravity of the situation when, with the shrinkage of shipping space and the increasing demand on what was available by the exigencies of war, there was a scarcity of those imported commodities to the use of which they had grown accustomed. The sharp rise in the price of such things as well as in that of other commodities produced in India but which could not reach their former markets in sufficient quantities on account of the restrictions on railway traffic, convinced the masses that the war, though fought far away, was having its repercussions even in India.

At the beginning of the war, recruits were sought from the martial races only and so India, as a whole, could not appreciate from the frequent disappearance of well-known faces that it was continuing with an ever-increasing intensity. As the struggle went on and as fighting conducted in different fronts made it imperative to have a larger army and as, along with this demand for men, the recruiting campaign assumed a more and more intense form till the services of members of the non-martial races were requisitioned, the masses came to understand, probably in a very uncertain way, that the Sirkar, invincible as it was, had to depend on India's poor people to fight its battles.

Discontent began to manifest itself when taxes were imposed on some of the things the masses used, when postal rates were increased and railway travelling became more expensive, when

there was famine in some areas and conditions approaching famine in others and, worst of all, when the influenza epidemic, like the last and the worst of the Egyptian plagues, swept over the whole country, penetrating its nooks and crannies, its hills and dales, its crowded cities and its sparsely inhabited forests and, sparing neither youth nor age, killed its victim in millions. All through these trials the masses, taking into account the vast area occupied and the equally vast numbers involved, remained peaceful, and for this the reason offered by British officials was their loyalty, which again was explained as being due to various causes the more important among which are referred to below.

PERSONAL LOYALTY TO THE RULER

An explanation of this phenomenon which almost automatically suggested itself to many was the traditional *raj bhakti* (loyalty to the king), which has been responsible on so many different occasions for the unswerving devotion of Indians to their rulers. This loyalty, as is well-known to students of the history of India, has stood the test of misrule and even of defeat.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer referred to this factor when in his *India As I Knew It* (p. 376) he said,

"The words of the Sovereign at all times make an appeal to oriental people, who offer their allegiance not to an impersonal British Government, but to the person of their Sovereign whom they regard as something almost divine."

Here the writer apparently distinguishes between oriental and occidental peoples, ascribing the loyalty of the former to a sense of devotion to the ruler in his personal capacity who, in his view, is regarded as "something almost divine."

It is perfectly true that some of the Indian ruling houses claim descent from the sun and the moon, but no Indian will admit that any one of them was, even in the remote past, worshipped as a divinity or something approaching it. Even if the existence of this attitude is admitted, the argument would not hold good so far as the Mussalman is concerned, because the faith he professes prevents him from adoring any one except God and, be it remembered, that the Muslim community accounted for about

a fifth of the Indian population at that time.

As for the orthodox Hindu, wedded to caste, he would not, of course, display the slightest hesitation in showing proper respect and even veneration to his king, but it is extremely doubtful whether he would consider as "almost divine" a potentate, however powerful, who is a non-Hindu, or regard him as worthy of honour in the sense he would look even on the poorest Brahmin.

The sophisticated Hindu and Mussalman, familiar with western culture, would show respect to his ruler through the same motives as the ordinary westerner, but the question of the manifestation of his loyalty cannot be considered here, for he belongs to a higher social stratum.

Such rulers, as for instance Asoka, Akbar, or Pratap Singh, to mention only a few, did succeed in winning profound and matchless loyalty, but there were certain things which made it easy for them to do so. They were rulers permanently settled in India and of practically the same race and blood as their subjects. These rulers came into daily contact with their officers and their nobility. In their progress from one part of their dominion to another, the ordinary people enjoyed frequent opportunities of catching a glimpse, however distant, of their kings and rulers and sometimes even of coming into direct personal contact with them.

This is not true of the King-Emperor of India. Even the Princes and Chiefs of India see him rarely and that only when they go to England and are granted an audience. It is probably correct to say that a majority of them saw our Emperor only when he visited India, while it is doubtful whether, excepting the Indian servants and the Indian soldiery who came into contact with him, one out of every million of India's masses has ever set his eyes on the King-Emperor.

There are to-day millions living in rural India who have of course heard of the Emperor on the other side of the oceans, but it is not natural to expect that they should have any particular feeling of even sentimental affection for him. The rank and file of the army and the Labour Corps were drawn from the rural areas. No one would care to maintain that these could feel any particular urge to sacrifice their lives or to risk physical disablement for an Emperor whom they had never seen and who belonged to a different race altogether.

The same argument is also equally appli-

cable to the British Government and the members of the British Cabinet. These are composed of people who occupy and vacate office from time to time. If there was little or no *personal* loyalty to the Emperor, there could hardly on the part of India's millions be any for the British Cabinet or the British Government.

LOYALTY TO INDIA GOVERNMENT

It is maintained that, so far as the masses are concerned, there were not in 1914 any feelings of what we ordinarily understand by the word loyalty for non-Indian officials. This view is supported by what Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I., wrote more than half a century ago on page 7 of his *India: Its Administration and Progress*.

This is what this veteran British official stated,

"The vast majority of the population is hardly conscious of the existence of the Viceroy and his Government. From time to time, a glimpse is caught of the great Lord Sahib. He passes perhaps along the streets of some famous city with a train of elephants recalling the traditions of Aurangzib, or at some immense gathering, far more picturesque and magnificent than any of the ceremonial shows of Europe, he receives in Darbar the homage of chiefs and princes."

In spite of the years which had intervened between the time when these words were penned and the year in which the war broke out, the masses were as remote from the higher officials as they had been in the days of Sir John Strachey.

So far as the officers in charge of district work are concerned, the contact between them and the masses is, of course, more frequent, but such contacts are neither so numerous nor so intimate as to justify the view that they are calculated to call forth genuine loyalty from the masses. Nonetheless, there are individual officials who have won the affection and respect of the people, but their number is not large enough to vitiate the correctness of the opinion expressed above.

THE MASS VIEW OF GOVERNMENT

That eminent British official who, writing after retirement, preferred to conceal his identity under the pseudonym of Al Carthill, was quite correct when on page 154 of his *Lost Dominion* he observed:

"To the countless millions of peasants, and those in close touch with the peasants . . . the Raj appeared a cold abstraction which was somehow beneficent. People do not love cold abstractions, particularly Orientals."

As a matter of fact, the peasantry thought

of the British administration merely as machinery for gathering its dues through its Indian subordinates, who were more generally known for the faithfulness with which they discharged their duties than the consideration they showed to the poor and the needy when, through sheer poverty, they were unable to meet their obligations.

This foreign administration was also known for the rigour with which it punished any infringement of forest laws, its imposition of a duty on salt, that most essential of items in the monotonous diet of India and the assistance it afforded through the costly and often not easily understood machinery of law to the landlord to realise his dues and to oppress the too independent tenant.

This alien government which demanded all sorts of sacrifices was also the maintainer of the Police, which has invariably enjoyed an unenviable reputation for oppression and bribery. The time was yet to come when this its agent would earn a still more unsavoury reputation for *lathi* charges on harmless men, women and even children, who, in ways not quite clear to the ordinary peasant, were fighting the cause of India and promising a heaven on earth to the poor man, irrespective of caste and creed.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who never identified himself with extremism, has some interesting things to say about his experience as the Prime Minister of an Indian State. He tells us that, like Haroun Alraschid, he used to go out *incognito* and to talk with the villagers in order to ascertain their views. According to him, one such villager, a native of Indore, said :

"In British India the people feel the Collector all the time, while in my state the land-tax is paid twice a year, and though the tax-gatherer exacts bribes, he is soon gone, and nothing more is heard of Government for the rest of the year. In British India, civil officers are forever passing around the district, and the natives, wishing to stand in with them, have to furnish them with food and lodgings and horses."

Prof. C. H. Van Tyne, who visited India shortly after the introduction of dyarchy and, during the major part of the time spent in our country, enjoyed the hospitality of British officials from the Viceroy down to district officers, on page 80 of his *India in Ferment* repeats the same story :

"A collector of long experience in British India told me of an official tour he took in a native state, neighbouring his own district. He was met by a lot of tatterdemalion soldiers, with gay uniforms, in rags, and carrying swords. They escorted him with comic ceremony. He found oppression, wretched sanitary conditions, individuals persecuted by underpaid agents of

the Prince, who had to make up their salaries by bleeding the subjects, but nevertheless he thought that the average individual led a much more happy existence, unperturbed by official visits—the jolly, careless life which they preferred. He confessed that the Indians in British India are annoyed by constant visits and requisitions for food and horses and sundry other things. One agent compels vaccination, another forces treatment of cattle for rinderpest, another gets all the children together to see if all are at school. With best intentions, the people in British India are overgoverned, he feared."

To the man who tries to take a detached view of things, the only inference one can draw from the two statements, one from a life-long Moderate and the other from a non-Indian, is that what the British official may, from his point of view, regard as honest efforts to help the masses, is often viewed by them in the light, more or less, of inflictions. Then again, the subordinate officers who visit rural areas either alone or in the company of their superiors are, if anything, looked on in even a worse light. The masses expect all kinds of favours from these their own countrymen and when they are not received, they are found fault with. We have also to remember that, if what is stated above is true, the visits of touring officers, at least now and then, impose hardships, into the details of which it is not proposed to enter here.

More than that, the discontent due to these visits gives rise to vague feelings of antagonism against the administration represented by the officials. It is blamed because its agents do not always act like "ma bap" (parents), and, true to human nature, there is talk of the good old days when the native Rajahs or Nawabs ruled or when Sirkar was not what it is to-day.

It is admitted that this is a totally wrong view, but we have to take into account facts as we find them and to try to ascertain what bearing they have on the mass opinion on Government. Ignorant and full of prejudices and therefore incapable of making anything like a correct estimate of facts and of drawing the right conclusions from them, it is wrong, the present writer contends, to ascribe to the masses any very excessive degree of love for Government.

And yet it was contended by a majority of British officials that the response made by India to the demand for sacrifices to help Britain was due to the recognition by the masses of the benefits of British rule.

On Page 27 of his *Dilemma in India*, Sir Reginald Craddock has given a summary of the many benefits India has derived from her connection with Britain in the following terms :

"Probably a hundred million of the total present

population of India would never have existed at all if British rule had not come in to close down wars, suppress crime, relieve famines, construct irrigation works, make railways, fight epidemics, supply waterworks and thus open the way for better health and for investment of capital in larger industry."

But there have been a few Britons who have had the courage to give expression to a contrary and, the present writer maintains, a more correct view. He will content himself with quoting a few sentences from *The English in India* (p. 162), written by Sir John Marriott, sometime Member of Parliament, veteran educationist, public man and author of numerous books on contemporary history, sociology, politics and economics. He says:

"These blessings had not evoked a vestige of gratitude among the recipients. 'Good government' is indeed much less appreciated than Englishmen like to believe. Oriental conservatism is averse from change, even if it be demonstrably a change for the better. This is a truism which the British mind has always found it difficult to grasp....."

Sir John Strachey was on absolutely safe ground when on page 495 of his *India: Its Administration and Progress* he was honest and frank enough to admit that

"the fact remains that there never was a country, and never will be, in which the government of foreigners is really popular."

Once we accept the correctness of this view, we are driven to the position that loyalty either to the King-Emperor or to Government did not play any very large part in either keeping our masses quiet or in inducing them to participate in India's war effort.

LOYALTY AND JUSTICE

Sir Reginald Craddock, who, during his service in India for nearly four decades, had acted as the Governor of two Provinces and who, moreover, had been a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, on page 154 of his *Dilemma in India*, has told us, that the "outburst of loyalty was the greatest tribute to the belief in the impartial justice and stability of British rule." Continuing he has observed that these factors explain why

"the princes and chiefs, the great landowners and the commercial magnates vied together with offers of service and loyal demonstration."

It is admitted that in addition to other motives already referred to, the well-to-do classes did have the conviction that somehow Britain would emerge triumphant in the war then raging and that this feeling undoubtedly strengthened their loyalty. So far as the question of justice

is concerned, the well-to-do were equally ready to admit the great improvements in its administration brought about in India under the British Government.

There is, however, some doubt whether these two factors had any influence with the masses in either keeping them quiet when the war was going against Britain or in bringing them in their lakhs into the army as a satisfactory method of demonstrating their loyalty to the British Raj. No doubt they believed in its stability and that, when once in the army, this proved an incentive to valiant fighting. We are, however, on more debatable ground when we say that gratitude for the impartial administration of justice in law-courts established by the British Government was, to any large extent, responsible for the manifestations of loyalty referred to previously.

So far as the administration of what may be called criminal justice is concerned, it is admitted that it is not characterised by the same delay which is almost always associated with the administration of civil justice. But here the underlings of the police play so large a part and very often the advantage they take of their position specially where the parties concerned are poor and ignorant is of so scandalous a nature, that those familiar with Indian conditions will agree with the writer when he says that gratitude for the justice that is secured in a majority of cases is very largely tempered by the bitterness left behind on account of the methods and the agency through which it is obtained.

The bitterness to which reference is made here springs from the feeling that the all-powerful Sirkar has very definitely failed in its duty to give adequate protection to its subjects against its own agents. It is for the reader to judge whether this is at all conducive to the emergence of any feelings of loyalty to Government and if so to what extent.

Coming to the administration of civil justice, we are aware that its procedure is too technical and intricate for the ignorant man to understand. The machinery for giving relief is elaborate and very expensive. It was a veteran English member of the Indian Civil Service, Sir Lepel Griffin, who observed more than sixty years ago that

"The courts are often more mysterious to an Indian peasant than the maze at Hampton Court to an un instructed visitor."

Sir John Strachey in his remarks on the Indian judicial system referred to its many defects and in that connection observed that the courts

"are too expensive. Heavy stamp duties still exist; they were originally imposed partly as a means of obtaining revenue to meet the expenses of the courts, and partly under the unfortunate notion, not yet altogether exploded, that needless litigation is encouraged by making recourse to the courts cheap and easy."

It has also to be remembered that the stamp duties have been increased since the time Sir John Strachey wrote the above lines. Along with stamp duties, there are other incidental expenses without which litigation is practically impossible and also the fees which have to be paid to lawyers.

The present writer knows from his personal experience that many a poor man prefers to suffer oppression rather than seek the protection of law for fear of losing his all and then failing to obtain justice, which is often the case when the opposite party is in a position to appeal from one court to another till the poor man fighting him is ruined and is compelled to agree to the terms dictated to him. As for those who are taken to court as defendants, their position is also equally unenviable.

From all these facts, the only inference one can draw is that though Government has provided the necessary machinery for the administration of impartial justice, it is so cumbersome and expensive that, more often than not, it is used by the rich and the unscrupulous to oppress the poor. As this is done within strictly legal limits, the result is that the poor man has no remedy. It is extremely doubtful whether loyalty flowing from this particular reason can be expected from people who have had a taste of the working of the legal machinery in India.

Coming to the question of the impartiality of the justice administered, no one doubts that the law-courts established by Government have, on the whole, enabled the poorest of the poor to obtain justice as against the rich oppressor. No fair-minded Indian will deny that the findings of judicial authorities are no longer conditioned by whims and that this is specially true of British India.

It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the poor sepoy who always comes from the masses and who was fighting the German or the Turk was willing to lay down his life because he felt that this was the only way to demonstrate his gratitude to Government for giving him law-courts where he was sure of obtaining justice, always provided that he could bear the expenses necessary to secure it.

It is true that poor people of this class do

occasionally seek the protection of law in order to defend their interests. But two things have to be proved before we can assume that gratitude for impartial justice was the compelling factor in inspiring loyalty. The first of these is that impartial justice is obtainable by the poorest if not in every at least in a very large majority of cases. The second is that a majority of those who felt in this way had either themselves experienced this type of benefit or that at least people near and dear to them had done so. These, as every one must admit, are matters on which there can be honest difference of opinion, for very often the oppressor backed by money wins the day and it is not every man who enjoys the benefits of impartial justice either himself or through his immediate relatives.

One thing more has to be mentioned. Law-courts have been established for such a length of time and people have grown so familiar with them in the way of ordinary business, that it is questionable whether when litigants go there, pay down the stamp fees, the lawyers' fees and the other expenses, legal and extra-legal, and after a fairly long period spent in litigation are at last able to secure justice, they feel any particular gratitude towards Government which is responsible for their establishment.

What is more natural is for such people to entertain the idea that they have paid for the services rendered and the credit for obtaining justice more often than not goes, not to the judge who has administered it and through him to Government which has created the machinery for obtaining it, but to the lawyer for his fancied or real clever handling of the suit entrusted to his care.

THE DEMAND OF THE MASSES

It has always been held by British officials that the masses have no political aspirations and that what they look for from Government is an improvement in their economic condition. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was voicing this opinion when, in his memoirs, *India : As I Knew It*, p. 372, he said :

"99 per cent. of the people do not care a brass farthing for the forms of government."

He then goes on to state what he considers to be the things which they desire from their rulers and in that connection observes :

"What they do desire is protection of life and property, light taxation, a minimum of interference from subordinate officials, impartial and speedy justice, increasing facilities for medical relief, communications and elementary education, measures to secure and

improve agriculture and avert scarcity, and in general an honest and efficient administration."

There cannot be any doubt that so far Sir Michael is quite correct and that what he has said is indeed true. It is also admitted that the British administration, according to its own lights, has made an honest effort to benefit India's masses. The fact, however, remains that on account of the vast area and the equally vast population of our motherland, the improvements effected through its exertions have been so meagre as almost, if not altogether, to escape the attention of any but the student of public affairs.

The very important fact overlooked here is that the progress made in such directions as the ensuring of speedy justice, the easy availability of medical relief, improvements in communications and the extension of elementary education has been so slow, the burdens imposed on the masses in the shape of land revenue, irrigation cesses, salt tax, increased postal, passenger and freight rates have, taking into account the poverty of rural India, been so heavy, the interference from subordinate or petty officials in some cases so vexatious, that the masses could not be expected to have such very great affection for the British administration as to make them rush into the army in their lakhs, one of the very obvious ways of demonstrating their loyalty, so that they might fight for the continuance of the system under which they were then living.

In this connection we might call to mind the very high wages offered by the Military Department to recruits to the Labour Corps, the extreme difficulty experienced in securing adequate numbers and, most significant of all, the fact that Government, in the language of Sir Reginald Craddock, was "obliged to draw on the jails for Jail Corps for Mesopotamia" (*The Dilemma in India*, p. 164).

It is therefore clear that if the masses failed to realise the value of the services rendered to them by the British administration and if, as a consequence, they felt no gratitude to it, their loyalty, if they entertained such a feeling at all, could not have been due to this reason. Perhaps it is not quite incorrect to suggest that their attitude towards the British administration was, more or less, one of apathy or indifference occasionally tempered by a vague sense of grievance whenever the pinch of war was felt by them. While there was never any overt hostility manifested by the masses, it is also equally true that, taken as a whole, they were

never stirred to their very depths by any spontaneous desire to assist the war effort of the British Government.

ULTIMATE TESTS OF LOYALTY

As a student and an observer who prefers looking at all problems from as detached a point of view as lies in his power, it has always seemed to the present writer that, with all the large and strenuous claims advanced by British officials that they have invariably been the friends of the masses and have always defended their interests against the exploiting sections of their own countrymen, and let us admit that there is a great deal of truth in such claims, it is one of the tragedies of alien rule, such as that of the British Government, that, however honest and well-meaning its intentions and however beneficent its activities, necessarily limited by the facilities available, it is always criticised because it has not been able to do more and very often its motives are misunderstood and, intentionally or otherwise, misinterpreted. Operating through human and therefore fallible agents who occasionally talk and act indiscreetly, the sins of the officials are visited on the system of administration which employs them and with which they are identified. Further, an alien government as such is incapable of inspiring that genuine enthusiasm and that rare loyalty which an indigenous, popular government based on the suffrage of the people themselves, provided it is not lamentably inefficient, can always command.

The spontaneity and the universality with which the masses responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi during the Non-Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience movements, though fully aware of their illegality and the pains and penalties which would follow if they participated in them, reveal what loyalty to a cause which is regarded as one's own really means. When we compare the response made by the masses to the repeated and insistent calls for recruits made by Government during the last war with the way in which they met the challenge to physical suffering, pecuniary loss and self-sacrifice put forward by Mahatma Gandhi, we cannot but draw the conclusion that if the latter is to be regarded as a genuine manifestation of loyalty, the former can, by no stretch of the imagination, be regarded as one coming under the same category.

If it is argued that in spite of what has been stated above, the masses did entertain feelings of loyalty for the British Government which

they demonstrated by joining the colours in large numbers, the answer would be that they did so mainly because of other and different considerations.

The principal among these, the present writer maintains, was their poverty. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that Government felt the necessity of offering increasingly attractive pecuniary inducements to

overcome the natural reluctance of men who could not and, as a matter of fact, did not relish the idea of dying in defence of an administration and a system of government for which they did not entertain any very excessive love. There was also, at least here and there, the question of the application of pressure to which some reference has been made elsewhere.

(To be continued)

RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

By NIRADBANDHU SANYAL, M.A., B.L.

Curator, Varendra Research Society's Museum, Rajshahi

RAI BAHADUR Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.R.A.S.B., son of Kali Prasad Chanda, was born at Sridharkhola, in the district of Dacca, on the 15th August, 1873. After obtaining the B.A. degree of the Calcutta University in 1896 from the Duff College of Calcutta, he began his career as a school master first in a few non-Government institutions of Bengal and U.P., and then in the Hindu School of Calcutta, whence he came over to the Rajshahi Collegiate School.

In his leisure hours, he devoted himself to the study of Indian Antiquity and Anthropology, and occasionally contributed learned papers to Oriental periodicals. Chapters I and II of his later well-known publication, the *Indo-Aryan Races*, were the out-growth of two of these early papers, published in the *East and West* of Bombay in 1905 and 1907.

In the second session of the Bengal Literary Conference, held at Rajshahi in 1909, he was introduced to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., M.R.A.S. of Dighapatiya, who, on behalf of the organisers of the Conference, requested him to undertake the preparation of a work on the origin of the Bengali people, and he readily agreed. In the next session of the Conference, held at Bhagalpur, he read a paper on the work entrusted to him, done during the year. He also accompanied Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray and Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra (later C.I.E.) in a visit to the antiquarian remains in the vicinity of Bhagalpur. They were greatly impressed with the antiquities they saw, and, on their return, organised a party in April, 1910, to

explore a few ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Rajshahi. In this first trip, they collected no less than 32 pieces of sculpture, including the noble life-size statue of Pārvatī from Mandoil, now exhibited in the Varendra Research Museum.

Mr. Chanda persuaded Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray to arrange for the preservation of these sculptures at Rajshahi, in the hope that a centre of Archaeological Research might eventually be created there. This small collection formed the nucleus of the present Varendra Research Museum of Rajshahi, which thus owes its inception to the foresight and resoluteness of Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda.

Emboldened by the first success, the party ventured to undertake a second tour, in the following June, to explore the Archaeological remains about the borders of the Rajshahi and the Bogra districts. In course of this tour, the 'illustrious trio,' Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, Akshay Kumar Maitra and Ramaprasad Chanda, conceived the idea of organising a new Research Society, which was formally inaugurated, in the following September, as the Varendra Research Society. Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray became the President of the Society, Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, the Director and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, the first Honorary Secretary. Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray contributed Rs. 200/- per month towards the general expenses of the Society till 1917, when the Government of Bengal sanctioned a recurring grant of Rs. 100/- per month for the upkeep of the collection. Since then, Kumar Bahadur's

contribution was reduced to Rs. 50/- per month and was continued to be paid for several years, till the Society could support itself from other resources.

Year after year, the three organisers of the Society undertook tours of systematic exploration in different parts of Varendra (North Bengal) and succeeded in building up a valuable collection of archaeological treasures, which were housed in 1919 in a magnificent museum building, erected by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray for the Society. Of the publications promised by the Society, Mr. Chanda compiled the first of the series, *Gauda-rājamāla*, Part I, a small volume, in Bengali, dealing with the political history of Bengal during the Hindu



Ramaprasad Chanda

period. This and the Society's second publication, *Gauda-lekhamālā* Part I, by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, both appeared in 1912, and were welcomed by the literary public of Bengal with a chorus of praise. Mr. Chanda's well-known work, the *Indo-Aryan Races*, appeared in 1916 and was highly appreciated by eminent scholars.

Encouraged by the success of explorations on the surface, the Society soon ventured to undertake excavations of ancient mounds, which however required technical experience. In

response to the Society's representation, Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of Archaeology in India, very kindly agreed to take in Mr. Chanda as an Archaeological scholar in his Department in 1917 to give him the necessary training in excavation work. During this appointment, Mr. Chanda compiled a *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State*, in collaboration with Maulvi Muhammad Hamid and Pandit Ramchandra Kak. He also contributed two valuable monographs to the series of "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India." These were his *Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stupa at Sanchi* (Memoir No. 1) and his *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition* (Memoir No. 5).

In course of the training, Sir John Marshall proposed that Mr. Chanda should be appointed an Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology and placed in charge of the Rajshahi Museum. The scheme did not however find acceptance with the Government of Bengal and had therefore to be abandoned. On his return from the Archaeological Survey, Mr. Chanda had a few misfortunes in his family and desired therefore to leave Rajshahi. How much the Varendra Research Society is indebted to him will be appreciated to some extent from the following observations of Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray in a Presidential address, delivered to the Society, in its Annual General Meeting, held on the 27th July, 1927 :

"For myself I can say, that but for his assurance of co-operation I would never have agreed to incur the heavy expenditure that the maintenance of this institution in its earlier stage and the erection of this building involved, and would have never personally undertaken the troubles that the explorations of sites and collection of antiquities for over a decade entailed."

Thanks to the kind offices of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Mr. Chanda was appointed a lecturer in the subject of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Department of Post-Graduate Studies of the Calcutta University in 1919. When the new Department of Anthropology was started, Mr. Chanda became the Head of that Department.

But his experience at Rajshahi soon called him to the service of the premier museum of India. On the 23rd May, 1921, he was appointed Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, to be in exclusive charge of this extensive and important collection. During the tenure of this office, in addition to his duties at the Museum including the rearrangement and development of the collection, he contributed the

following monographs to the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* :

- (1) "The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India with special reference to sculptures in the Indian Museum" (No. 30).
- (2) "The Indus Valley in the Vedic period" (No. 31).
- (3) "Survival of the Pre-historic Civilisation of the Indus Valley" (No. 41).
- (4) "Exploration in Orissa" (No. 44).

The value of these works is based on his thorough and critical knowledge of original texts and monuments. They are of particular importance because of his attempt to co-ordinate archaeological data with ancient literary evidence.

The number of articles contributed by him to the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* and other periodicals during this period is also by no means small.

A few may be mentioned here to indicate their variety :

- (1) "The Visvantara Jataka at Bharhut"—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1921-22*, pp. 143-144.
- (2) "The Mathura School of Sculpture"—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23*, pp. 164-170.
- (3) "The Lingaraja or Great temple at Bhuvaneshwara"—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1923-24*, pp. 119-122.
- (4) "Notes from the Madala Panji—Muhammadan Conquest of Orissa"—*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIII, pp. 10-27.
- (5) "Notes on the Ancient Monuments of Mayurbhanj"—*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIII, pp. 131-36.
- (6) "The Svetambara and Digambara Images of the Jains"—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1925-26*, pp. 176-82.
- (7) "Ashyamitra and the Sunga Empire"—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, pp. 393-407 and 587-613.
- (8) "The Hair and the Ushnisa on the Head of Buddhas and Jains"—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, pp. 667-73.
- (9) "Excavations at Sarnath"—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927-28*, pp. 95-97.
- (10) "The Stigma of Sasanka—the murder of Rajyavardhana"—*Prabasi*, Vol. XXXI, 1932.

He presided in one session over the History Section of the Bengal Literary Conference. His small brochure entitled *Mūrti O Mandir* (Calcutta, 1924), which is of more than usual interest, because of its many thought-provoking suggestions, was compiled in Bengali on this occasion in connection with his Presidential address.

On his arrival at Calcutta, he came also in close touch with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He became an ordinary member of the Society on the 1st September, 1920 and was elected an ordinary fellow on the 1st February, 1922. He also joined the Council of the Society in 1921 as Anthropological Secretary and was

re-elected to the same office in 1922, 1923, 1936 and 1937.

In recognition of his scholarly attainments, the distinction of 'Rai Bahadur' was conferred on him in 1925. He retired from the Archaeological Survey of India in 1932. But although he had been suffering from heavy blood-pressure for some time, he continued his studies with unremitting zeal. He was elected a sectional President in a Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, but he could not attend the gathering for reasons of health.

In spite of this bad health, he crossed over to England and read a paper at the World Anthropological Conference held in London in 1934. In a visit to the galleries of the British Museum, his enthusiasm was stirred by a collection of well-preserved mediaeval sculptures in store, from different parts of Northern India, which had been determined to be weeded out in the rearrangement of the galleries of Oriental Religions. Rai Bahadur Chanda was, however, so impressed with the importance of the collection that he volunteered to devote a monograph to it and assist the authorities of the museum in their task of revision.

The outcome of his labours in this connection was a small volume entitled *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum* (London, 1936). In appreciation of this work, Mr. R. L. Hobson, C. B., Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, wrote in the Introduction to the Book :

"The full explanations given of the various motives will be widely welcomed. The subjects depicted in the sculpture reliefs are so complex that without some instruction in their meaning the spectator is liable to be robbed of part of his pleasure by sheer bewilderment. When he understands the incidents depicted, as he will do after reading the stories told by the Rai Bahadur, he will be able to enjoy whole-heartedly the singular beauty of the Indian sculptor's work and to appreciate the enthusiasm which inspired this monograph."

On his return from England, he was invited to lend his patronage to the Divya movement. He presided over one of the celebrations and contributed the following papers in this connection :

- (1) "Election of two of the Early Kings of Bengal"—*The Modern Review*, Vol. LVII, 1935, pp. 347-351, and (2) "Divya Prasanga"—*Mahishya Samaj*, Vol. XXIX.

About the middle of May last, he paid a visit to Allahabad. There he fell a victim to Angina Pectoris and passed away peacefully on the 28th May. Thus ended a noble career given exclusively to study and research. May his soul rest in peace !

LARGE-SCALE FARMING AND RURAL PROSPERITY

By SANTI PRIYA BOSE

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It is a well known fact that the agricultural population of India is extremely poor. The majority of agriculturists are peasant farmers who eke out a living from their incredibly small holdings with great difficulty. Many authorities have made attempts to find out the annual income of peasant families. The results obtained give one an insight into the living conditions of a vast population of this country. Statistics are difficult to obtain in India and the estimates made of per capita income of the whole population are consequently rough estimates. But they do give an idea as to the extent of poverty of the people. The average annual income was estimated at Rs. 27/- and Rs. 30/- in 1880 and 1901 respectively. In 1911 the figure was worked out to be Rs. 50/- by the same method although a more elaborate method gave the figure of Rs. 80/-. In 1921 the average income per head in Madras Presidency was Rs. 100/-. Mann and Kanitkar's enquiry gave the figure at Rs. 33/12/- in a Deccan village in 1917 and the Census Superintendent of the Bombay Presidency who conducted an enquiry (1921) found that the common level of per capita income in rural localities was Rs. 75/-.¹

In recent years good deal of material have become available through intensive first-hand studies. The Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry published data giving annual per capita income of four tenant-cultivators in the Lyallpur district. The figures varied between Rs. 31/12/3 and Rs. 63/5/7 and the average of the four families was Rs. 46/1/3.² The Institute of Rural Reconstruction carried out a survey for 3 years from 1934-37 and it was found that the average annual incomes per family of 48 cultivators spread all over the district of Birbhum were Rs. 100/-, Rs. 160/6/5 and Rs. 182/14/8 in the three successive years.³

The figures quoted indicate an appalling poverty of the rural population. The estimates

made by various authorities may not agree but all investigations, either intensive village survey or computation by other methods do point to one fact, that is, the income per capita is too low to keep the people in comfort.

The income per capita in 1914 of some of the countries of the world are given below for comparison :⁴

U. S. A. £72, United Kingdom £50, Australia £54, Canada £40, France £38, Germany £30, Italy £23, Spain £11, Japan £6 and India £3.

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Now, the incredibly low standard of living of the rural population is due to the fact that the standard of cultivation of our country is extremely poor. It has not progressed to the same extent as it has done in other countries. In order to improve the economic condition of the people it is necessary that the obsolete agricultural practices should be discarded. It should be made more scientific so that production from the land may be increased, and thus the standard of life may be improved. Attempts have been made by the various provincial agricultural departments to help the cultivators to increase their yields of crops. It is held that the economic condition of the ryot can be bettered by giving him an increased income from sale of crops. The factors that are capable of improving the yield of crops are⁵: (1) Better varieties of crops (2) Better control of pests and diseases (3) Better control of water supply for crops (4) Prevention of soil erosion (5) Better use of manures and fertilisers (6) Better implements and cultivations (7) Better systems of cropping, in particular better rotations and the use of more fodder crops with the view of obtaining more farmyard manure. All the above problems have been tackled and considerable progress has been made in improving varieties of crops and introducing better systems of cultivation. Thus it is estimated that 80% of the acreage of sugarcane is under improved varieties.

1. *Rural Economy of India* by R. K. Mukherjee.

2. *Family Budgets, 1932-33, of Four Tenant-Cultivators* by Sardar Kartar Singh.

3. See Report on the Cost of Production of Crops in the Principal Sugarcane and Cotton Tracts in India, Vol. VI, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

4. *The Wealth and Income of the Chief Powers* by Sir Josiah Stamp.

5. Report on the Work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in applying Science to Crop Production in India : Sir John Russell.

The corresponding figures for jute, wheat, cotton and rice are 50%, 20·6%, 19·2% and 4·3%.⁶ Insect pests and fungous diseases cause great loss to farmers. Good deal of research work has been done in evolving resistant varieties as well as for control of plant diseases by other means. Large tracts of land formerly lying waste have been brought under cultivation in North-Western India by construction of irrigation canals and attempts have been made to prevent damage through soil erosion in many parts of the country. Manures have been introduced and cultivators have been taught the application of manures for increasing crop yields. Methods of preparing artificial farm-yard manure from vegetable matter have been popularised.⁷ Better implements such as iron mould board ploughs, sugarcane machinery and water lifts have been designed and sold by commercial firms.

III

For more than a quarter of a century definite attempts have been made at improving Indian Agriculture.⁸ But in spite of all efforts the agriculturist's income has not appreciably increased. He is still the poor man that he has always been. This is due to the fact that he cultivates a very small holding. Not only are the holdings extremely small but these are fragmented and the plots are scattered over a wide area. Whatever improvement is effected in agricultural technique is offset by the disadvantages suffered owing to smallness of holdings and excessive fragmentation.

The following figures will give an idea of the smallness of the agricultural holdings in some districts of Bengal :

District	Cultivating Owners and Tenant Cultivators (Census, 1931)	Acreage under Cultivation (1931-32)	Area Cultivated Per Cultivator
Burdwan	146,196	575,900	3·9
Murshidabad	128,198	705,500	5·5
Jessore	280,780	704,000	2·5
Khulna	206,114	839,500	4·0
Dacca	468,974	1,429,000	3·0
Mymensingh	694,937	2,283,400	3·2
Chittagong	124,971	673,100	5·0
Tippera	436,932	1,146,100	2·6
Bogra	175,404	511,400	2·9
Pabna	179,587	394,700	2·2

6. Report on the Work of I. C. A. R.: Sir John Russell, p. 47.

7. *The Waste Products of Agriculture, Their Utilization as Humus*: Howard and Wad.

8. *The Progress of Agricultural Science in India during the Past Twenty-five Years* by W. Burns. A

The total acreage under crops in Bengal is 23,370,100 (1929-30) and there are 6,191,076 cultivating owners and tenant cultivators according to the census of 1931. Therefore, the average size of an holding possessed by a cultivator is 3·8 acres for the whole of Bengal. The holdings are not compact areas but consist of a large number of tiny plots. They have no resemblance to the farms of Europe which consist of large fenced areas in one block. There are about 10 million families that depend on agriculture for their living and as there are 23 million acres under cultivation the area cultivated per agricultural family comes to approximately 2·3 acres.

How small the holdings are in our country will be evident by making a comparison with the size of holdings in other countries. The size of the average farm of some countries is given below :

	acres
England	62·0
Germany	21·5
France	20·25
Denmark	40·0
Belgium	14·5
Holland	26·0
U. S. A.	148·0
Japan	3·0
China	3·25

It will be seen that except in Japan and China all the other countries have very large holdings. Agriculture in those two countries is in a poor condition and where agriculture is progressive as in the United States the holdings are exceptionally large. The same is true of Canada and Australia.

IV

We have seen that the holdings owned by the cultivators are too small. The area cultivated is not sufficient for the maintenance of the family throughout the year. Debts are incurred very frequently as the expenses necessary for bare living cannot be met from the meagre incomes. The agricultural indebtedness of the entire province of Bengal has been calculated at Rs. 100 crores and the average debt per agricultural family at Rs. 160. If it is desired to improve the economic condition of the agriculturist, then the first condition that must be fulfilled is that he must have more land. Otherwise he will not be able to increase his income to any great extent and extricate himself from the present position.

Short Survey of the Work, Achievements and Needs of the Bengal Agricultural Department, published by the Bengal Agricultural Department (1937).

The excessive fragmentation of holdings makes efficient agriculture impossible. The cultivator loses a good deal of time and labour in travelling from one field to another as these fields are usually situated miles apart. Much land is wasted in putting up unnecessary boundary lines and the cost of cultivation rises with the extent of fragmentation. The irregular plots make efficient cultivation difficult and transport of harvest presents an almost unsurmountable difficulty. The cultivator cannot make any permanent improvement on his holding. The evils arising out of fragmentation are well known and various attempts have been made at consolidation. In the Punjab the co-operative department has formed societies for this purpose. If some cultivators desire to have their holdings consolidated voluntarily, they form into a co-operative society and exchange their plots and thus they reduce the small scattered plots into a few large blocks. This work was started in 1921 and in 6 years 314 villages were dealt with. The total area readjusted was less than one lac acres. The progress, therefore, was very slow. Indeed it is very doubtful whether this work of consolidation can ever achieve much except through legislation. The U. S. S. R. which before 1919 was a country of small peasant farmers has changed over in the course of a few years from small to large-scale farming. The initiative was taken by the State and in spite of certain resistance the farms were broken up and converted into large-scale farms. Attempts have been made to solve this problem in many European countries. In Austria, Norway, Sweden and Finland if a certain proportion of the farmers of a locality demand a readjustment of their plots, the State takes up the work and consolidation is carried out. In Japan if half the land-owners demand it in an area, the other half are compelled to agree. In the district of Nadia a co-operative society has been formed for the sole purpose of pooling of a number of holdings and thus converting them into one large farm. It is now recognised by all competent authorities that large farms are more efficiently run than small farms. The smallest unit of agricultural production in our country consists of 5 acres of land, a plough and a pair of bullocks. In many cases the holdings are even too small to make the maximum utilisation of a pair of bullocks. Where the size of an holding is not an exact multiple of 5 acres, there is wastage of bullock power. This wastage can be eliminated with the increase in the size of the

farm. Permanent improvements such as irrigation works, drains, roads can be made. Supervision will be comparatively easy and large farms will be able to take advantage of trained men as well as of scientific improvements that are constantly being made.

VI

The chief advantage that is derived from a change over from small to large-scale farming is that it makes possible the use of labour saving machinery. The criterion of agricultural improvement is not only the yield per acre, but also the acreage that one person can manage. At the present state of development of our agriculture the area cultivated per person is very small. Most of the farm work is done by human labour and bullock labour. The mere change over from small to large farms will not be of much value unless the large farms are mechanised. The bullock economy should be changed over to tractor economy and the work that is done by human labour and bullock labour should be done by machinery. Labour-saving machinery should be introduced as much as agricultural conditions allow. In our country we employ too much labour and too little machine. Thus it has been calculated that the value of implements of an average farm in Bengal comes to Rs. 6/4/-.⁹ This is equivalent to about Re. 1/9/- per acre. The corresponding figure in America was \$ 1.44 in 1910.¹⁰

In order to improve the economic condition of the agriculturist the position with regard to the employment of labour and capital on land should be reversed. Labour should be reduced and capital should be increased so that even if the yield per acre does not improve the production per capita will increase with a consequent rise in the standard of living.

How mechanisation of agricultural production and use of machine in place of human labour leads to an improvement in the economic condition of the farmer can best be seen by the consideration of an example.

Area	100 acres
Number of men working	10
Yield of Wheat	$100 \times 20 = 2,000$ mds.
Value	2,000 mds. @ 3/- = Rs. 6,000/-
Cost of Production	1/4/- per md. $\times 2,000$ mds. = 2,500/-
Profit	3,500/-
Labour earned @ 5/4/- per acre	525/-
	Total Rs. 4,025/-
Income per person	402/8/-

9. *The Man Behind the Plough* by Azizul Huque.
10. *Agricultural Economics* by Taylor.

B		100 acres
Area		1
Number of men working		1
Yield of Wheat	$100 \times 20 = 2,000$ mds.	
Value	2,000 mds. @ 3/- = Rs. 6,000/-	
Cost of Production	$2\frac{1}{4}$ - per md. $\times 2,000$ mds. = 4,500/-	
Profit		1,500/-
Labour earned @ $5\frac{1}{4}$ - per acre		Nil
Income per person		Total 1,500/- 1,500/-

A and B are two wheat farms. A is worked by bullocks and B is mechanised so that whereas 10 men are required for the former 1 man suffices for the latter. It is assumed in the above example that the yield of wheat per acre is the same in both farms for the sake of simplicity although it has been found by experiment that tractor-ploughed land gives a higher yield.¹¹ Both the farms sell wheat in the same market at Rs. 3/- per md. and the cost of production of farm A is taken at Re. $1\frac{1}{4}$ - per md. and Rs. $2\frac{1}{4}$ - in B. The cost of labour required for growing one acre of wheat has been taken at Rs. $5\frac{1}{4}$ - per acre.¹² The cost of production in a mechanised farm comes to 20s per quarter which is equivalent to about Rs. $2\frac{1}{4}$ - per md.¹³

It will appear that the cultivators working farm A earn Rs. 402/8/- each while farmer of B alone earns a profit of Rs. 1500/-. One man can manage a larger area than 100 acres so that the income of Rs. 1500/- can be increased further.

VII

The advantages of power-farming are many. A much better tilth can be obtained so that yields per acre are increased. An investigation into the possibilities of mechanical cultivation in India was made about 10 years ago and it was found that the tractor-ploughed land gave larger yields than bullock-ploughed land. In the case of groundnut the increase in outturn was 100%, for cotton the increase was 133% and wheat 25%.¹⁴ There are large tracts of land that are so infested with weeds as to have gone out of cultivation. These weeds can be successfully eradicated by tractor-ploughing and large areas of land, now lying fallow, can be brought under

the plough. Tractor-ploughing also makes possible the performance of timely operations. This is indispensable for good farming.

The chief advantage however of power farming is that a large area can be managed per person. The acreages which modern tractors can manage are surprisingly large. The following table will show the area that a tractor with its necessary equipment comprising ploughs, cultivators, disc harrows, drill and combine can deal with:¹⁵

Size of Power Unit	Area it can operate Acres	Cost of Equipment per acre
3 Furrow Tractor	800	23s. 0d.
4 "	1,100	21s. 0d.
6 "	1,800	18s. 9d.
12 "	3,000	14s. 7d.

In Canada and the United States the farms are very large and extensive areas are managed with little human labour. There is a farm in Saskatchewan of 1,280 acres which is worked entirely by one man. A 4,000 acre farm in Montana is run by three men. Some extra labour is employed seasonally. There is another farm of 1,920 acres which is worked by four men. These are all typical wheat farms that employ the latest labour-saving appliances. Very little human labour is used and horses have been entirely eliminated. It should be pointed out however that such large areas may not be managed with so little labour where the system of farming is different but enough has been done in the way of improvement of agricultural machinery to make possible growing of crops with the minimum of human labour.

With the improvement of machinery the labour required to grow a unit of crop has diminished. In America it required 32 hours of man labour and 13 hours of horse labour to produce 10 bushels of wheat in 1829-1830. In 1920 the farmers of Missouri and Nebraska used 9 hours of man labour and 22 hours of horse work to produce and market 10 bushels of wheat while Oregon farmers who used harvester-threshers required 3 hours of man labour and 15 hours of horse work. Even these low figures have been reduced on fully mechanised farms. In 1930 a committee of experts went from England to Canada and the United States to find out the extent of mechanisation of farming in those countries. They report that there are farms on which man labour required per acre of wheat varies from 1 hour to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours according to the size of the farm. As the yields of wheat

11. *Mechanical Cultivation in India* by C. P. G. Wade, p. 6. (Published by I. C. A. R.).

12. The figures for yield, market price, cost of production in A, labour required per acre have been taken from *Studies in the Cost of Production of Crops in the Punjab* by Kartar Singh. (Published by the Punjab Board of Economy Enquiry).

13. *Agricultural Machinery in Canada and the United States of America*, p. 6. (Published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries).

14. *Mechanical Cultivation in India* by C. P. G. Wade.

15. *Agricultural Machinery in Canada and the United States of America*, p. 3.

on such farms in normal years are 40 bushels per acre the labour spent for 10 bushels comes to 15 minutes to 37½ minutes.

An enquiry into the cost of production of crops in the Punjab revealed that 20 days of manual labour and 8·9 days of a pair of bullocks were required to grow an acre of wheat.

The problem that we face today in India is precisely the same that the Russians were up against in 1919. There the peasants were poor, productivity was low and the holdings were divided into small parcels of land. Hardly any modern machinery was used. In order to improve agricultural production and make possible the use of modern labour-saving implements the small parcels of land were broken up and converted into large consolidated holdings. These holdings were called collective farms. This change over from small-scale individual farming to large-scale collectivised farming resulted in not only increased yield per acre, but it also increased the acreage per unit of labour employed. Maurice Dobb who went to Russia when this change was taking place reported in 1932 that the yield per acre on a collective farm was 15 to 20 per cent greater on the average than on an

individual peasant holding. At the same time man-power per acre required was less. It was found by investigation that on a collective farm on the Lower Volga that man-power was one person per 11·6 acres and on an individual farm one person per 6·4 acres. A comparison of the gross income per family on collective farms and on private holdings gave the following results :

	On a Collective Farm	On an Individual Farm
(In Roubles)		
N. Caucasus	749	462
Central Volga	583	279
Lower Volga	1,016	282

The economic condition of the rural population can only improve if they produce more. But an increase in mere agricultural production will not by itself make the people prosperous. The production per capita should increase. In order to achieve this a change over from the present system of small-scale farming to large-scale mechanised farming is essential. The countries that have adopted this method of agricultural production have attained a high standard of living and the same must be done in India if she wants to see her people prosperous.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Proportion of Muhammadans to World-Population

Swami Pavitrananda writes in his article, "My Homage to Mohammad," in *The Modern Review* for May, 1942,—“one-fifth of the human race kneels down in prayer five times a day” (p. 438), i.e., one-fifth of the human race is Muhammadans. But according to statisticians it is not true.

Different statements have been given by different authorities as to the total population of the world. According to *Nalanda Year Book*, 1941, it is 2,250 millions (p. 17), and *Hindustan Year Book*, 1940, says it to be 2,222,014,902 (p. 32). Various other sources may be quoted, but the majority of them will fluctuate between 2,200 and 2,250 millions.

Now, what is the actual number of Muhammadans in the world? S. J. Jatindra Mohan Datta, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.), in his article, "Four Hundred Million Muhammadans?", in *The Modern Review* for October, 1940, after quoting several references and a scholarly discussion writes: "Whatever may be the real number of Muhammadans it does not exceed 250 million limit according to the best sources" (p. 339).

Now, if the minimum number, i.e., 2,200 millions, is taken, then also, the proportion of Muhammadans to world-population, becomes about one-ninth and not one-fifth.

KSHITINATH SUB

"Are the Mosques in India Properly Built?"

In his article in *The Modern Review* for June, 1942, p. 548, Mr. Lien Chi Altangi asks and answers the question "Are the Mosques in India Properly Built?"

He suggests that in parts of India they are not, and ventures to believe that "either in the Koran, or in Somali, or the oral laws, there must be some provision not to interpret the ordinance too literally, but to have regard to its spirit alone." The difficulty of determining the exact direction of Kiblah arose quite early in the history of Islam when Palestine, Syria, Iran, Yaman and Egypt came under its sway. It is interesting to notice that Jerusalem which used to be the Kiblah of Mussalmans in common with Christians before Kaaba was so fixed is according to an Atlas by John Bartholomew published by the Oxford University Press (1941) at latitude 31·46 N. and longitude 35·41 E., while Lahore mentioned by Mr. Altangi in his article is at latitude 31·37 N. and longitude 74·26 E. Mecca by the same Atlas is at latitude 21·25 N. and longitude 39·54 E. It was recognized that with all his will, it may not be possible for a Mussalman from all the points of the compass to face at prayer time towards Kaaba with geometrical exactitude. A distinction was therefore drawn by the geographers and jurists of Islam between the Jehat-i-Kaaba and Simmat-i-Kaaba, that is to say, that if you felt diffident whether you were facing Kaaba, as is possible only in the mosque built round Kaaba in Mecca, you would have done your duty to God if you faced any point in an imaginary line drawn through Kaaba parallel to one which you may have in all good conscience determined to be facing the Kaaba. This brought compass into use far more frequently by Muslim communities than by other non-maritime communities. As an additional help, the foundations of mosques are laid at night when pole star is visible.

AHMAD SHAFI



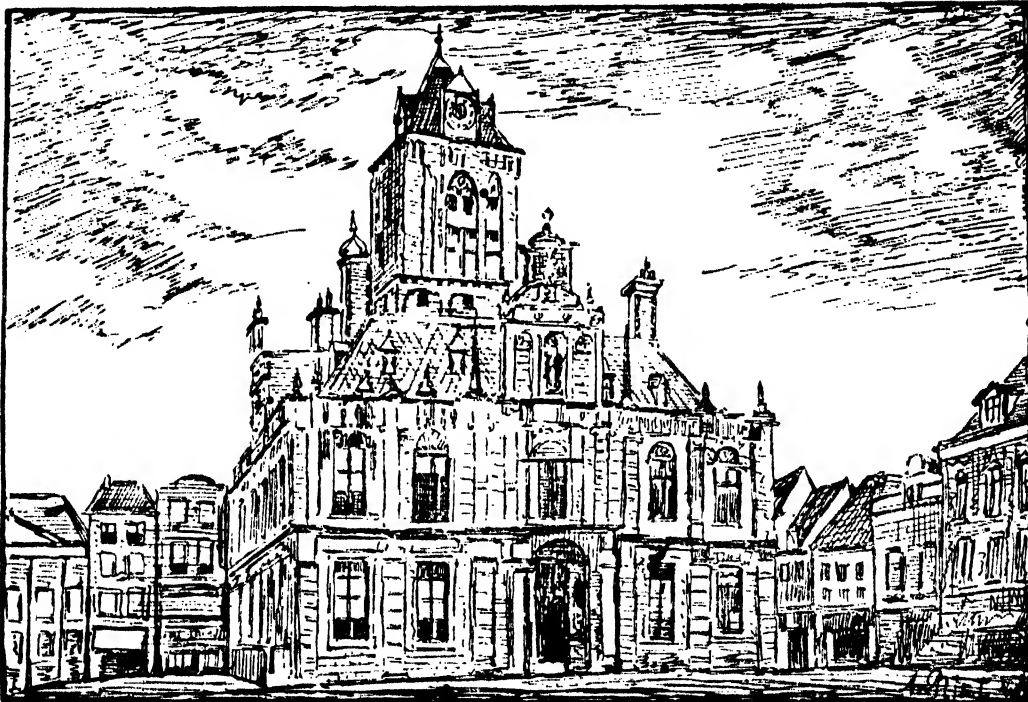
A NEDERLAND MEMOIR

By SAILOZ MOOKHERJEA

It was a summer afternoon. All around was green in the Dutch country-side. A road pierced through the heart of the village winding its way towards the town. Well-fed bulls were rubbing their bodies against the gaunt wind-mills. Along a canal with a picturesque wooden bridge, cheery Dutch maidens were plying their canoes laden to the brim with multi-coloured flowers. They were heartily singing Dutch folk-songs and their quaint costumes and high hats adorned

when the music has ceased. With his mind perfumed with the sights and sounds and the colourful harmony of Nature, the Artist arrived at an old city of Holland, Haarlem. Near the Flesh Market, across a cobbled court-yard paved with stones worn and grown grey by the footfalls of many centuries, invitingly stood a Buffetaria, an inexpensive Dutch eating-house with a very interesting speciality.

In a buffetaria no one waits to serve the



City Hall. Delft, Holland

with veils of fine lace were a nice setting for the plying of their useful care. The rays of the western sun played on the faces of the careering forms and worked weird patterns of light and shade. The various hues of the massed flowers on the canoes in motion seemed like a streak of sunbeam fused into a fairy colour. Along the road the lone artist was trudging towards the town which was not afar. As he progressed on his way, the songs of the maidens grew fainter and fainter till nothing was left but the sound of ripples in the stream and the tune that haunts

diners and one has only to collect the few courses one likes from the girl at the counter and eat them at one's pleasure. This 'self-service' buffetaria can be found almost everywhere in the chief cities of Holland. The food is very good, the tea or coffee can be had in big-sized cups and not in diminutive toy-vessels as are to be found in modish restaurants where you have to be stiff and formal, eat and drink less and pay lots more. I recall with chagrin my experience of a mere cup of tea in one of those places. On giving the order, I was served with a tiny-

teapotful of hot water, a pinch of tea in a paper packet, 2 little cubes of sugar, a tiny cup and a saucer about an inch and a half high and the same in diameter, and a little milk in a little jug. It cost me no less than 25 cents (100 cents=1 guilder=£½! Apart from the service-counter through the windows of which one receives one's meals, the inside of the buffetaria is ranged with tables and chairs for the-diners to sit on and eat and wait and converse.

The buffetaria is always full. During the rush hour, the motley crowd of people of many lands, English, French, Australian, Dutch, Belgian and others lend to the commonplace eating-house an atmosphere of benign co-mingling of human hearts and conjures up the vision of the Blessed Damosel in a tavern. The mingled odour of the different kinds of food, tobacco smoke and other things makes the room exude a warm scented heat not unlike that inside a Turkish Bath. The relaxed easy attitude of the men and women enjoying their nourishing meals with gusto is a pleasant change—very different from the stiff and formal way of the highbrow aristocrats in stylish hotels. The navvy in blue overall seated perchance by a rouged and made-up Parisienne ogling at a seedy scholar in homely reach-me-downs, the jaded businessman, the Professor, the undergraduate, all sorts of folk talking cheerily of things then next to their hearts throned the Buffetaria.* A constant stir is in the air and the voices of myriad tongues spoken with the usual ardour of the West fill the room with a tuneful song with notes varying from the bold harsh guttural of the Dutch navvy to the delicate labial of the petite Parisienne. And a delightful bonhomie is woven into the spirit of the spot.

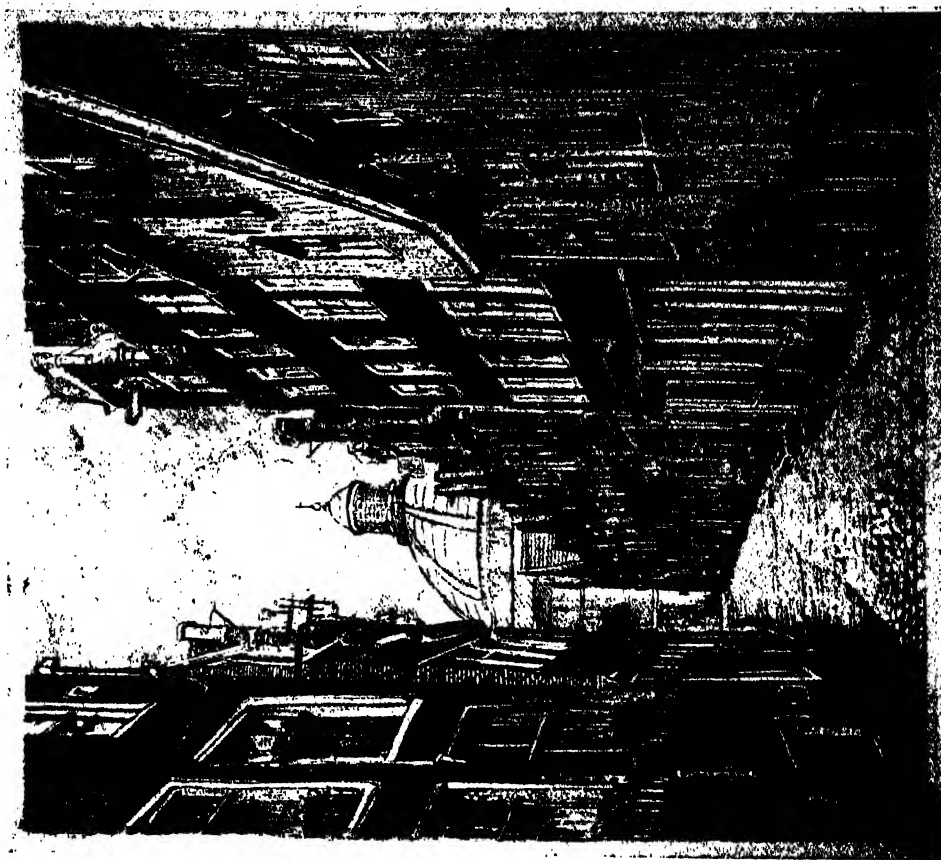
On the point of entering the buffetaria our Artist was met by a friend, himself an Artist too, and two of his lady companions. He was greeted effusively as another brother of the brush and readily introduced to the ladies. After a quick meal in pleasant company, the conversation easily led to the proposal of a visit to the studio of the newly-met friend.

On the corner where a leafy lane emerged from the main street stood this studio-cum-dwelling of the Artist. Entering through the front door one stepped into the reception-room carved out of the main front-room with the help of an wooden partition. A low couch for callers or customers and a small occasional table with a supply of art periodicals completed the simple furnishing of this cosy little room. All around the walls hang the original paintings of the

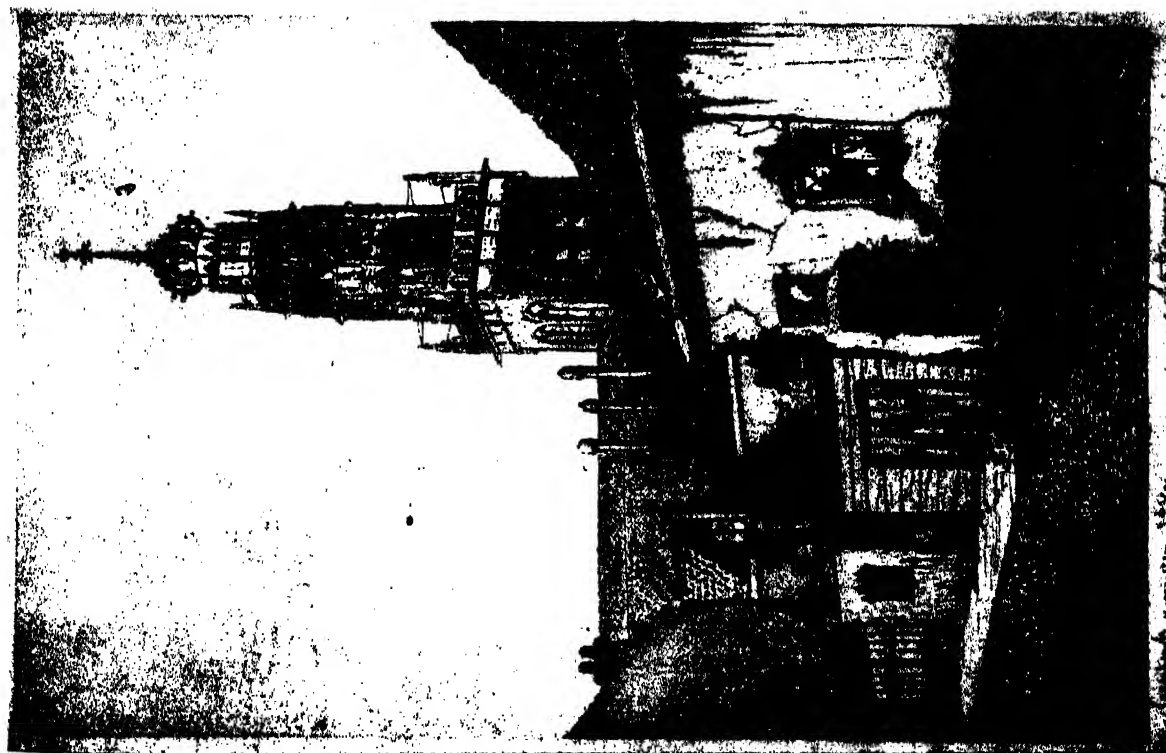
Artist himself. On ringing the door-bell the caller was met not by the Artist but by his wife whose pleasant duty it was to receive callers, customers or guests for her husband. She it was who did all the transacting there was to do about the sale of pictures and is looked up to for this by her partner who would always approve of her ability and discretion. Back of the reception-room was the Artist's studio where his dream-children were born amidst throes of creative toil. An etching machine stood at the corner; a long table was littered with finished and half-finished zinc etching plates, rough prints and a book or two. The acrid smell of acid kept pell-mell in stone jars blended with the mellower tang of ink in bottles; all around the wall were irregular rows of etching plates, framed and unframed pictures turned to the wall and other paraphernalia of the Artist's work. The windows were hung with low home-made curtains of multi-coloured lace through which one could rest one's eyes on the plants in the green-painted window-boxes on the outer ledge blossoming with flowers reared by the tending care of the Artist's wife. Beyond were the bedroom and the kitchen, the last-named being the stronghold of the wife. It was spick and span and tidy to a fault: the pots and pans were shining, neatly arrayed along the wall and the crockery were in perfect order on the dresser. Everything was in its place and there was a place for everything. Around the kitchen-table before the fire, one can picture the scenes of many an informal gathering of friends who were close to one another. In front of the kitchen was a small courtyard paved with small blocks of stone and surrounded by the enclosing wall green with climbing vine. At a corner stood a iron pillar-box with a handle. This was the water-well or pump. Working the handle to and fro ensured a stream of water through the tap in front. This all-fresco courtyard was the household's link with the wide blue sky above. It was a favourite place of the Artist and his wife to sit together in easy chairs, hand in hand to muse of things one knows not what.

The Artist's wife was an artist herself. Such was the delightful way of this Dutch household, she not only did her wifely chores—there were no cook or maids—but joyfully took upon herself the pleasant work of printing her husband's etchings on the machine. From inking the plates to drying the mounts, she neither wanted nor sought any help. A fit consort and helpmeet for an Artist indeed! Yet it would be

A NEDERLAND MEMOIR

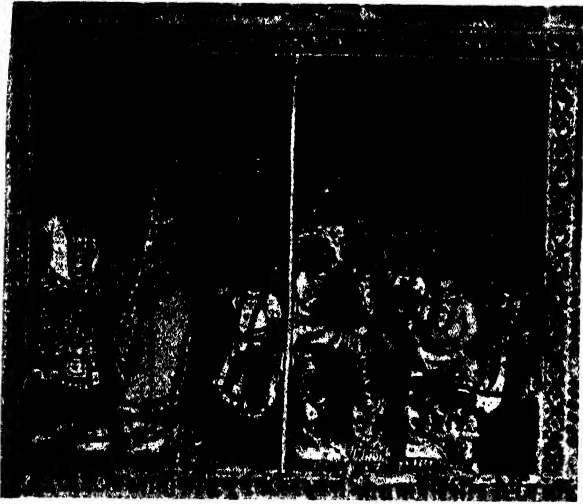


A Lane, Haarlem
Etching by Hemert

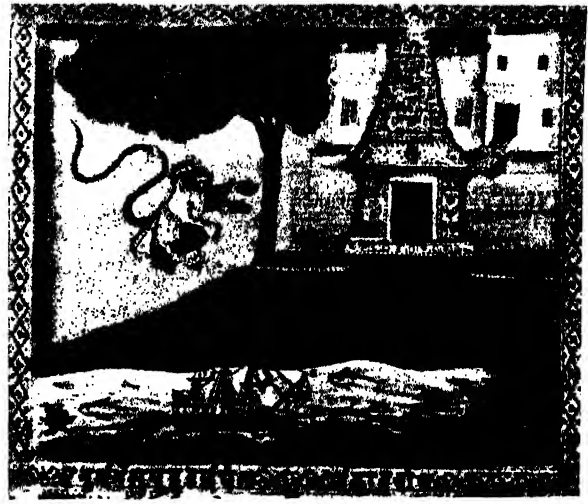


Old Church, Haarlem
By Hemert

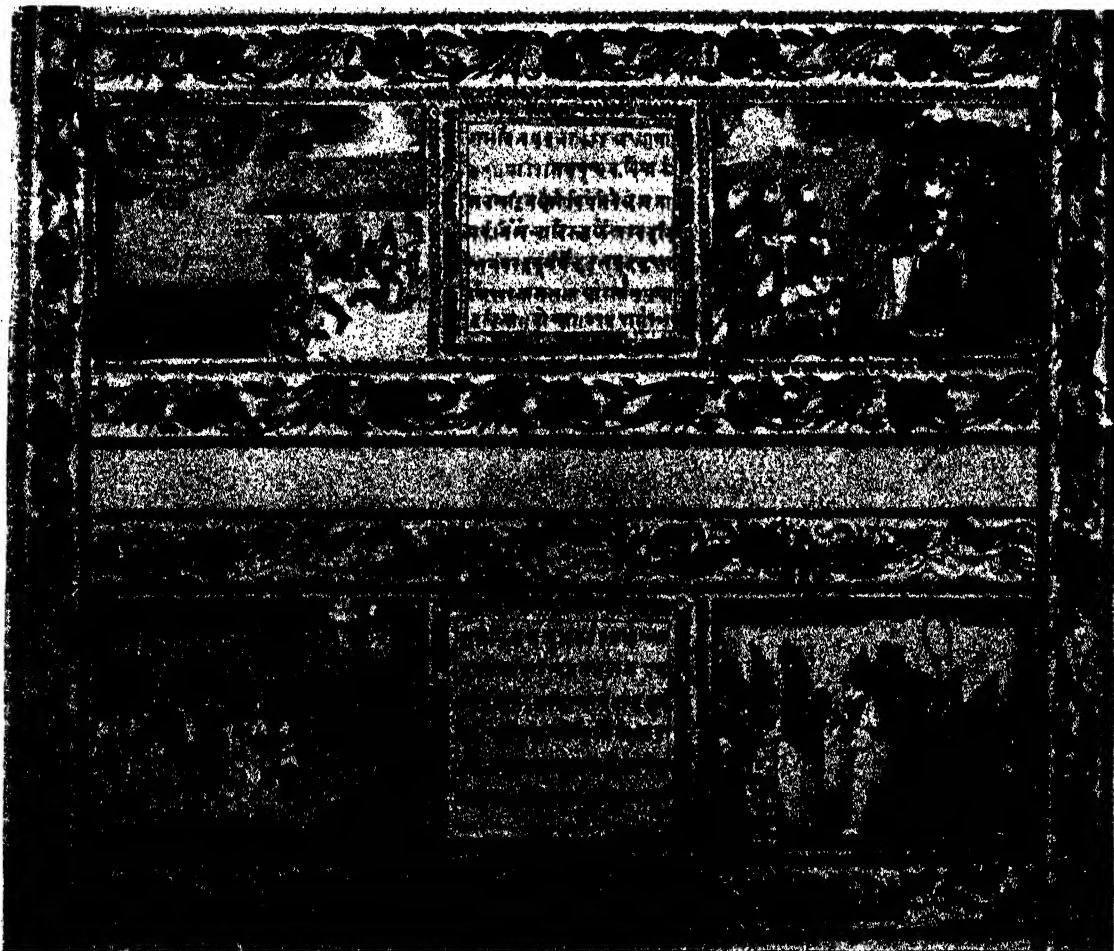
THE TANJORE SCHOOL OF PAINTING



The left half of the picture shows Indrajit killing an image of Seeta to hoodwink Hanuman. The right half of the picture shows Sri Ram consulting Vibheeshana



Hanuman's mighty leap. A ship (East-India man) is seen in the picture



Photograph of two chapters placed side by side to show difference in borders

foolish to think of them leading a life other than that of a normal everyday loving man and wife. There is a pet notion fostered no doubt by imaginative writers of fiction that an artist or an author draws inspiration from his partner and expects her to be ready to be woven into his masterpieces. Facts, however, belie this romantic fad. No artist would ever dream of employing his wife as his model. Much rather would he have her as the sharer of his joys and sorrows, his hopes and aspirations, his disappointments and failures.

Our Artist gaily chatting with his host, was being eagerly listened to by the surrounding company, when who should drop in on them but a charming octogenarian old lady, smiling of face and ample of proportions. She sailed in amidst the happy group with the mellow fragrance of old-world courtesy and elegance. It was not hard to know that she was a frequent and welcome visitor and stood almost in *loco parentis* to the Artist couple, who lent an amused ear to her old-fashioned advice on every sphere of activity, not to speak of household management. As soon as she met our Artist, she pressed upon him to be sure not to forget to see her

favourite painting in Haarlem, one that moved her so in her hey-day. Often would she look in on the Artist couple with the thoughtful gift of an apple which she would insist on cutting in two herself and watch them both enjoying the 'dessert' with amused gratefulness, the while describe at length as to how she had got the apple, how she had stowed it far from the greedy eyes of the little ones, and how she had thought that she would bring it and see if they liked it! She would view the Artist at work and shading her eye and slanting her head would nod approval of his craftsmanship. The shades of evening were falling fast and here and there a few early stars had already lit their dim light in heaven. The street lamps as if not to be outdone took their cue from the stars and began to glow one by one. Inside, there was a significant lull in the conversation. And soon every one was mute with an indefinable yearning, of going to places and doing things. It was the old lady who suggested a night out to the village fair then on at Bloemendaal or The Dale of Flowers, a hamlet not far off by the electric railway.

THE TANJORE SCHOOL OF PAINTING

By B. V. P.

THAT Tanjore had a distinct type of painting can be best judged from the accompanying photographs of water-colour paintings taken from an illuminated *Ramayana* of the early 19th century. But unfortunately this type of art has almost died out for want of patronage and encouragement; and the western type of painting has also hit this type of art very severely.

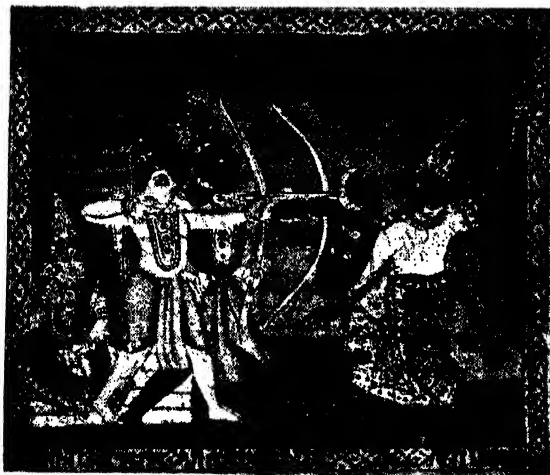
But still there are a few descendants of these bygone artists, who are eking out a precarious living by drawing figures of Hindu gods and goddesses, on temple walls and the walls of houses belonging to wealthy Hindus—especially during marriage seasons. The figures that these present artists draw are line-drawings and they follow the traditional styles, handed down by their forefathers. The dress, coiffure, jewellery and stance of these figures remain the same.



Sri Rama killing the ogre Tataka

Even in spite of the onrush of the modern ideas, these painters still adhere to their traditional style. Due to the fixed style and constant practice from their boyhood, the artists draw these figures with marvellous skill, and within

of the figures with charcoal and then draw the figures with the colours. By spending a few rupees, one can have a moderate house adorned by at least a dozen paintings of three to four feet in height. The favourite figures which these



Sri Rama killing the giant Biradh



Maricha (a demon in the form of a deer) luring Sri Rama

a short time. The materials which they employ for painting are very simple and cheap. Their brushes are made out of either green bamboo or palmyra sticks, with one end thrashed out by stone till that end resembles a brush. The

artists draw are the *Dashavatars* or the ten avatars of the god Vishnu, Shivaji and his guru Ramdas.

The *Ramayana* from which these photographs have been taken is written in Marathi.



Lakshman cutting off the nose and ears of the ogress Shoorpanakha



Mandodari is advising her husband Ravana

containers for mixing their paints are made out of discarded cocoanut shells. Their favourite colours are red and blue, because these colours are the cheapest and readily available in the market. These artists first draw the outlines

This book is divided into 40 chapters. The covering page of each chapter contains two water-colour paintings of about 4"×4" size each; and there are 80 such paintings in this book. The borders surrounding the paintings vary from chapter to chapter. This can be seen from

the picture in the Plate, which is a photograph of two chapters placed side by side.

This *Ramayana* was written and painted by one Jyotyaji Jadav of Tanjore in 1824. The paper on which these paintings were painted was manufactured in England in 1812, according to the water-marks on them. Further, in the picture (top-right, Plate) an East-India man has been painted, which clearly shows that these paintings belong to the early nineteenth century. Gold leaves have been freely used on all the paintings, especially for the head-gears and jewellery of the figures.

These painters were also adepts in the art of painting on glass and mica—there were also good miniature painters on ivory during this

period. This period in Tanjore history was rich in arts and literature—a few MSS have been safely preserved in the Saraswati Mahaal, Tanjore. But they are only a fraction of the tremendous amount of literature produced during this period. Unfortunately for posterity, a fire destroyed a major portion of this useful library in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The best part was also stolen by adventurers and self-styled art-collectors after the death of the last Maharaja of Tanjore. Such has been the unhappy history of this type of art.

[The photographs accompanying this article have been kindly taken by Messrs: 'The Modern Photo Service, Malleswaram, Bangalore, to whom my thanks are due.—B. V. P.]

LEAVES FROM A SIKKIM JOURNAL

By DAVID IAN MACDONALD

8th November.—We leave the Hotel at Kalimpong at 9. 30. A.M. It is a typical day after the monsoons. The hills are bathed in sunlight. The sky is an intense blue and everywhere the country is green. This is the colour of youth, for we are all young people. Behind we leave civilization and all it stands for. Ahead is the trail. It is pleasant to be alive in the fresh air and to hear the drone of the cicadas.

The road climbs for a mile and then drops to the Teesta valley. Luckily the path is shaded, for as the sun mounts in the sky it gets warmer and warmer.

We stop for a cup of tea at the small village of Tarkhola. The heat in the valley is uncomfortable and we develop a thirst. While I sip tea from a bowl I make the first entry in this journal. We have been on the road for about four hours.

Everybody and everything in this village is poor. Poverty placed in the midst of nature is in a way less harsh than poverty in the city. The tea-shop is a plank affair with a tin-roof. These corrugated iron sheets seem to find their way all over the country. Outside is the roar of the Teesta and in a corner of the tea-shop a young hill-woman is lying down and giving her child a breast feed. Flies swarm over the

couple and though the child is big and past the stage of breast-feeding the woman thrusts her nipple into the child's mouth. She murmurs.

I continue the journal by a lantern's glow a mile out of Sikkim. We have now left India. Rungpoo is the second biggest town of Sikkim. The porters pick the burrs which we have picked up on our stockings on the way down and after a lot of argument we decide to have four lumps of sugar in our tea instead of four. We never seem to be able to get rid of old habits.

The Teesta is only a hundred yards away and the valley is filled with a continuous roar. The forest is not far off and in the corner of the serai our head porter 'Jeta' cooks the evening meal. There is the sizzle and odour of onions. We are tired and lie on our camp-cots, gazing at the smoke rafters.

9th November.—We leave the serai with a feeling of friendliness and a feeling of the good things in store when we get among the hills. The road is wet and down the gradient struggles a line of carts. The animals try to hold the load against the gradient. Here is another paradox. Light lorries could do the work efficiently and humanely but until some capitalist thinks that such a proposition will bring profit these bullocks and men will have to struggle.

We now come to our first hill, that of Temi.

It is hard work and we stop and pluck some limes. This makes the going worse, for we develop a terrific thirst and we are not sure of the water we come across.

At last we reach the Dak Bungalow. Down by the stables the Cokalay bird is making a disgusting noise. Tempers are short, for the climb was stiff and we are hungry with no hopes of our stores arriving for some time. Anyway the experience goes someway to making realists out of us. We also become men of action, for a diligent search in the village nearby produces some flour and potatoes.

On the way up I travelled for some part of the way with a villager. The conversation was desultory—somewhat on the following lines :

camp-fire one night I asked them why they chose this back-breaking occupation. The reply was that from their childhood they were used to carrying a load and it really made little difference whether they walked from place to place with or without a load. Besides, this occupation had the advantage that it left them free and independent. They engaged in porterage when they felt the need to supplement their other business. One was a sardar during the orange season while another had a small shop.

An interlude. A lovely mountain-maid has stopped to chat and giggle with the porters. She apparently supplies our camp with milk and eggs. In the hills the women seem to be as active and as self-assured as the men.



The Sikkim Hills

He. In your country how many handfuls of corn do you get from one plant?

I. I do not know.

After eating we take a little stroll along the Bungalow path to see if our porters are in sight but we return hastily as the grass is alive with leeches. Anyone familiar with the hills will know what a leech is. A remedy for a bite is the inevitable iodine and as a protection one should wear a few leaves of tobacco under the stockings. This is not pleasant but better than leeches.

The porters arrive and also complain that they are hungry. It is amazing how they are able to carry a load about these hills. By the

10th November.—There is the desire to sing, for the march is short and lies through a pleasant valley. But the glimpse of our next objective, Permyangtse Monastery, perched on a distant hill makes me despair. What care? Time is no object and as we carry a tent we can camp where we will. There is no imperative need that we negotiate the hill and physically we are fitter. The stiffness has gone from our arms and legs.

For more than a mile we march as if on the rim of a gigantic bowl, for here the hills sweep round in a curve. Away in the distance are the snow-capped peaks.

The vegetation about us is of the temperate

kind. Everything drips with moisture—the result of heavy dew.

I now record a few details which make such a trek worthwhile.

We sit on a rock in a small glade. We decide to lunch here. The sunlight filters into the glade with sharp bursts. Nearby on a bush a spider's web glints and sparkles. There is a promise of winter about everything.

On the road down a small bird starts. It is coloured in blues and browns and in a series of swoops it disappears into the forest below.

Then comes the evening in camp. We are now in the heart of Sikkim. It is peaceful with the stars shining brilliantly overhead. We swop

tive scene. A young monk standing by begins to snigger. The elders appear as though nothing has happened.

I make this entry beside a stream. The monastery is now behind. In the East a few large clouds have gathered and the intense blue is broken. The hill-side is under cultivation and the higher reaches are forested. At our feet is a clump of bamboos and as the wind stirs the leaves glisten and rustle.

We are now at Dentam. How lovely is this valley! One could easily spend an existence here without any effort. Dentam is situated on a flat about 300 yards above the Kahuit river which bubbles and murmurs in its



Changu Dak-bungalow

many tales among ourselves and with our porters. 'Jeta' considers us his 'Choto bhais.'

11th November.—We have a lovely camp. We sit late and talk of Buddhism and the effect of leech bites.

In the morning we visit the monastery. It is situated on a hill which rises above the hill. To the North-West is the huge block of Kanchenjunga.

The monastery is built on Buddhist lines and is the highest in Sikkim with over a hundred monks. In the monastery are images and wall paintings. These are pleasing to the eye and depict Dorje Phagmo, Pad-sambhava, and the Wheel of Life. The paintings are of a Tantric origin. We find the portion of a minor painting scored by a heavy thumb as it portrays a copula-

endeavour to find a way out of the valley. Behind are the hills which gather into the mighty ridge of the Singelella. In the near distance is a field of paddy and one is carried back to the fields of Bengal.

As night falls the moon rises. We seem to be in luck, for by day we have wonderful weather and at night there is the light of the moon.

We can snuggle into our sleeping-bags with the chirp of insects in the paddy fields falling on our ears.

12th November.—I turn over this morning to see the first flush of the rising sun on Kanchenjunga. The orange glow catches peak after peak. Far below in the valley the roof of a monastery catches the first rays that penetrate into the valley.

We walk the five miles to the valley in excellent style. We talk of many things. In the gorge the Rungeet plunges.

Then there is a stiff climb to the village of Gaysing. We arrive in time for tea and spend the evening writing to friends over the hills and in bringing this journal up-to-date.

The path to the village is lined with prayer-flags and chortens.

My attention is held by an old man. He looks a pious soul—perhaps one of those mythical Himalyan mahatmas—and I do not like to disturb him at his meditations. He plucks a handful of grass and points to the sun. Is this a mystical sign? I am soon disillusioned, for along comes a group of boys who begin to tease

talked of the things that always interest youth. We decided that we were incorrigible idealists.

After walking five miles up the valley we sit and write in Sikkim country. Among the vegetation there is a suspicion of wild flowers and a mountain stream is close-by. Away on the hills are small groups of huts. They are flanked by a small area of orange and gold. These are the marigold bushes which the villagers cultivate near their homes for festive occasions.

We start to climb.

A strong breeze swirls the mists from off the mountains upon us. It grows cold. We pass a bungalow in ruins. This is Chiabhanjan a half-way halt between Phalut and Dentam which has been abandoned. In a sheltered spot we



Sikkim peasants

him. He is mad. On reflection—is he madder than many in the world outside? Life here is lived as it should be lived. There is no eternal scramble for positions and rupees. Life is as idle and as pleasant as the prayer-flag fluttering in the breeze. A little cultivation and cattle and one is satisfied. But for how long? There are signs here of the advance of civilization. A sewing machine whirrs in one of the village houses.

There is another thing as real.

Cannas, red and yellow, lift their heads to the Sikkim sky in the yard of the same house.

14th November.—Last night we had the moon and went to bed after a late hour. We

change into warm clothes. The Nepal border is not far-off and Kanchenjunga only a day's march.

The valley of pleasant memories is behind us and we have exchanged the warmth and pleasantness of the valley for the cold freshness of the heights.

Is there any pleasure in being cold?

15th November.—Chiabhanjan to Phalut.

I spend an hour with the porters round the camp-fire. Their natural philosophy is stimulating. They prefer to carry loads. Service as menials is pollution.

Here, on the ridge, valleys spread out on all sides and gather into hills. A bird perches

on a small stone standing in a patch of water. The sun rises. Something of the riddle of the universe is in solution in all this if only one's consciousness were acute enough.

The road along the ridge and along to the next camp is dotted with Sikkim gneiss and flanked by rhododendron trees. Every now and then mists swirl about and then there are fierce bursts of sunshine. We arrive at a belt of firs. The firs stand denuded. Many have fallen victims to the blasts of wind and lie prostrated. In between is grass-land.

The road, now little better than a path, follows the Singelella.

We halt near a row of chortens for lunch and watch a herd of Himalayan cattle. These are bred from the yak and the ordinary cow.

In the evening we camp above the tree-line. We pitch our tent below the ridge to avoid some of the cold wind.

The night is spent in misery. The camp-bed slopes and every now and then one has to heave oneself into position. It is very cold.

16th November.—This is the last day of the march. None the worse for the miserable night we set out. What a wonderful view we have of the snows! From the Gouri Shanker to the Jelap and Naut La passes every peak and gap is clear and well-defined. The Everest group stands out in particular.

For the first time on the trek we take a wrong track. This is the result of over-confidence.

Back on the trail we again go over an area covered with grass-land. The air is invigorating and we are prompted to run and leap, till breathless we sit astride a fallen fir and gasp. It is good to be alive in all this.

We arrive at Karlapokri and are presented with a glass of milk by the Sherpa who has his cattle here.

That night, lying snug in our beds, we fall asleep to the chant of Sherpa songs. Local cow-herds and villagers have come into Karlapokri and they are celebrating with local beer and song.

GANDHI THE CHAMPION OF THE PROLETARIATE

By BIJOY LAL CHATTERJEE

PEOPLE who call Mahatma Gandhi a supporter of Capitalism do not, at the same time, hesitate to condemn him as a weak pacifist whose condemnation of violence is robbing Indians of their manliness and producing a race of degenerate cowards. Now, to call a man a supporter of capitalism and non-violence in the same breath is a contradiction in terms. For when we charge him with a leaning towards capitalism we charge him also with a leaning towards violence and the charge of non-violence automatically falls through. After all what is the essence of capitalism? It rests on exploitation of class by class and we know also that exploitation is the essence of violence. The Capitalist treats man as a means to an end—the end being making money at the cost of one's fellows. He cherishes no respect for human life, which is the most precious thing on earth. He is a greedy man dominated by possessive impulse and this possessive impulse separates him from his neighbours, whom he treats like cattle for champagne, cigars and motor cars. Violence separates, non-

violence unites. When you love a man you feel his sorrow as your own sorrow, his joy as your own joy. Where this feeling of love is absent, the feeling of unity is also absent. Let violence dominate your life and you would not hesitate to build your happiness on the tears of your fellowmen. Systems and creeds would seem to you of greater value than human life. When you beat a man with a stick or abuse him in filthy language, that is doing violence to one's neighbour. You do something that separates you from your fellowmen. When you deprive a man of his land, force him to work for you and then refuse to pay him adequately, your conduct betrays violence; for thereby you build your riches on the poverty of another man, your happiness on his miseries. You do not allow him to live the same life which you wish for yourself. In other words, you do not treat him as a man who has as much right to live abundantly as you have but simply treat him as an instrument to make money for your creature comforts. This is negation of love.

In the light of what is written above it will be easy to understand the meaning of violence as given by Gandhi. In *Harijan*, dated 4th November, 1939, we come across the following remarkable lines from the pen of Gandhiji :

"You cannot build non-violence on a factory civilisation, but it can be built on self-contained villages. Rural economy as I have conceived it eschews exploitation altogether and exploitation is the essence of violence. You have therefore to be rural-minded before you can be non-violent, and to be rural-minded you have to have faith in the spinning wheel."

If according to Gandhiji's definition exploitation is the essence of violence, then it follows that Gandhi cannot support capitalism. The simple logic of the matter is that exploitation is violence and capitalism is based on exploitation. Therefore, capitalism is based on violence. Gandhiji rejects violence as a relic of barbarism. Therefore, Gandhi rejects capitalism also. It is so simple and plain.

Why is Gandhi making such Herculean efforts to make us rural-minded? Because he is so eager to build Swaraj on non-violence, which means the end of exploitation; for it is exploitation that is responsible for keeping people steeped in the mud of poverty. So long as exploitation continues, poverty also continues. But why does the proletariat allow the capitalist to exploit him? Because he has nothing but his right hand and a lot of hungry children around him whom he has to feed. He is forced to sell the labour of his right hand to the landlord or the mill-owner for providing his family with food, and shelter and cloth. The capitalist knows the helpless position of the proletariat and does not hesitate to take the fullest advantage of it. He makes him work hard and pays him just enough to enable him to keep body and soul together. The proletariat is forced to accept whatever wage the capitalist is pleased to give him; for he knows that if he refuses there are others who would be only too glad to accept it. The problem of problems is then to make it possible for the worker to remain in his own village so that he is not forced to go to the town to find employment in factories and thereby enable the greedy capitalist to build his riches on his poverty. The revival of village industries would provide the unemployed proletariat with work and thus enable him to remain in his own village where he would be able to earn his livelihood. Exploitation would thus cease, for the revival of village industries has made the villages self-contained and the villagers self-reliant. The capitalist no longer finds it easy to turn men

and women into helpless tools and force them to work for him like cattle in his fields, factories and mines. The spinning wheel, the symbol of cottage industries, is then meant to make an end of exploitation by making villages self-sufficient. Without it Gandhi does not see it possible to reconstruct society on non-violence.

Socialism means equal distribution, in Bernard Shaw's language 'equality of income.' Non-violence implies socialism. When you love a man you identify yourself with him. 'I do not ask the wounded man how he feels, I myself become the wounded man.' These words of Walt Whitman reflect the true character of love. You cannot enjoy your sleep in your comfortable room when you know that your beloved son is sleeping on the hard ground in a miserable hovel just across the road. So also you cannot enjoy your sumptuous dinner on the beautifully laid table when you come to know that your son—a Satyagrahi prisoner, is being served with food unfit for human consumption. Can a father feel comfortable in his warm clothes when he finds his own child almost naked and shivering with cold? He immediately takes off his own clothes and covers the body of the child with them. This he does, not from a sense of duty, but from a living impulse. It is love that impells the father to share his happiness with the son. He wants the same fulness of life for the son as he wants for himself. When we do not wish the same happiness for others as we wish for ourselves, we simply do not love. Monopoly is impossible where love predominates. Love leads to the temple of equality—not only social and political equality but economic equality also. The economic question is fundamental in politics and sociology. You must begin with the feeding of the individual. When you preach spiritual equality with your starving fellowmen from your comfortable villa, that sounds hollow and unreal. Adult franchise has no significance for the hungry millions unless it is accompanied with economic equality. Political equality is good but food is infinitely better. That we are all equal before the eyes of God, is a very sublime idea, but equality of income is no less a sublime idea.

Gandhiji as an ardent believer in the principle of non-violence wants to reconstruct society on the foundation of love. It is not merely an intellectual conception with him but a living passion. He feels his oneness with the dumb millions of India with his whole soul. Thus he writes in *Harijan* :

"I am supposed to have some hold over the dumb millions. I know that in every fibre of my being I am also one of them. Without them I am nothing. I do not even want to exist. I want on their behalf an honourable settlement with Britain."

It has been written above that love never admits of inequality. We want the same happiness for our beloved ones as we want for ourselves. Gandhiji has loved the dumb millions of India as himself. Therefore, he desires the same fulness of life for them as he desires for himself. Thus he wrote in *Young India* many years ago :

"I hate monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared by the masses is taboo to me."

The same idea again finds expression through the following lines in *Harijan* of 28th July, 1940.

"I am not interested in an order which leaves out the weakest—the blind, the halt and the maimed. My Swaraj is even for the least in the land."

Gandhiji's conception of Swaraj assures plenty of food to all. If a single human being is deprived of the blessings of that Swaraj, if a single child cries in independent India for want of milk, that would not be Swaraj but a caricature of Swaraj. Swaraj that has its foundation on love, cannot tolerate the idea that anybody should remain poor in the midst of plenty. All must have a share in the general happiness. Gandhiji is not much enamoured of the word Independence, for it implies a negative idea, i.e., non-existence of foreign rule. He is in love with the word Swaraj, for Swaraj conveys a positive idea—the idea that every individual in independent India should be free and perfect. In Gandhiji's picture of Swaraj decent houses and plenty of food are assured to all.

"According to my definition of Swaraj even the poorest Indian should get enough milk, ghee, vegetable and fruits. Every man and woman must get a balanced diet and decent house."

The thirteenth item in Gandhiji's Constructive Programme is Working for Economic Equality. This item is called by him 'the master key to Swaraj.' In explaining the significance of the term Working for Economic Equality, Gandhiji writes :

"A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility as long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists."

Further he writes :

"The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land."

The economic aspect of Swaraj as presented by Gandhiji is easily understandable in the light

of non-violence. As a protagonist of the principle of non-violence, Gandhiji has made his attitude towards socialism quite clear in his famous essay, "The World of To-morrow." There we come across the following lines from the pen of Gandhiji :

"Equal distribution, the second great law of the world of To-morrow as I believe it will be, grows out of non-violence. The real implication of equal distribution is not an arbitrary dividing up of the goods of the world. It is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply his natural needs and no more."

Only a Communist can hold such revolutionary views and Gandhiji does not hesitate to call himself a Communist. He writes in *Harijan*:

"I know many friends who delight in calling themselves Communist. They are as harmless as a dove. I call myself a communist in their company."

He knows that Communism has its source in love for suffering humanity and its aim is the well-being of all. So he writes :

"The underlying belief of communism is good and as old as the hills."

Bertrand Russel defines good life as one which is inspired by love and guided by knowledge. A Communist believes in this definition of good life. His life is inspired by love, love for the hungry millions. To love means to act. When somebody hurts your son, you cannot play the part of a passive spectator. You run to help your son, you protest; the thought of sitting idle seems inconceivable to you. Bankim Chandra gives two distinct definitions of a Vaisnava. In one place, he writes that a true Vaisnava is one who loves all men as himself. In his *Ananda Math*, he gives another definition of a Vaisnava. 'The true characteristic of Vaisnavism,' he writes in *Ananda Math*, 'is punishing the wicked and saving the world from the tyrant's heel.' He is perfectly logical. A man who loves must protest. He would be out to destroy a political or economic system that has reduced human beings to the level of animals. Gorky in his *Days with Lenin* has called the famous Russian revolutionary 'a grown-up child in this accursed world, a splendid human being who had to sacrifice himself to hostility and hatred, so that love might be at last realised.' Again he writes :

"Lenin was exceptionally great, in my opinion, precisely because of this feeling in him of irreconcilable, unquenchable hostility towards the sufferings of humanity, his burning faith that suffering is not an essential and unavoidable part of life, but an abomination which people ought and are able to sweep away."

Sydney and Beatrice Webb have written in their famous *Soviet Communism* :

"What moved Karl Marx to a lifetime of political conspiracy and economic study in grinding poverty—what steeled the will to revolution of Lenin and his companions—was the misery and incompleteness of life that contemporary economic conditions everywhere inflicted on the mass of the population."

Yes, it is love that leads a man to the path of revolution. Oscar Wilde has called Prince Kropotkin the White Christ of Russia and yet Kropotkin was a great revolutionary and had been in prison for a long time. Gandhiji, the apostle of non-violence, has been compared by Western writers to Christ and he calls himself a non-violent rebel. So words like communism or revolution should not terrify us. The life of the 'half-naked seditious Fakir' is inspired by love for the living skeletons of Indian villages. On their behalf, he is fighting the battle of freedom.

But to say that a Communist's life is inspired by love is to speak only half of the truth. That a Communist's life is guided by knowledge, is the other half of the truth. He knows that frightful human calamities call for immediate aid, that when more than half a nation is starving we must organise work and food. Only when we have provided hungry and homeless millions with invigorating food and decent houses, it will be time for us to think how to preserve our own culture. Meanwhile, bread is more important than your oriental dance and all your refined talk about conscious and supra-conscious state of mind or literature of Knut Hamsun. Rolland is perfectly right when he writes :

"One must live, first of all. Live at any cost. One can restore afterwards the reasons for living, the eternal values."

The Socialists, therefore, say, 'If a ship is being wrecked, we organise a life-boat; if a house is on fire, we organise a blanket; if half a nation is starving we must organise work and food.' This is exactly what Gandhiji says too. In his famous essay, "The Great Sentinel", addressed to Rabindranath, Gandhiji wrote :

"When all about me are dying for want of food, the only occupation permissible for me is to feed the hungry. . . To a people famishing and idle the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages."

The Socialists also know that hungry millions cannot be saved from starvation by charity. Individual charity or charity organised by philanthropic institutions can never successfully solve the gigantic problem of providing millions with food and shelter. What is needed is not a good-hearted philanthropist but a strong man with the will of iron who would overthrow a

rotten economic system based on exploitation and reconstruct it on the unshakable foundation of freedom and justice. Possessive impulse, which is at the root of most of the social evils, must give place to love, which alone can create the world of to-morrow where everybody would be happy. That strong man would not help people to be parasites but would teach them to become self-reliant, strong and united, conscious of their own power and brave enough to resist those who would keep them slaves in order to build their opulence on their poverty. Gandhiji's role is not the role of a philanthropist. He does not believe in the efficacy of giving alms to beggars. He would have not a single beggar in the land. He would create a new world where almsgiving would be a thing of the past; for poverty would then be transformed into plenty and everybody would have an equal share in the social wealth produced by the labour of all. Nobody would be allowed to remain idle. Writes Gandhiji in *Harijan*, dated 28th July, 1942.

"I have not conceived my mission to be that of a knight-errant wandering everywhere to deliver people from difficult situations. My humble occupation has been to show people how they can solve their own difficulties."

He knows that it is ignorance and cowardice that have kept people in bondage. Poverty is only the symptom of a disease which is spiritual. If the people could be educated enough to see for themselves that not fate but their own ignorance and cowardice are responsible for their miseries, they would not sit idle but would exert themselves to change the present social, political and economic systems in order to make their unlivable lives happy and bright. So Gandhiji must have nothing to do with charity. That is the business of merely virtuous men. An intelligently virtuous man must strike at the root of the disease. He would do away with a vicious social system that rests on one hand on the possessive impulse of the self-centred mammon-worshippers and on the other on the cowardice and ignorance of the hopelessly disorganised proletariat. He does not dismiss the mammon-worshippers as incorrigible. He appeals to their good sense and asks them repeatedly to be generous and share their wealth with their less fortunate brethren. But the greater amount of his energies, he exerts to make the proletariat politically educated, organised and brave enough to assert their rights in the teeth of all oppositions. The penetrating eyes of the seer discern the problem only too well and in the *Harijan* of the 19th October, 1935, he writes the following lines :

"The problem therefore is not to set class against class but to educate labour to a sense of its dignity. The moment labour recognises its own dignity, money will find its rightful place, i.e., it will be held in trust for labour. For labour is more than money."

Again he writes :

"When labour is intelligent enough to organise itself and learns to act as one man, it will have the same weight as money if not much greater. The conflict is really between intelligence and unintelligence. Surely it will be a folly to keep up such a conflict. Unintelligence must be removed."

So Gandhiji aims at making the proletariat united. Strength lies in unity. He wants, therefore, to transform the Congress into a peasant organisation. He is eager to see the landless proletariat coming under the Congress flag and fighting the battle of freedom to shake off their chains. In his speech at the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji said :

"Every interest which in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection, has to subserve the interests of these dumb millions. You do find now and again an apparent clash between several interests. If there is a genuine and real clash I have no hesitation in saying on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interests of these dumb millions. It is, therefore, essentially a peasant organisation, or it is becoming so progressively."

Here we get a glimpse into the dream of Gandhiji. He wants to organise the proletariat through the Congress, he desires that Congress should represent the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its seven hundred thousand villages.

But the proletariat require political education to be organised. Gandhiji, therefore, sends his non-violent soldiers to villages to educate the people through silent service. The soldiers visit the cottages with spinning wheels on their shoulders, teach the villages how to spin and how to card, help them to earn money by spinning and thus supplement their slender income. Political education goes side by side with disinterested service of the poor. The seeds of new thoughts begin to germinate. The simple peasants at last discover that their own ignorance and cowardice have been their greatest enemies, that freedom from poverty is possible through non-co-operation with those who would keep them in chains. Gandhiji says :

"It is the grossest of superstitions for the working man to believe that he is helpless before the employers." (*Harijan*, 3. 7. 1941)

The working man can get rid of these deadly superstitions only through education and so Gandhiji makes the constructive programme his vehicle to educate the dumb millions. He writes :

"For me there is no political education apart from the constructive programme."

For him the spinning wheel has no value unless it can transform the illiterate spineless villagers into non-violent soldiers of freedom, inspire them with burning patriotism so that they would gladly lay down their lives to free their country from foreign domination.

Gandhiji's recent address to the Khadi workers clearly betrays what he wants his constructive workers to do. His address contains the following lines :

"Our ancestors did spin and weave and produce their own cloth, but they were just spinners and weavers toiling either for their bread or for their employers, e.g., the East India Company. Their toil was their slavery. They have left nothing for us to emulate. We have to do penance for and wipe out that slavery. Their toil would have been perfectly honourable, if there had been knowledge at the back of it, as also the desire for the country's freedom, the determination not to bend the knee to the slave-driver, and a sense of art. A revival of the industry means adoption of all these live-giving virtues, it means infusing new life into the dead bones of the old industry."

Gandhiji has made his position quite clear. There should be no misunderstanding about his attitude towards the proletariat. The following lines from *Harijan* leave no doubt that he is after revolutionising the minds of the people through political education :

"Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-co-operate with the exploiters." (*Harijan*, 28. 7. 1940).

Those who carry the spinning wheels should act as the disseminators of revolutionary ideas. Gandhiji writes :

"A mere belief in *Ahimsa* or *Charkha* will not do. It should be intelligent and creative. If intellect plays a large part in the field of violence, I hold that it plays a larger part in the field of non-violence" (*Harijan* 21. 7. 1940).

The dynamic significance of the above-quoted lines is quite clear. After all if non-violence and *Charkha* cannot make us brave and strong, if they cannot teach us how to die for a noble cause they are useless. Gandhiji has stepped into the political arena with his constructive programme not to make us good spinners only but brave fighters, too. He writes :

"In order to test ourselves we should dare danger and death, mortify the flesh and acquire the capacity to endure all manner of hardships."

Again he writes :

"There indeed is what I flatter myself is going to be my contribution. I want non-violence of the weak to become non-violence of the brave. It may be a dream, but I have to strive for its realisation."

Just as non-violence implies equal distribution, equal distribution implies common ownership of the means of production. When a man is given liberty to own the means of production, there is every possibility of his using that liberty to exploit his neighbours for selfish ends. McIver truly says that liberty may be sacred or it may be despicable. Gandhiji knows too well that to allow a person to have the unlimited liberty to hold property would jeopardise the interests of the poor. Economic equality means the equal right of everybody over the instruments of production. Hence in Karachi Congress, Gandhiji moved the resolution that key industries should be nationalised. It is also for this passion for economic equality that Gandhiji in connection with a resolution proposed by Jayprakash Narayan wrote in *Harijan* of the 20th April, 1940, "No man should have more land than he has for dignified sustenance." Gandhiji says: "Ownership and service go ill together."

If the privileged classes, Rajas and Maharajas, landlords and other profiteers, think that they would enjoy the same privileges in independent India as they are now enjoying in British India, the sooner they are disillusioned the better for them, for Swaraj would not tolerate such discrimination. In his Round Table speech, Gandhiji said in unambiguous language:

"I am afraid that for years to come India would be engaged in passing legislation in order to raise the down-trodden, the fallen from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalist, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes and then subsequently and scientifically by the British rulers."

He plainly told the members present at the Conference that it would be impossible to run the machinery of government on behalf of the have-nots if the monied classes were permitted to enjoy their privileges unhampered. Their liberty to make money at the cost of their fellow-

men would not be tolerated and laws would be enacted that would equalise economic conditions of the people.

"And if the landlords, zamindars, monied men and those who are today enjoying privileges, I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians—if they find that they are discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them, but I will not be able to help them, even if I could possibly do so, because I would seek their assistance in that process and without their assistance it would not be possible to raise these people from the mire." (From Gandhi's Round Table speech).

So Gandhiji would continue to appeal to the generous feeling of the monied classes but nothing would induce him to sacrifice the urgent claims of all to meet the particular claims of some. There he is adamant as a rock.

Gandhi knows as much as the followers of Marx, the necessity of teaching the people that the landlord and other privileged classes are not their friends, that they are their exploiters. Only he does not believe in shouting slogans and laying all the blame at the door of the capitalist. He would rather teach people the supreme lesson that they are suffering because of their ignorance and cowardice. To make people politically educated and brave is his main business, and so he has replied in answer to a question.

"The masses do not today see in landlords and other profiteers their enemy. But the consciousness of the wrong done to them by these classes has to be created in them. I do not teach the masses to regard the capitalist as their enemies but I teach them that they are their own enemies."

I think it has been proved beyond doubt that non-violence and capitalism are antagonistic, that non-violence leads us to economic equality and *vice-versa*, and that Gandhiji, the Apostle of non-violence, is working to create a new world which would be dominated by impulse of love instead of possessive impulse, which is now dominating human society.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for July, Plate facing p. 77: The titles of the two pictures in the Plate are to be interchanged; thus the title of the picture on the left side should be "Manila" and the title of that on the right, "A view of Tiflis, Caucasus."

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE position in Russia, according to a News Agency is more grave now than it has been at any stage of the war since its beginning. The German war-machine has succeeded in battering its way through the Soviets' defence lines in the Don and Donetz basins and is now trying to force its way into the last Russian strongholds this side of the Caucasus. On their way to that vital area they have overrun the coal and mineral zones and are now trying to storm into Stalingrad, the largest Tank-producing centre of the Soviets. Marshal Timoshenko has so far succeeded in avoiding encirclement and annihilation, but the losses in this desperate defensive war have been extremely heavy. More terrible has been the destruction of war-machines and other equipments in which the Russians are now facing a progressive inferiority owing to poorer replacement and refitting capacity as compared with the Germanic forces. Russian communication arrangements have also become infinitely complicated since the Germans succeeded in getting astride all the strategic railways leading to the lower Don valleys and Steppes from the production centres in the North and North-East. The Allied supply routes *via* the Persian Gulf are still secure but the trickle coming through that channel would hardly suffice to make good the tremendous war-wastage now being faced by the Russian forces.

The terrain on which this greatest of all battles in the history of mankind is being fought is very favourable to the aggressor. There are no natural barriers excepting the river channels, which are difficult to hold against an enemy attacking over a wide front with unlimited reserves in artillery, aircraft and armoured machines. The enemy has, further, all the advantages in the matter of supply lines now, to say nothing of the organisation for repair and refitting, in which the Germans possess a superiority over the Allies in every sphere of mechanised warfare.

It is evident now that the long respite in winter and the spring did not suffice in making good the Russian losses in armour and aircraft. The Allied contribution, as revealed in the House of Commons, was woefully short of requirements and Russian production too could not in any way overcome the handicaps imposed through the loss of the great production centres in the Ukraine, and the Don and Donetz basins. German production, on the other hand, was aug-

mented by the importation of skilled foreign labour from France, Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries and by the supplies extracted from the occupied territories, in the form of finished as well as raw products. In consequence of this state of affairs the gallant forces of the Soviets have been left woefully short of equipment, whereas the Axis forces now enjoy a still greater superiority in arms to what they had in last Summer and Autumn. It is a pitiful state of affairs when one considers the resources of the United Nations in comparison with that of the Axis. But then in this material world of ours, the greatest sin is that of inefficiency—a fact that we Indians have never been allowed to forget by our preceptors of the West.

The organisation of supply routes and communications in the occupied zones of Russia was brought up to a very high level by Dr. Todt, the builder of the German autobahns and the Siegfried lines, before his death through an air-crash. As a result of which the German High Command can shift very large forces from one battle-zone to another with the minimum of delay and derangement. And last of all the superiority of the new German tanks over the Allied machines have been made painfully evident in the battle for Egypt. Therefore, it is plain that at the commencement of the Summer campaign the Germans enjoyed the triple advantages of superiority in quantity of armour, superiority in quality of mechanised weapons and superiority in the organisation for supply, refitting and reinforcement to their forces in the field. The element of surprise having gone, and with it the chances of a run-away victory as in France and the Low-countries, the Axis High Command abandoned the idea of an assault *en masse* along a battle-line extended over hundreds of miles as in the campaigns of last Summer and Autumn and developed a new strategy through a combination of their advantages which resulted into placing at their disposal a tremendous superiority in odds over localized areas of short extent. In this way their attack against Sevastopol went on gathering momentum and mass at a furious rate until even the world's strongest fortress lines, defended by the bravest of the brave, were submerged under a tidal wave of fire and steel. With the fall of Sevastopol, the Axis lines were made secure against any surprise movement to the rear of their lines and the time became ripe for the launching of the

much-advertised Summer campaign. The initiative was no longer with the Russians, this loss being due to inferiority in the matter of aircraft and mechanised weapons—and so the Germanic forces could concentrate on any sector they pleased.

Marshal Timoschenko was guarding the paths that led to the very vitals of the Soviets organisation, the basins of the Don and the Donetz, the lower reaches of the Volga and finally the Caucasus with its fabulous wealth in oil and in minerals. Marshal Timoschenko has been further the sorest thorn in the sides of the German High Command, being the only Commander on the side of the United Nations who had shown the ability to counter any move of the Axis strategists provided he had anything like parity in the equipment of his forces as opposed to that of his opponents. It was evident therefore that the "liquidation" of the doughty Marshal and his incomparable warriors, would place the Germans in a position of vantage from which they could only be dislodged by a miracle of organisation and strategy by the United Nations. A war of attrition with Germany dominating over all the productive regions of Europe—and the Caucasus in the bargain—would be a desperately long-drawn struggle indeed. Further the rising tide of Allied production was a fast growing menace to the Axis and the people of the United Nations were showing greater and greater impatience at the muddling of their leaders. At any time a far more efficient set of younger men, with far less encumbered brains, might replace the slow moving and slower thinking elders, as happened in the last war. Therefore, time was also short so far as the Axis was concerned.

As a logical consequence of these circumstances has followed this drive, in which all the advantages on the side of the Axis have been concentrated in a desperate gamble for the obtaining of a decision while the chances are still in favour of the aggressor. Marshal Timoschenko's gallant forces are fighting against appalling and growing odds, as in a forlorn hope, matching grim determination, unflinching valour and unflinching flesh against the fire and steel of the aggressor. Their morale is high and their faith in the final victory stands unshaken a rock in a storm. The mightiest thrusts delivered so far against them have failed to break their resistance and even after weeks of unceasing assault by tremendously superior forces their retreat has not assumed as yet the form of a rout. But there is no denying that they—and

with them the Russian armies as a whole—are in the gravest peril and in dire need of succour. The "Second Front" has not shown any signs of materialisation so far. Russia must, therefore, depend on her own resources in main at this hour of peril and this she is doing with a faith and a determination that only China has matched in the past. Last year the Soviets' peerless fighters brought the assaults of the enemy to a halt when all seemed to be lost. And it is by no means impossible that a similar miracle may be worked in this campaign. The Russian armies are still offering a solid front to Von Bock, despite severe losses and there can be no doubt that there will be no weakening in their determination and efforts to the last ounce of their strength.

There is yet time to stem the flood even though the enemy be on the very threshold of the Caucasus, for there the barriers against the mechanised weapons is natural and most formidable. The German supply and transport organisation will meet with increasing difficulties the further they penetrate into the vast Russian territories, and if the discipline and the will-to-resist of the peoples of the Soviets remain as strong as it is now, then the enemy will be brought to a halt sooner or later. The Axis has to pay a heavy price—even though the Russians pay more heavily—for every inch of territory gained, and if it fails to obtain a decision before many months are over, then its dreams of world-domination will slowly melt in the thin air.

In Egypt the position of an apparent stalemate still continues. Both sides are manœuvring for position and awaiting reinforcements and supplies. Rommel's forces have been fought to a standstill and for the present it is anybody's war as a commentator remarked sometime back. The British forces have definitely improved their position. The political situation has become somewhat less tense in consequence, at least that is as far as can be judged from the meagre news obtainable. But the threat to the Suez Canal and the Middle-East remains and unless Rommel can be pushed back before he receives substantial reinforcements, the position cannot be regarded as anything but insecure.

In China the Japanese have made further progress in their attempt at the complete isolation of Free China from the outside world. The maritime provinces of China that were still free from Japanese domination are being overrun by assaulting columns. But it is apparent now that with the minimum of proper technical assistance and aid from air the Chinese are able to hold their own against the Japanese. The



A diagrammatic map of Japan's sphere of action

American Air-force, with its very limited resources in China, has been able to influence the course of the struggle. It is plainly evident now that the statement of the Generalissimo to the effect that if only 10% of the arms production of America were to reach China, a far greater dividend would accrue than is possible in any other field is no mere figure of speech.

But a vastly greater amount of aid must reach China, in air-craft, mechanised weapons and heavy artillery, before the balance is set definitely in the favour of Free China—and the United Nations. How this aid is to reach China, in sufficient volume to offset war-wastage and to increasingly augment Free China's fighting strength, is now more of a problem than ever. With the Burma road gone and the new

Indo-China route still incomplete, the problem was bad enough. But with occupation of the Aleutian islands, all the chances of sending aid *via* Vladivostock and the trans-Siberian to the rail-head, from which motor caravans could take it to the 1700 miles distant Chungking war depots, are also gone. Remains only now the aerial route from India into China by which at the most about 10 to 12,000 tons of less bulky material could be supplied to China every month.

Much has been said about the attempts made by the Japanese to secure their home-lands against air-attacks like the "Shangri-la" raid conducted by Brigadier General Doolittle. All the recent Japanese moves in China and the North Pacific have been attributed to this cause. It is quite possible that the guarding of Tokio

against aerial warfare may have been one of the reasons that prompted the Japanese to undertake the recent activities in the above areas. But the main objectives underlying these moves are most certainly the consolidation of Japanese gains by securing the inner lines of communications from attack by the United Nations and the "walling-up" of the Chungking Government by cutting all its lines of communication with the United Nations. With the occupation of the islands of the Aleutian group near the Kamschatka Peninsula and of the air-bases in the maritime provinces of China the second objective has almost been gained. It would be almost complete if the Japanese succeed in establishing an air-base in Upper Burma in order to attack the aerial route from India to China.

With the conclusion of the Phillipine campaign and with the establishment of bases in the Aleutians the Japanese now have an inner line of communications with the dominated areas in the China Sea, French Indo-China, Siam, Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Burma. With the South Pacific islands thrown out as outposts, this inner route is now guarded by a most formidable chain of island fortresses, behind which the Japanese Navy with its air-craft carriers can move with impunity and with very little chance of detection. Transport and cargo vessels too are reasonably secure in these routes, the waters of which would be very hazardous of navigation for submarines of the United Nations. This route could have been assailed by powerful long distance bombers operating from Chinese bases in the maritime provinces and from the easternmost tips of the Aleutians from which bombers could reach the home-waters of the Japanese naval and mercantile fleets. If the Japanese can establish themselves in these defensive positions, then their newly gained territories become invulnerable at all points excepting on the outermost areas neighbouring Australia at one end and India at the other.

The recent landing of Japanese reinforcements in New Guinea indicate beyond all doubt that Japan intends to resume her moves in that area. Whether those moves will be limited to tactical objectives or not are not clearly shown as yet, but it is extremely doubtful whether Japan is in a position to undertake a major offensive in Australian areas with the position in China still in a state of flux. The Naval engagements in the Coral Sea and Midway island area have shown beyond all doubt that the American Pacific fleet is a formidable factor to reckon with and that it is only too willing to

engage in a show down. With the position as it is, therefore, it is more likely that the New Guinea move is another step in the consolidation scheme.

In Burma the situation is literally and figuratively veiled in clouds. Recent reports of hydro-electric and railway projects and the wording of the reports of R. A. F. bombing attacks indicate that consolidation is under progress over a wide area. How far it has progressed and what is the condition of the country is not known to the public and with the poor data available it would be useless to speculate on the implications of the situation. But it is plain beyond all mistake that the menace of invasion is there and is daily growing. We do not know about the counter moves in preparation by the United Nations and it is certainly not in the public interest to discuss such matters.

The situation in India is quite another matter. The widest publicity has been given the world over—with special emphasis on the New World—about a matter which, as we have been told by British publicists *ad nauseam*, is a domestic concern between Britain and India. It is not difficult to guess why Britain has been at so much pains to organise a major propaganda offensive against the Congress in the United States. These columns are not devoted to treatment of political issues, but in this case what could have been regarded as a major political crisis, capable of being dealt with by judicious political measures, has deteriorated into something far more serious due to extremely clumsy mishandling of the situation. Misstatement of facts and slander are not exactly the means of improving relationships between two peoples and that is what is being used in the propaganda against the Indian Congress in America and elsewhere.

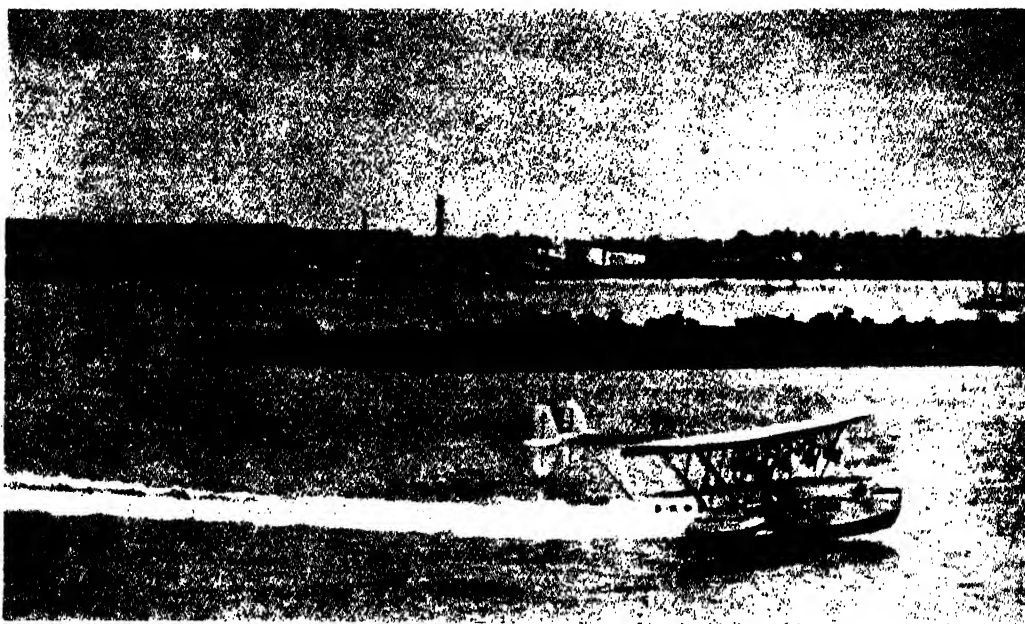
The day Mr. Churchill did the "door slamming" act with U Saw, he opened the back door to Burma to the Japanese, and in Malaya something of the same nature had happened. No "landslide" vote of confidence in the House of Commons can alter facts. About Burma specially there should not be any doubts left even in British minds after the "debunking" of the statement of the Governor of Burma by General Alexander. To Indians, who have received back half-a-million refugees from Malaya and Burma, no amount of propaganda can alter the truth. Further, it is not merely Mother India's funeral, a mass cremation is what is more likely. It is time therefore that saner counsels prevailed.



Vigilance on the Yangtze. Chinese patrol boats with soldiers on the alert
[Courtesy: *Asia*]



A street in Medina



Panama canal at Colon



The Pacific Ocean at old Panama

RAJA RADHAKANTA DEB ON THE REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF THE EUROPEANS IN INDIA AND THE REVIVAL OF SANSKRIT LEARNING

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE year 1850 stands on the parting of the ways. The forces that were working for some years gave birth to new but separate lines of action for the ruler and the ruled in India. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, broadly speaking, both the Indian and the Britisher co-operated and collaborated with each other for the improvement and welfare of the country. Raja Rammohun Roy advocated introduction of Western literature and science not only for the edification of his countrymen. He did this also with the purpose that the ruler and the ruled in this way would come closer to one another. He was a warm advocate of colonisation of India by the Britisher. He thought that the Britisher, who had been hitherto but a foreigner, would thus be naturalised in India, adopt this country as his own, and all his efforts at the exploitation of her resources would then be solely for India's benefit. Had this colonisation movement materialised, much of the evil that vitiated the Indian body-politic in later times could have been averted. Be that as it may, the principle of co-operation and collaboration guided the thoughtful section of the Indian as well as the European community in all their activities at this time. Thus we find the leaders of both the communities join hands to establish and conduct such cultural institutions as the School Book Society and the School Society. Both the Indians and the Europeans were actively engaged at the time in the foundation of the Hindu College, though at a later stage the latter retired in favour of the former for reasons of State. Such political movements as the introduction of the jury system, the remodelling of the Charter Act of 1833 and the freedom of the Press found zealous advocates in both the communities.

But these things did not last long. The Christian missionaries had by this time been given complete freedom to preach and proselytise, which soon tended to alienate the Indians from the Europeans. With the progress of English education in the country, there was gradually arising a class of people who could successfully compete with the Britishers in the administration of the land and who were also vocal in seeking redress

of wrongs perpetrated by them or their agents. This naturally gave rise to spite and jealousy in the minds of the ruling caste. Their motive was to undertake all sorts of activities in their own hands, which they actually did, caring little for the susceptibilities of the Indian people. By the end of the fourth decade such notable foreigners as Edward Hyde East, David Hare, Horace Hayman Wilson, Edward Ryan, and others had either left the shores of India or died. Those nurtured, on the Indian side, in the



Raja Radhakanta Deb

principle of co-operation and collaboration, included such stalwarts as Raja Rammohun Roy, Dwaraka Nath Tagore, Prasanna Coomar Tagore, Ramcomal Sen and Raja Radhakanta Deb. Except Radhakanta and Prasanna Coomar all others had also gone to the other world by this time. Radhakanta Deb was greatly mortified to see a change in the mentality of both the official and the non-official Europeans.

Their attitude towards Indians and their culture, to speak mildly, was most reactionary. Radhakanta Deb very graphically described this state of things in a pretty long letter to his friend, Dr. Wilson, in London in 1851.

But one thing still sustained him and the men of his ilk. To his great satisfaction he observed the revival of Sanskrit learning in Britain and elsewhere in the Continent, however decried by reactionary Europeans here. Radhakanta had a large share in the cause of this revival. In his letter to Dr. Von. Max Muller he particularly referred to these matters. These two letters speak eloquently of the state of things obtaining here in India by 1850, as well as the endeavours of the savants in Europe in the cause of the revival of Sanskrit learning. Both these letters* are inserted here :

To

H. H. Wilson, Esq.
East India House, London.

My dear Sir,

It is so long since I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you that I fear you have lost all recollection of me or that your kindness has been on the wane. As for myself, I have refrained from writing to you as often as I wished because I do not like to trespass upon that invaluable time of yours consecrated to your profound labour. During the period that we have continued taciturn many an event of varied importance which you take great interest in have here come to pass.

Our Indian Government which has hitherto distinguished itself by its tolerant principles has been gradually introducing the thin end of the wedge into the fundamental doctrines of our religion. It would seem as if the previous conduct of Government originated not so much from an honesty and earnestness of purpose as from sheer policy.

The Legislature of India has lately passed an Act which strikes at the foundation of the whole fabric of the Hindu religion and jurisprudence. I allude to the Act styled the *Lex Loci* which removes the bar to inheritance of a Hindu convert. I need hardly expatiate on the numerous and prodigious evils with which it is pregnant. Your profound knowledge of our Sastras and intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of our country will at once enable you to judge the perilous tendency of this Act. Missionary influence is now on the ascendant; every department from the fountain head of Government to the lowest course of office is infected with it.

A few words about our Hindu and Sanscrit Colleges. Since your departure from this country they are really though ostensibly progressing. From the period that the former was placed under the Government patronage the Council of Education had been gradually encroaching on the privileges of the Managing Committee till under the presidency of the late Mr. Bethune, this encroachment became so complete as to render the

native members mere non-entities. This invasion of their rights has often brought the Council and the Committee in open collision with each other. On one occasion a serious difference arose between these two bodies on a subject involving the violation of certain fundamental rules of the college which terminated in the retirement of Baboo' Prosunnocumer Thakur, the Governor of the college from his post. Last year, it was my turn to take up the dispute on a similar subject; after an interchange of many angry minutes between myself and the late President, my feelings were so much offended that I was obliged to dissolve my connection with the Institution. Virtually there is no native management at present. As for the Sanscrit College you can well imagine its fate it being placed under the superintendence of a body of men not one of whom understands a bit of or cares a whit for, Sanscrit.

Sanscrit learning generally speaking is rapidly on the decline in India. Our pandits void of encouragement and led by lust of lucre attend only to the ritual department of their Sastras while the European educationalists despise it as useless. You will easily be able to imagine how poorly is Sanscrit estimated by the European community here on perusing the following extracts from the *Friend of India* of February 13th, 1851. The Editor after sorely regretting that the highest number was bestowed for the study of Sanscrit at the Halleybury College thus proceeds :

"The fact is that the Directors never exercise the slightest thought on the subject. Having appointed an eminent orientalist the Visitor of the College and resigned the oriental studies to his exclusive direction they consider themselves at liberty to turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances of those who point out the errors of this system. Every great man has a feeling of monomania regarding his own distinguishing pursuit. Dr. Wilson's monomania is Sanscrit and happy it is for the European world that this is the case. It has enabled us to read the nonsense of the Rigveda in our own language and to compare it with the inspired volume on which our own faith is founded. But this is no reason why the Directors of the East India Company should sacrifice the interest of India to this feeling. Dr. Wilson's great reputation does not exonerate them from exercising their own judgement. The two languages which have the least bearing on the future duties of the Civilian are the Sanscrit a dead language and the Persian an expelled one and these are the two languages to which the most strenuous efforts of the youths are directed."

Thus you will observe how narrow, how wretched, and how absurd are the sentiments of one of the first Editors of India who is deemed the organ of our Government and of the orthodox Christian community here.

But while I lament the decay of this divine parent tree of languages in the land of its nativity, I cannot but exult at the rapid growth and luxuriance of its scions which have but lately been transplanted in the countries of the Indo-Germanic nations who claim a cognate origin with the Hindus.

While every branch of human learning has been progressing in Europe with amazing celerity, Philology has kept pace with it—it has been advanced to the rank of a science and approximating to perfection. This is owing I believe materially though not wholly to the extensive study of the Sanscrit language. Prodigious is the labour and unremitting the zeal with which it is being cultivated in foreign lands, astonishing is the research which is being made to examine its exhaustless stores, various and important are the ends it has been applied to and surprising are the results which have

*I have found these letters in manuscript in the correspondence-volumes of Raja Radhakanta Deb, still preserved in his family library.—J. C. B.

been obtained. The philologist and the historian, the philosopher and the antiquarian, the man of science and the lover of fine arts are equally interested in gaining a mastery of this gigantic language.

My labours connected with the *Sabda Kalpa Druma* have at length after a course of 30 years come to a close. The 7th or concluding volume has just issued from the Press the last sheets whereof with a hasty preface and Title page, I have this day sent to the Steam office for transmission to you. A copious appendix now in the printer's hands will be at your service when ready. Though my heart expands with joy on the recovery of my freedom and at the prospect of my work being instrumental in facilitating the study of Sanscrit yet a deep feeling of melancholy steals in upon me on taking leave of an old and agreeable companion. The scholars of Europe and America have of late expressed a demand for it which I little anticipated and commended it on terms more eulogistic perhaps than its merits.

Among the rich presents of Sanscrit works which I have recently received from Europe I may mention the *Bhagavata Purana* of Eugene Burnouf and the *Rigveda* of Doctor Von Max Muller, the last of which I have had the honor of receiving through the Indian Government as a present from the Honorable the Court of Directors.

Our Pandits have been startled to hear that a foreigner whom they regard as a distant *Mleccha* has dared to undertake such a task as the publication of the Vedas and will now be lost in wonder and admiration to find that he has begun to execute it in such a finished and masterly manner. The Hindus cannot but be grateful to the learned German for his embarking on such an undertaking, to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for liberally supporting it and to Horace Hayman Wilson for his having induced them to patronise it.....

I hear with pleasure that your Translation of the *Rigveda* has lately issued from the Press. When I contemplate the works you have already published and read announcement of your various and arduous undertakings, I am astonished at the prodigious extent of your labours, the profundity of your researches and versatility of your genius. I devoutly wish that Providence may prolong the period of your existence for the consummation of all your wishes. I have read somewhere that you intend giving to the world a third edition of your dictionary with considerable additions and revisions—this is indeed a desideratum.

I have now scarcely any old friends or acquaintances among the Europeans here and therefore rarely move about among their circles. The men in power are fond of those young parvenues who have gained a name by giving a loose to the enjoyment of English cuisines and of liquid fire and distilled damnation. The Christian bigots have marked me out as the butt of their rancour and hostility for my rigid adherence to my principles.

Requesting you to tender my respectful compliments to Sir Herbert Maddock and Mr. C. H. Cameron and to convey my sentiments of esteem and regard to the illustrious editor of the *Rigveda* whose name मनु

मनुमूलर according to your Christening I believe sounds as euphonical in our ears as that of a Dravida Pandita—and hoping you are doing well with your family I remain, very sincerely yours
7th October, 1851.

Radhakanta Deb.

P.S.—The first three volumes of my work being out of print and the Bengalee character in which it is

printed being little known to the people of the western provinces, some of my up-country friends advise me to re-edit it in the Devanagara character. I am often induced to follow this advice and to commence a new edition on an enlarged and improved plan to meet the wants of the Scholars of Europe for whom my work was not originally intended but for the use of my countrymen. But as I am fast descending in the vale of years and weighed down as I am with a thousand worldly cares and a broken constitution it is too late for me to undertake the task. I would I think do well to bequeath it to anyone blessed with higher ability and the prospect of a long life. I am constantly advised by my friends and earnestly solicited by my family to give up the copyright of my work for an adequate pecuniary consideration. I shall be glad to avail myself of your advice on the subject. I have dropped a hint to the effect at the conclusion of the Preface to my work. I have seen in the 2nd volume of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* an analysis of a very small portion of my work by Dr. Lenz. Now that it is completed I should like to learn how it may be received by the Reviewers of Europe.

R.

II

To

Doctor Von Max Muller,
London.

Sir,

I have already placed at your service the first six volumes of my *Sabda Kalpa Druma*. The 7th or concluding volume having just issued from the Press I have consigned it to the care of Dr. Roer for transmission to you. I hope you will do me the honor of accepting it as a testimony not only of the respect I owe you in common with the public but my gratitude for the credit you have done me by the most obliging manner in which you have mentioned my name in your letter to the Doctor published in one of the Journals of our Asiatic Society. A copious appendix now in the printer's hand will shortly be ready for presentation.

When I ventured to assume the character of a Lexicographer my most ambitious wish was but to revive the study of Sanscrit in my own country where it has been on the decline. But I should not dissemble that love of fame stimulated my exertion through worldly tribulations where patience must have failed and perseverance wearied.

I have devoted the greatest portion of my life and no inconsiderable amount of labour and expense to the execution of the work and though as an Encyclopædist I have no claims to originality or to the merits of a genius yet I trust my industry and application will at least be applauded when I may be considered as an humble pioneer of Sanscrit learning.

I have endeavoured to obtain the approbation of those whose good opinion one cannot but be proud of nor is it an inconsiderable reward of labours that they have deserved the commendation of a Wilson and a Muller who have bought golden opinion by their profound scholarship in Sanscrit. The great and unceasing demand which is being made for my work from various parts of India and especially from Europe leads me to the pleasing conviction that it has begun not only to answer the object it was contemplated for but to facilitate the study of Sanscrit in foreign lands.

I have lately been honored by the Honorable the Court of Directors with the present of the first volume

of your noble and excellent edition of the Rigveda published under their patronage. Some time ago when I received your specimen copy of it which you had so politely desired Dr. Roer to send me I read it with eagerness and though I was obliged to return it sooner than I could have wished I saw enough to convince me that you would go far beyond all expectations. Your present publication has confirmed this opinion.

Arduous and novel as is the undertaking you have ventured on amidst a variety of disadvantages, the able and masterly manner in which you have begun to execute it displays your profound erudition, critical acumen and unparalleled industry of research. You stand forth an illustrious example of uncommon ardour and undaunted perseverance such as not to be cooled by discouragement or obstructed by difficulties. Your labours will furnish the Vedic pandits with a complete collection of the holy Sanhitas of the first Veda (only detached portions of which are to be found in the possession of a few of them), enable the student of antiquity "to snatch the veil that hung her face before," supply materials for the history of the ancient East, nay an ancient world and rear up for you "a monument more durable than brass."

It is only a very curious reflection on the vicissitudes of human affairs that the descendants of the

divine Rishis should be studying on the banks of the Bhagirathi, the Jamuna and the Sindhu, their holy scriptures published on the banks of the Thames by one whom they regard as a distant Mlechha—this Mlechha, the descendant of the degraded Kshatriyas according to our Sastras and claiming a cognate origin with the Hindus according to the investigation of the modern philologists will ere long rise to the rank of a Veda-Vyasa of the Kaliyuga.

Though our Sastra is deemed the grand primeval fountain from which the present storage of knowledge that run through the civilized countries, have taken their rise yet it has not been considered as defiled by receiving into it a foreign tributary. As Yavanacharya gave to the Hindus his system of Astronomy many centuries ago so the German Bhatta is now giving them his Edition of the Rigveda and will as he promises furnish them with commentaries upon it. Hoping your undertaking will be crowned with every success,

I remain,

With every sentiment of respect and esteem

Your most obedient servant,

15th November, 1851

Radhakanta Deb

THE GREAT TRIO

By BLOJOY LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

WHITMAN, Aldous Huxley and Browning—all of them are worshippers of life. A life-worshipper does not try to murder that part of his life which Bertrand Russell calls the life of the instinct. The claims of the senses are never denied by him nor does he deny the claims of the soul. He knows that truth is harmonious. About the moral philosophy of the life-worshipper Aldous Huxley writes :

"He does not select one single being from his colony of souls, call it his 'true self,' and try to murder all the other selves. Each self, he perceives, has as good a right to exist as all the others."

Why should a person refuse to respond to the demands of the senses? God Himself has endowed man with senses so that He might enjoy the beauty of His own creation through man. This world is not an illusion but a reality. It is the play-ground of the Eternal. He invites man to take part in the play, to seek unity with his creator through the manifold joys of creation, to meet him and stand by him in toil and in the sweat of one's brow. So the life-worshipper does not

attempt to crucify his flesh and seek deliverance in the lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut. The Poet sings :

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight."

Only a life-worshipper can sing in such language. Only a life-worshipper can write :

"No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight." (Rabindranath : *Gitanjali*).

So a life-worshipper will not try to kill his desires, he will not try to throttle his instincts. A life-worshipper, therefore, will say in the language of Huxley : "Chastity enforced against desire is unquiet and life-destroying." A man who would try to enhance the life of the spirit at the cost of the life of the instinct would generally invite disaster; for in the words of Edward Carpenter, "Nature in her slow evolutions does not generally countenance such high and mighty methods." The philosophy of a life-worshipper is thus expressed by Aldous Huxley :

"Indeed, any course of behaviour pursued to the exclusion of all the other possible courses open to a

normally diverse personality is obviously, according to our standards, immoral, because it limits and distorts the manifestations of life. In the eyes of the life-worshipper such exclusiveness is a sin." (*Do What You Will* by Aldous Huxley, page 228).

But we sin against life as much by excess of repression as by sensuality. The necessity of the perpetual maintenance of perfect health of body and mind demands that we should not run after the pleasure of the senses. And so Huxley, the life-worshipper, writes :

"No less life-destroying are the fulfilments of desires which imagination has artificially stimulated in the teeth of natural indifference."

Swinish promiscuity does not enhance life but diminishes it. Those who make gratification of desires the summum bonum of their lives end in finding no rest, no peace but only disappointment. Only an idiot can live such unlivable life of sensuality. So a life-worshipper has not much respect for the Don Juans. Huxley writes :

"Your Don Juans love from the head, artificially. They use their imagination to stimulate their desire, a self-conscious, unimpassioned, and so unjustified desire that humiliates, that diminishes, that 'sows sand, all over' those who thus call it into action."

A life-worshipper then agrees with the puritans like Tolstoy and Gandhi that Don Juanism, instead of being life-enhancing, is life-limiting and life-destroying but he does not see eye to eye with them regarding the necessity of crucifying the flesh.

Whitman is another life-worshipper. He does not believe in the necessity of crucifying the flesh to be spiritually strong. On the contrary he sings :

"I believe in the flesh and the appetites,
Seeing, hearing, feeling, are miracles, and each part
and tag of me is a miracle.
Divine am I inside and out, and I make holy
whatever I touch or am touch'd from,
The scent of these arm-pits aroma finer than prayer,
This head more than churches, bibles, and all the
creeds."

Edward Carpenter, Whitman's English disciple, expressed the same belief when he wrote :

"It must never be forgotten that the physical basis throughout life is of the first importance, and supplies the nutrition and foodstuff without which the higher powers cannot exist or at least manifest themselves. Intimacies founded on intellectual and moral affinities alone are seldom very deep and lasting; if the physical basis in any form is quite absent, the acquaintanceship is liable to die away again like an ill-rooted plant."

But in recognising the claims of the senses Whitman does not deny the demands of the soul. His ideal city is that "where speculations on

the soul are encouraged." He knows that chastity is good and in his poem 'Myself and Mine' he sings out :

"O I see life is not short, but immeasurably long,
I henceforth tread the world chaste, temperate, an
early riser, a steady grower."

In his poem 'Vocalism' he clearly states that chastity is a necessary virtue without which a man or a woman cannot possess the 'divine power to speak words.' He condemns 'adulterous unwholesome couple.' Prostitution he cannot tolerate as he cannot tolerate drunkenness. One of the characteristics of his ideal city is its 'cleanliness of the sexes.' He accepts the claims of both body and soul. Thus he sings, "The spirit receives from the body just as much as it gives to the body, if not more." We then find in the moral philosophy of both Whitman and Huxley the philosophy of worshipping life. A life-worshipper "will accept each of his selves, as it appears in his consciousness, as his momentarily true self." His attitude towards life is clearly expressed by these two lines of Whitman :

"My gait is no fault-finder's or rejecter's gait,
I moisten the roots of all that has grown."

Like Havelock Ellis, Whitman finds truth in the harmonious opposition and balance of forces. A true life-worshipper will thus sing in the language of Whitman :

"Facts, religions, improvements, politics, trades, are
as real as before,
But the soul is also real, it too is positive and direct,
No reasoning, no proof has establish'd it,
Undeniable growth has establish'd it."

To live intensely—that is the guiding principle of a life-worshipper. He does not pay too much attention to the future nor does he keep himself buried in the past. Huxley, in describing the mental attitude of a life-worshipper towards the present, past and future, boldly writes :

"The life-worshipper lives as far as possible in the present—in present time or present eternity."

Ellen Key rightly says :

"There is no hour—except the heaviest hours of sorrow—in which a human being cannot feel the strength and greatness of his soul."

Yes, beauty and grandeur are everywhere, only we have no eyes to see. Walt Whitman when he writes : "Happiness, knowledge, not in another place but this place, not for another hour but this hour,"—truly expresses the mental attitude of a life-worshipper. The following lines of his expresses the same sentiment :

"This minute that comes to me over the past
decillions,
There is no better than it and now."

The life-worshipper does not look to a distant future for finding the best. In the people nearest to him he finds 'the sweetest, strongest, lovingest.' Maeterlink when he wrote: "The smallest window cannot take away a line or a star from the immensity of heavenly space," only proved that he belonged to the tribe of Whitman, Browning and Huxley. Why are we unable to find beauty everywhere? Because our soul does not possess sufficient capacity for love; for beauty, after all, is the child of love. But why this lack of capacity? Because we are not keenly vigilant. Those outside our immediate circle of friends and relatives do not receive enough of our attention. That is why Maeterlink writes, "To learn to love, one must first learn to see." Yes, only a man who can see is capable of loving his fellowmen and he alone can create great works of art whose spirit can respond to the appeal of the souls of his brethren hovering about him for a caress. Only a great poet like Rabindranath could write a magnificent story like 'Kabuliwalla,' because his creative soul had the immense capacity for responding to the silent call of the Afghan. And that capacity came from his power to see behind the rough and rugged exterior the throbbing heart of an affectionate father. Maeterlink is only too true when he writes:

"We are there in life, man against man, soul against soul, and day and night are spent under arms. We never see each other, we never touch each other. We see nothing but bucklers and helmets, we touch nothing but iron and brass."

The life-worshipper has the eyes to see; therefore to him no man is too insignificant to make an appeal to his emotion and so he can feel at home everywhere—in the palace as well as in the cottage, in solitude as well as in the crowd. He does not pine for what is not. "Each moment and whatever happens thrills me with joy"—this beautiful line is taken from Whitman and it reflects the sentiment of a true life-worshipper.

Browning is another great poet with a robust soul and masculine temperament who has seen the manifestation of the Divine everywhere. When through the mouth of Pippa he sang:

"God's in his heaven
All's right with the world"

he only proved that he was a worshipper of life and not of death. Just like Whitman and Huxley he finds truth in harmony—a harmony built up of many elements. He believes in unity—the unity of body and soul. He knows that this unity is mutilated by the suppression of any part of the diversity. And so he sings in his famous poem 'Rabbi Ben Ezra':

Let us not always say,
"Spite of this flesh to-day
"I strove, made head, gained ground
upon the whole!"
As the bird wings and sings,
Let us cry "All good things
"Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more,
now, than flesh helps soul!"

It reminds us of Whitman's lines:

"I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
And I have said that the body is not more than the
soul,
And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's
self is."

Like the Jewish prophets of old he does not say 'vanity of vanities—all is vanity.' Only a death-worshipper can sing in that sickly tone. Browning, the ardent worshipper of life, sings: 'How good to live and learn.' He cries out,

"Perfect I call thy plan:
Thanks that I was a man!"

It reminds us of some lines of a poem in Rabindranath's 'Balaka' which are quoted below:

फिरेचि सेइ स्वर्गे शून्ये शून्ये
फाकिर फांका फानुस् ।

कत-ये युग-युगान्तरेर पुण्ये
जन्मेचि आज माटिर परे धूला-माटिर मानुष।

Like a balloon hollow and unreal
I have wandered in the void of that heaven.
Thrice blessed am I that I am born a man on
this earth made of clay.

Let us finish this article by quoting from Romain Rolland, another life-worshipper, the following lines which faithfully reflect the moral views of a true worshipper of life:

"In us a strength is not opposed to a weakness, a virtue to a vice; it is two forces confronting each other, two virtues, two duties. The sole true morality, according to the true life, would be a morality of harmony."



THE DRAVIDIANS OF AUSTRALIA

BY PROFESSOR P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

DIFFERENT opinions have been expressed about the origin of the Aborigines of Australia. One view has been that they are of an African stock and that some of their practices like sorcery, raising of cicatrices on the body, knocking out of teeth, circumcision, and certain marriage rules prove their Negro relationship. Another view has been that they came from Egypt; and Prof. Perry finds support for this view in some practices like the burial of the dead with all their belongings. But the more acceptable view seems to be that they are of a Dravidian stock that once occupied a vast Antarctic continent.

Many similarities have been noted by Dr. Klaatsch between the Australian Aborigines and people living in India and Africa. In physical features, Huxley says, "The Deccan tribes are indistinguishable from the Australian races." Australian canoes are similar to those of South India and the boomerang has been known to the people of the Deccan (one wonders if Rana Bana represented a boomerang). While the language of the Aborigines shows no affinity with the Polynesian group, Sir William Hunter and Bishop Caldwell note resemblances between the Australian and Dravidian languages. Grammatical relations are expressed by suffixes in both languages and they have both almost the same words for personal pronouns.

There is no doubt that it was in very primitive times that the Aborigines occupied Australia; and they remained isolated in the country for centuries together. It was probably because of this isolation that they did not make any progress in their thought or manner of life. They have developed no agriculture or industry; they live like nomads and eat mostly what they get by hunting. Of houses they have scarcely an idea, some living in caves and others on trees.

Their language is in a very primitive state. Rev. Theodor Webb has made an interesting translation of the Lord's Prayer into Kopapingo and it shows the difficulty of expressing many ideas in the Aborigine language. "Our Father who art in heaven" reads in translation:

"Yindi Wongine Bupa naparunggu wanga ngura garrawa ka nina."

Retranslated into English it means "Our one great father the place you rest in is heaven,

there you abide." To express the eternal nature of God a number of words have to be used, giving the meaning "You father like this before first, afterwards this world; you will be like this after this world finished."

The artistic sense of the Aborigines is also in an undeveloped state; but there are evidences showing that they did have a love of art. Many paintings have been discovered in caves. Rough sculptures and rock paintings are found in many places. Barks of trees are still used for painting and a Caledonian Bay Headman, Wonggu, was photographed by Mr. Charles Barret two years ago as he worked at his bark canvas with hair-made brushes. Painting is often used for decoration, especially of the body and of the weapons. A strange use to which painting is put by them is for decorating skulls. It is an interesting question as to how it is that one tribe alone of the Australian Aborigines practise this art which is found among certain other people like the Alps Tyrolese and the Red Indians.

The famous Aborigine song-dance Corroboree is another evidence of their love of art. The whole tribe turns out for this time-old enjoyment of the moonlit wilds. The dancers paint their faces and bodies according to certain established rules, decorate their heads with feathers, and dance to the accompaniment of oboes and gil-gil sticks. The Corroboree is an imitative dance. The Kangaroo Corroboree, for example, imitates the way of life of the Kangaroo; and the Funeral Corroboree imitates the activities of the dead man when he was alive. Modern events have also been represented in Corroboree. For example, incidents in the lives of the European explorers and travellers in Australia have been shaped into Corroboree. There has also come into being a dance-song called the Aeroplane Corroboree. These mimic dances remind one of Bharata-Natya and the Kathakali of Malabar, while the rising crescendo of the accompanying music has a resemblance to the Villadi of Tamil Nad.

The undeveloped nature of their language and art does not mean that the Aborigines are wanting in intellectual power. Dr. Warner says, "I think the Aborigine every bit as intelligent as

the white man ;" and other students of the Aborigines, like Prof. Porteus and Dr. Duguid hold the same opinion about their brain power. Miss Ernestine Hill says in her *Great Australian Loneliness* :

"To rank the Australian native as a moron and a gorilla man is to do him a very grave injustice. Deceived by a physiognomy sullen in repose, the protruding chin and the receding forehead of the ape, and those long tenuous fingers that are peculiarly helpless with the tools of our civilisation, the earlier ethnologists were hasty in their judgments. To look closer and with kindlier eyes is to discover that the Aboriginal is redeemed by the delicate sensitive ear of the true musician, a remarkable gift of languages, the sudden smile and the quiet, quick laughter of a very real sense of humour. Left far behind in the race of the ages, marooned on an island continent of sunny climate, he never bothered to build himself a house because he did not need it."

Modern civilisation finds him far behind the times; and it has not been healthy for him. He has been dying out, until it has been found necessary to set apart certain regions in Australia like Arnhem Land and some of the adjoining islands as Aborigine Reserves. It is known that about 4000 people occupy Arnhem Land, but the total Aborigine strength is not known since many tribes look with fierce disfavour on any outside attempt to get into their midst.

Being a primitive people living for centuries in isolation they have many customs and ways of life which look strange and peculiar to others. They go about naked. European attempts to dress them make scarecrows of them in battered felt hats, baggy trousers and rainbow-coloured shirts. Their ideas of matrimony are peculiar. Some of them marry many wives. Wonggu, the Caledonian Bay Chief, for example, has twenty-six wives and over sixty children. But the worst of their matrimonial practices is that very young children are married to very old people and passed on by turn to their younger brothers. Bishop Gsell of Bathurst has been during the last thirty years saving these baby brides from their terrible fate by buying them up and thus freeing them from their peculiar matrimonial bondage.

Cannibalism is of course their most repulsive practice. But at the present time it is practised only by a few, though many take in a little human flesh on account of their belief that if they do so the strength of the dead man will pass into them.

Desire for strength is naturally very strong in a primitive hunting people. Physically unfit babies, especially the weaker of twins are allowed to die. But babies are desired and their

birth is looked forward to. The expectant mother carries about with her a doll which she fondles and treats as a baby until the real baby comes.

As the child grows up it has to be initiated into manhood. And that is a long and elaborate process. Until a boy reaches his teens he moves about freely in the family. But as soon as the time arrives for his initiation he has to keep away from the womenfolk even of his own family. Then he begins to be instructed in the special words and signs of the tribe. He learns what skins are taboo to him, and what skins he may marry into. During the period of initiation there are very strict rules about food. At one stage in the initiation the upper incisor tooth is knocked out. Later still comes the circumcision. After that he is given the spears of manhood, and on his body are made the tribal cicatrices, or ridge-like projections "made by a jagged stone and raised into glistening ridges by padding the healing wound with ashes."

In the course of the initiation there is one rite which is of peculiar interest. It is the cleaning of the tongue. A knotted cord is drawn over the outstretched tongue, and the initiate promises never to use bad words, never to abuse elders and never to resort to idle chatter.

Once a youth has been initiated he can share in all the activities and discussions of the tribe. And these are many. For there are innumerable tribal laws and inter-tribal relations to be attended to. Some of these are of special interest.

When a member of the tribe is charged with some offence they have a custom of punishing him in a peculiar way. It is known as "growling," and consists in the throwing of spears at the offender, not to kill or injure but to make a demonstration. When the offence is more serious the attack will also be more serious.

When inter-tribal laws are broken, instead of "growling" there is "makkarata." Rev. Webb has given an interesting account of it thus :

"In the makkarata, the offending and the offended parties take up their positions about one hundred yards apart on an open plain. With these parties will be men of neutral hordes whose duty it is to prevent the occurrence of further hostile action. The chief offenders are then required to run back and forth across the arena facing the offended party the while. With the offenders will also run one or two other men from a neutral horde. As the culprits run, each man of the offended party steps out and casts his spears at them; which they are required to dodge or to turn aside, with the bundle of spears which they carry but must not throw. When each man has thrown as many spears as he desires the culprits, still accompanied by their neutral companions, make their way by pantomic dances to this party, the

leader of which then plunges his spear into the leg of the chief offender. By this act the offence is expiated, peace is restored, and hostilities on this particular count will not be re-opened."

There is one fertile source of hostilities. This is their belief that no one ever dies naturally. Except in the case of little children they consider all death as due to some enemy-practice which raises up some evil spirit who brings about the death. When anyone dies therefore, someone is held responsible for the witchcraft that has induced the death, and he must in his turn be punished with death.

The best known way in which death is brought about among the aborigines by witchcraft is by "bone-pointing." It is amazing how deeply they believe in this.

"An Australian aborigine can be bitten almost in halves by a crocodile, or visibly consumed by some wasting disease, or practically burnt to death, and not know about it, quite cheerfully recovering; but in prime of youth and fulness of strength, he cannot survive the curse of the death-bone. He believes that his heart is gone, or that a fire is eating at the entrails, or that his blood is seeping away. Listlessly and hopelessly, he sits under a tree, and in a matter of days obligingly dies."

Mr. Charles Barrett says that

"Within recent years there have been several authenticated instances of death as a result of bone-pointing."

Usually it is a bone of the arm that is used for this purpose. A medicine man takes it up, ties some human hair to one end of it, and sings

"over it some time-old incantation. The meaning of many of these "songs" are not known. But some of them have been translated thus :

"May your head be split in halves and your brain scattered; may your throat be slit to the ears."

After the bone is "sung" over, it is buried for some time. Then it is dug up and at a convenient time pointed at the victim secretly. He will however be made to know of it somehow; and once he knows of it he is doomed.

When dead the aborigines dispose of the dead in various ways. Some have them deposited in caves. Others have tree burial—the dead bodies being left on platforms made among branches of trees. The bones of the dead are collected later, and to make this convenient the dead bodies are buried face downwards. The collected bones are painted over, and carried about by the oldest female of the family. Years later they are broken up and deposited in hollow posts decorated with paintings of totems and called dupuns.

The Australian aborigines have no idea of a heaven or hell after death. They believe that the spirit of the dead goes back into the region of spirits and waits there for an opportunity to be born again. This rebirth may be in the form of another human being or of an animal or of a plant. One wonders if this is another link in the Australian Aborigines' connection with India.

GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF VIOLENCE

By K. K. SEN GUPTA, M.A., B.Sc. (Calcutta),
B.Sc. Mining, M.Sc. (Birmingham), F.G.M.S.

IN the midst of this world war, in the din of clash of arms and struggle for power and existence, an examination of the plea for non-violence from the geological point of view is not only opportune but highly necessary. In all the ages of geological history including those of human history, violence has been the predominant factor masking everything else.

After rolling on for millions and millions of years with a varied succession of physical and climatic phases, was signalled the first appearance of life or organism on our planet which has continued to roll on as before till this day.

Higher organisms such as animals and plants followed in its wake and they appeared and disappeared in a kaleidoscopic succession culminating in the Advent of Man on the scene. Although lingula, discina, and crania have survived from the very early times down to the recent through vicissitudes of climatic, physical, and other conditions, the rest have suffered extraordinary changes in the process of evolution. This evolution, according to Charles Darwin, has been brought about by several factors.

Although one may not agree fully with his

conclusions as given in his *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man*, some extracts from those two classical works may not be out of place. In his *Origin of Species* he says :

"Authors of the highest eminence seem to be fully satisfied with the view that each species has been independently created. To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual. When I view all beings not as special creations, but as lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Cambrian system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled. Judging from the past, we may safely infer that not one living species will transmit its unaltered likeness to a distinct futurity. And of the species now living very few will transmit progeny of any kind to a far distant futurity; for the manner in which all organic beings are grouped, shows that the greater number of species in each genus, and all the species in many genera, have left no descendants, but have become utterly extinct.

"We can so far take a prophetic glance into futurity as to foretell that it will be the common and widely-spread species, belonging to the larger and dominant species. As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Cambrian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of great length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection.

"It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws taken in the largest sense, being Growth with Reproduction; Inheritance which is almost implied by reproduction; Variability from the indirect and direct action of the conditions of life, and from use and disuse; a Ratio of Increase so high as to lead to a struggle for life, and as a consequence to Natural Selection, entailing Divergence of Character and the extinction of less improved forms. Thus from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being evolved."

Again, in his *Descent of Man* he says :

"The main conclusion arrived at in this work, namely, that man is descended from some lowly organised form, will, I regret to think, be highly distasteful to many persons. But there can hardly be a doubt that

we are descended from barbarians. The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind—such were our ancestors. These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled and distrustful. They possessed hardly any arts, and like wild animals lived on what they could catch; they had no government, and were merciless to every one not of their own small tribe. He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame, if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some more humble creature flows in his veins. For my own part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper; or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs—as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions.

"Man may be excused for feeling some pride at having risen, though not through his own exertions, to the very summit of the organic scale; and the fact of his having thus risen, instead of having been aboriginally placed there, may give him hopes for a still higher destiny in the distant future.

"But we are not here concerned with hopes or fears, only with the truth as far as our reason allows us to discover it. I have given the evidence to the best of my ability; and we must acknowledge, as it seems to me, that man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the Solar System—with all these exalted powers—Man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin."

Man has appeared on the scene only very lately and no prediction is possible as to when and how he will disappear from the face of this planet nor any prediction possible as to the animal or organism that will take his place. But disappear he must like most of the animals and plants before him.

Adaptation to environments is limited by the degree of intelligence or by inherited characters and instinct and the limitation to adaptation under sudden change in the environments. Such as a sudden change in the climatic conditions or a sudden change in the geological conditions may lead to extinction. No amount of power of speech as envisaged by H. G. Wells' can possibly counteract the adverse forces of nature.

The advent of man is not the culmination of evolutionary creation—it is but a link in the chain. Without strife and struggle the trend of evolution would have stagnated and finally languished. Peace and happiness lead to

stagnation and death, whereas unhappiness leads to struggle and evolution. What the value of such an evolution is and what it points to it is not possible to say. Now, since the environments are stabilized over a long period in the historic sense, only the struggle for existence as a factor is left to lead to evolution. That Might is Right has been the eternal principle. Honesty, justice, faith, and righteousness are ruled out entirely. If war ceases, evolution also ceases. This very truth is not universally known and thus we hear of Non-violence, World Federation, New World Order, Internationalism, League of Nations, International peace and brotherhood of humanity, and some such fantastic theories and doctrines. Mr. Gandhi wants undiluted and unadulterated non-violence, Mr. H. G. Wells in his book *Mighty King* wants a world federation with power to distribute among all nations, freely and equitably, a strategic mineral found in one country only, such as his hypothetical "calcomite," Mr. D. N. Wadia, a geologist, on whom the significance of the teaching of geology seems to have been lost harps on a theory of international directorate of scientists and others to govern the countries of the world, and Mr. Arthur Moore wants to rely on his revelation which he expounded in his lecture on "The Federal Idea in Wartime." Not only does Mr. Arthur Moore want to rely on his revelation himself, but he wants to impress it on others as absolute truth: He wants the aggressor nations to be completely wiped out of the face of the earth leaving the peaceful peoples victorious. Even the Archbishop of York, Dr. W. Temple, now the Archbishop of Canterbury, a divine, forgetting his own mission in life, talks of federalism by force of arms. Says Mr. H. G. Wells:

"Manifestly if there is to be any peace on earth henceforth, there must be a Federal control of the air and of the material of international transport. Next we have to rescue our planet from devastation by ruthless political and mercenary appropriation, and that we can do by adopting Mr. Gifford Pinchot's project for the Federal Conservation of World Resources. Thirdly, we have to impose as a fundamental law upon earth

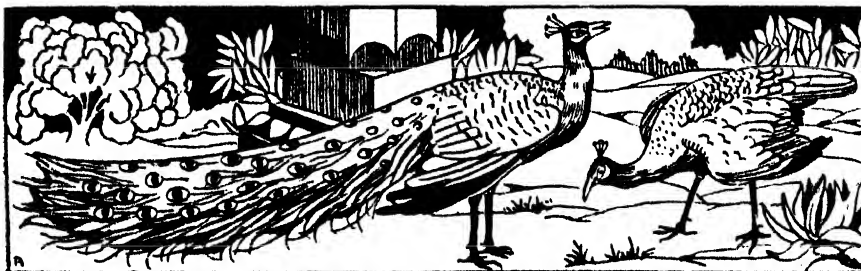
a plain Declaration of Human Rights that will ensure for every man a fair participation in these resources and a sense of responsible ownership in our planet."

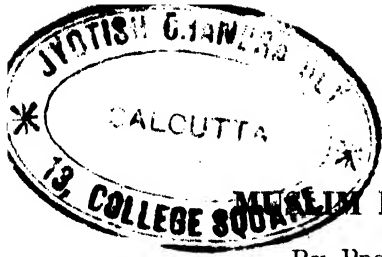
Revelations such as those of Mr. Arthur Moore however, have a way of their own to play tricks. The very same victory could only be won by using the same methods as followed by the aggressors and not by peaceful and non-violent means. The (?) peaceful victorious will in time have differences and sharp cleavages leading to envy and jealousy, and ultimately to war just as it happened in all the historic and pre-historic ages. Friends of yesterday become enemies of today and *vice versa* and this applies equally to individuals and nations. If the past is an indication of the future we can look to the future in its proper perspective and setting and be prepared for greater strife and struggle.

The following extract from Spurr (*Political and Commercial Geology*) endorses the above views:

"The treasures of commercially valuable ore-deposits have been hid by nature whimsically throughout the earth, here and there, by no rule of geography of latitude, and with a great disregard of equality. A nation's needs or desires for mineral wealth have no stated relation to its actual mineral possessions; what it needs is often in the territory of another nation which does not need it. Commerce is thus born, and the nation which must have the metal or ore in question backs up its commerce and helps it to fasten its claims for permanent control of the deposits in question, by legislation, by diplomacy, and, if need be, by war. In the case of war, the metallic prize falls to the strongest—usually the nation which before, through its necessities, exercised only commercial control, but which, as the result of the trial of strength, now frankly asserts its sovereignty."

There cannot, therefore, be any war to end all wars. The Struggle for Existence will go on as long as the planet goes on rolling or as long as it is in a condition to support life. We, humans, will be extinct someday and our successors will perhaps study our bones and fossils in their (?) museums and place us under genera and species not very complimentary and flattering to us just in the same way as we name our own extinct predecessors.





MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

By PROF. DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

It is well-known that the Muslim rulers of India were great patrons of learning and fine arts. But the fact that many of them liberally patronised Sanskritic learning and culture as well, is not generally known. Their courts were adorned with many Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, the chroniclers of the time, including the patrons themselves, are quite silent about them. Many valuable records of the scholarly achievements of these scholars and poets are irreparably lost to us, and the surviving literature also is available only in manuscripts scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences, many Muslim rulers of India were prone to extend their best supports to the development of Hindu culture and civilisation. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India. That is why it is essential for us to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Moslem rule in India.

Of the Mahomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are Shahbuddin, Nizam Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar, Shah Jehan, Muddafar Shah, Malla Shah, and others. Some of the poets patronised by them are Bhanukara, Akbariya-Kalidasa, Jagannatha Panditaraja, Harinarayana Misra, Pundarika Vitthala, Amrtadatta and so on. Amongst these, the first three, patronised by Nizam Shah, Akbar and Shah Jehan respectively deserve first mention. Short accounts of the lives and literary activities of these three poets are given below.

BHANUKARA

Of the above three, Bhanukara is not only the earliest, but seems to be the most celebrated as well.

About 180 verses of Bhanukara are preserved in the anthology called Padya-racana by Lakshmana Bhatta. Many more verses, besides

these are found in some unpublished anthologies like Sabhyalamkarana, Padyamrta-tarangini and so on.

Life and Date :—The evidence of the anthologies is in support of the identity of Bhanukara and Bhanudatta, author of the Gita-Gaurisa and its commentary, Kavya-dipika, Rasa-manjari with commentary, and Rasa-tarangini, which are available in print, and also of the Kumara-bhargaviya, Alamkara-tilaka, and Srngara-dipika, which are as yet unpublished. His father's name was Ganapati. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about his mother, early life, etc.* Bhanudatta gives his own genealogy in his Kumara-bhargaviya which is quite in agreement with the evidence furnished by the Panjis of Mithila, except in one or two minor points.

* Bhanukara flourished during the first half of the 16th century A.D.

Patrons of Bhanukara :—Bhanukara was liberally patronised by Nizam Shah and Sher Shah. Nine of his verses, devoted to the eulogy of the former, are preserved in anthologies and one in Rasa-manjari. He must have composed many more verses in praise of Nizam Shah which are now lost to us.

He appears to have had the greatest admiration for, and to have been most grateful to, Nizam Shah as of the extant verses as many as nine are devoted to his eulogy. In a verse devoted to the description of the physical charm of the Nizam,¹ the poet fancies that the eye of the lovely-browed one, unable to distinguish between Kama and Nizam, approaches the ear for its help in the matter. In another,² he declares that the beautiful foot of the Nizam was made by the Creator for being placed upon the head of the wife of his enemy; the parting line of the hair, the vermilion-dust and the Kundas on the head represent the foot of the Nizam with shooting rays and beautiful nails. In one verse³ he praises Nizam Shah for making magnificent gifts. In order to keep a record of his gifts, Brahma used the Mandakani as a piece of chalk and drew a long line on the floor

1. Padya-racana, 17, 6.

2. Padya-racana, 16, 4.

3. Padya-veni, MS., v. 100.

of his house Puskara. Brahma was on the lookout for another person at least who would be Nizam's rival in the award of gifts. As he could not find any, he put a dot by the side of that line which is nothing but the moon.

In one verse Bhanukara gives a glorious description of the march of Nizam Shah for conquest.⁴ When he marches out, the earth faints away under the pressure of, and on account of the physical torture caused by, the hoofs of horses. Therefore, the sea, terribly perturbed and agitated in roaring waves, sprinkles water on her. The Lady presiding over the quarters flutters the flag, generating violent wind; and the dust-storm dashes towards the sky in order to ask the divine physician Asvina about the remedy for recovery from swoon.

In the verse on the sword of the Nizam,⁵ the king is highly praised for his military skill. His sword is so handled that it instantaneously kills innumerable mighty elephants of his enemies who are consequently vanquished in a moment.

In the verse⁶ devoted to the victory of the Nizam in battle, the poet says that when the Nizam casts his look at his enemies, they all break atwain; even the sun high above begins to tremble and in order to save his own skin has recourse to the banner of the all-conquering Nizam.

In the verse on the flag of the Nizam⁷ the poet's fancy takes a lofty flight. He assumes that the flag of the Nizam is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. Similarly, on the verse on the prowess of the Nizam,⁸ on account of the excessive heat of the king's prowess, the gold all over the universe, even of the Sumeru, melts; as a consequence, the stairs of Indra's palace situated on it fall down, even the sun sinks within the melting gold again and again and the women there are terribly terrified.

In one verse⁹ Bhanukara describes the world-wide fame of his patron. Brahma is en-

gaged in making verses on the glorious deeds of the Nizam with the help of a chalk. The long syllables in the verse are represented by the curved lines representing the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~disc~~ ^{disc}, the conch, the jasmine and swan and the short ones by the lotus fibre, the snake, the Mandakini and the tusks of an elephant.

Unfortunately, only one verse of the poet in praise of Sher Shah¹⁰ is left to us. Here, he says that it matters little to a poet of his standing who has to his credit innumerable verses if in a verse, or one half of it, the fastidious manage to find some fault or other just as it matters little to Sher Shah if out of crores of horses vying in motion with wind, some five or six happen to be lame or one-eyed.

That Bhanukara or Bhanuchandra Misra was a poet of high order can by no means be doubted. Further, that his merits were highly appreciated is manifest from the evidence furnished by the authors of the anthologies composed after the 16th century A.D. This extreme popularity enjoyed by him is due to the depth of his thought and his keen analytic power. He was a great rhetorician and so naturally his writings are very rich from the rhetorical point of view. He has dealt with various subjects, and most of them are indeed very attractive.

AKBARIYA-KALIDASA

Akbariya-Kalidasa was undoubtedly one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of his time. The name of the poet shows that this Kalidasa of the 16th century A.D. was a great favourite of Akbar. Nothing about his parentage is, however, known. In his verses he praises several kings, who probably extended their patronage to him in some form or other, though he expressly acknowledges the patronage of Akbar by assuming a name after him. In one of his verses,¹¹ he describes Akbar as an outstanding ruler who possesses the might of a lion. The Emperor, he says, is so powerful that he extirpates all his enemies instantaneously and terrifies even the king of Ceylon.¹² In another verse,¹³ his sword is beautifully compared with various objects.

4. Padyamrta-tarangini, MS., v. 91; Padya-veni, MS., v. 133; Rasika-jivana, MS., fol. 18.

5. Padyamrta-tarangini, 85, Sukti-sundara, v. 134.

6. Padya-veni, MS., v. 132.

7. Padyamrta-tarangini, MS., v. 84; Sukti-sundara, MS., v. 143 and Padya-veni, v. 131.

8. Padya-veni, MS., v. 69 and Sukti-sundara, MS., v. 105; Rasika-jivana, MS., No. 140 (Kavya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 13.

9. Rasika-jivana, MS., No. 140 (Kavya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 15; Padya-racana, 10, 8.

10. Subhasita-haravati, v. 468.

11. Padya-veni, No. 53.

12. Padyamrta-tarangini, 97; Sukti-sundara 158.

13. Padyamrta-tarangini, 89; Padya-veni 138; Rasika-jivana, fol. 14a, 29; Padya-racana, 20, 27.

Akbariya-Kalidasa was proud of his achievements as is manifest from one of his verses preserved in the unpublished MS. of the Padya-veni.¹⁴ He did not belong to any particular religious sect. In his verses, he pays homage to Siva, Sakti as well as Visnu.

The verses of Akbariya-Kalidasa are inspiring and really enjoyable. Almost every one of them is adorned with rhetorical embellishments. His style is sweet, and his writings are admirably free from any trace of vagueness. The style of Akbariya-Kalidasa reminds one of the excellent style of his illustrious predecessor whose name he bears.

JAGANNATHA PANDITARAJA

Life and Date :—Jagannatha was the son of Perubhatta or Peramabhatta and Laksmi of the village Mungundu in the Godavari district. He was a Tailanga Brahmin. His father and Sesa Viresvara were his teachers. As he defeated a Kazi in a debate on the Islam, he drew the favourable attention of the Moghul Emperor Jehangir. The tradition is that Jagannatha fell violently in love with a Muslim girl called Lavangi whom he subsequently married. Many of Jagannatha's verses, devoted to her praise, testify to this.

Jagannatha himself states in his Asaf-vilasa, a work devoted to the eulogy of Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jehan, that he got his title Panditaraja from his patron Emperor Shah Jehan. Jagannatha's verse 'Dillisvaro va Jagadisvara va'¹⁵ declaring that only two lords, one of Delhi and the other of the whole universe, are to be approached for help, others being worthless from the point of view of patronage, probably refers to Shah Jehan during whose reign he passed the longest period of his life in the court of Delhi. Jagannatha left the court of Delhi in 1659 in sheer disgust after the murder of Dara Shikoh, the stalwart patron of Sanskrit learning. He then went to Benares where he was severely reprimanded by Appaya Diksita, probably for marrying a Muslim girl. Jagannatha and Appaya Diksita were strong rivals. Jagannatha severely criticised Appaya in his work called Citra-mimansa-khandana. So this insult heaped on Jagannatha by Appaya was nothing unexpected. Still Jagannatha took it so terribly to heart that he is said to have com-

mitted suicide along with his beloved wife Lavangi in the holy water of the Ganges. This incident must have taken place some time after his leaving the court of Delhi. He says in his Santa-vilasa that after leaving the court of Delhi, he resided at Muttra.

Jagannatha was most probably born in the second half of the 16th century A.D. There is evidence to show that his literary activities continued till at least a few years after the murder of Dara Shikoh.

Works :—A survey of the writings of Jagannatha Panditaraja at once shows that he wrote on various subjects, such as : Stotras of Visnu, Laksmi, Ganga and Yamuna; Panegyrics of Prananaarayana of Kamarupa, Jagatsimha or Dara Shikoh and Asaf; Sanskrit Grammar, such as, Praudha-manorama-kuca-mardini. Sanskrit rhetorical literature, e.g., the Rasa-Gangadhara, a commentary on the Kavya-prakasa and Citra-mimansa-khandana.

Jagannatha Panditaraja is undoubtedly one of the greatest rhetoricians in Sanskrit. If he could have completed the Rasa-Gangadhara, he probably would have eclipsed the glory of all the rhetoricians of India. It is only unfortunate that such an outstanding personality would have faced such a sad end of life. He was also a great poet as well as a good prose-writer. It may be taken for granted that his Kavya-prakasa-tika bears the same stamp of rhetorical perfection as does the Rasa-Gangadhara. It is a great pity, such an important work should still be known in name only. We implore to the authorities of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir and Jammu, to undertake the publication of this work at their earliest opportunity. It may also be presumed that the work of our Panditaraja on Sanskrit Grammar, the Manorama-kuca-mardana, is also a work of outstanding merit. Trained in the same school as that of Bhattoji Diksita and probably, his contemporary too—in any case, a direct disciple of the son of Sesakrsna, Bhattoji's Guru—Jagannatha Panditaraja was eminently fitted for the work.* Jagannatha's panegyrics of the then kings of India and hymns on various Deities are also quite upto the standard of the author of the Rasa-Gangadhara.

It may be added in conclusion that not only many scholars secured ungrudging patronage from several Muslim rulers but some of the rulers themselves, such as Shaista Khan and also not a few of their co-religionists, contributed, during their reigns, to Indian literature in general, and Sanskrit and Bengali in particular.

14. Padya-veni, 786.

15. दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।

अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्याल्लवनाय वा स्यत् ॥



IS IT NOT INFLATION ?

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

WHAT is the real cause of the present steady rise in prices? Is it the result of inflation? Prof. Malhotra of the Punjab University has attempted to answer this question in his article, 'Inflation, War Finance and Price Control.' He inclines to the view that there has not been any inflation as yet, but only an inflationary situation has been created. He has admitted that there has been a large increase in the total amount of note issue—Rs. 179 crores in August 1939 to Rs. 380 crores in February 1942—but in his opinion,

"Since it is mostly the consequence of the heavy demand for commodities and a rise in their prices, it cannot be described as inflationary."

Prof. Malhotra seems to think that the present rise in prices is associated with an increasing aggregate real income, and therefore the large increase in the total volume of note issue cannot be called inflationary. But does his view conform to the actual state of affairs in India? Is India tending towards a state of full employment as Prof. Malhotra thinks?

In India, out of a total of 97 million earners, 48 millions are cultivators and 25 millions are agricultural labourers. The main sources of money incomes of these people are roughly four, viz., jute, cotton, oil seeds and raw hides and skins. A glance at the following table of Index Numbers will show that the prices of all these commodities have remained practically stationary since 1939, but the prices of commodities of everyday necessity have steadily gone up. The income of the cultivators have not increased at all, while their expenditures have been increasing by leaps and bounds.

INDEX NUMBER OF WHOLESALE PRICES IN CALCUTTA

Base : July, 1914=100

	Cereals	Pulse	Sugar	Tea	Other Food Articles	Oil Seeds
1939	86	99	164	142	125	106
1940	99	101	157	149	146	106
1941	112	105	145	202	178	103
1942, March	115	127	177	222	213	100

	Raw Jute	Raw Cotton	Cotton Manufactures	Hides and Skins	Other Raw and Manufactured Articles
1939	80	75	106	67	95
1940	79	87	122	72	115
1941	77	77	179	74	126
1942, March	70	70	190	86	140

In January 1942, as compared to January 1941, cotton export has fallen by 88% in volume and 90% in value; jute fell by 27% in volume although in value it rose by a nominal amount of 4%; oil seeds fell by 48% in volume and 34% in value; raw cowhides fell by 8% in volume and 9% in value; raw goat skins fell by 30% in volume although it rose by a small amount of 7% in value. These have been India's staple commodities of export. No alternative market for them has yet been found to replace the lost market in the continent. Consumption of cotton in Indian mills has not increased to any appreciable extent as will be seen from the following Index Numbers :

INDIAN COTTON CONSUMPTION INDEX

Base : 1935=100

1938-39	..	120.4
1939-40	..	114.3
1940-41	..	128.2
1942, Jan.	..	161.2
1942, Feb.	..	157.5
1942, March	..	149.5

Consumption of the other three commodities also remains practically what it was before.

If this be the condition of nearly 75% of India's total number of earners, whose purchasing power has increased?

Index Number of Indian industrial activity shows that Prof. Malhotra's idea about the tendency towards a state of full employment is also erroneous. The increase in industrial activity has risen barely by 19 points as compared to 1935, which most certainly does not indicate anything like a movement towards a state of full employment. This index covers the following industries and trades and may therefore be accepted as fairly representative :— Cotton, jute, steel, pig-iron, cement, paper, coal,

rail- and river-borne trade, exports, imports and shipping.

INDEX OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

Base : 1935

1938-39	111.1
1939-40	114.0
1940-41	117.3
1942, March	118.9

The conditions of wage-earners and persons with fixed income are no better. Wages have barely increased by 6 to 10 per cent; but cost of living has increased by a far higher amount. The following table will illustrate it :

WORKING CLASS COST OF LIVING INDEX

	Feb., 1942	Feb., 1941
Bombay (Base : June, 1934=100) ..	135	119
Patna (Base : Average cost of living for 5 years preceding 1914=100) ..	141	121
Jamshedpore (Base : Average cost of living for 5 years preceding 1914=100) ..	138	116
Jharia (Base : Average cost of living for 5 years preceding 1914=100) ..	144	124
Ranchi (Base : Average cost of living for 5 years preceding 1914=100) ..	141	108
Madras (Base : Year ending June, 1936=100) ..	115	108
Cawnpore (Base : August, 1939=100) ..	144	108

Middle class persons with fixed incomes have been equally bad sufferers. Their incomes have almost everywhere remained stationary. In consequence of Government interference with trade under the Defence of India Rules, small traders who number nearly 7 millions, have also stood to lose and their incomes have become very unstable.

Index Number of retail trades are not prepared in India. If that were possible, the real increase in the cost of living of the people—cultivators, wage-earners, persons with fixed incomes alike—might have been gauged. It is useless to deny that a disparity of as much as 20% would have been revealed between the wholesale and retail prices of almost every commodity of everyday consumption, foodstuff and fuel included.

An attempt to locate the extra two hundred crores of rupees in notes in circulation will reveal at least the bulk of its accumulation in the hands of persons employed in war production, war supply and war contract. Army recruitment and employment of labourers on aerodrome or road construction and similar military works

have also led to an increase in the purchasing power of only a section of the people. But the most significant fact is that a very large proportion of the extra amount of notes has been concentrated in the hands of a comparatively few big producers and suppliers. They are no longer dependent on the society for financing their business through the banks. They now have plenty of money and are in a position to risk it by indulging in large speculations and cornering operations with articles of everyday consumption in order to force prices up. In the case of sugar and rice it has become so clear that no further explanation should be necessary. In spite of the Government of India's press note that the stock and production of sugar during the current season should be sufficient to meet the normal requirements of the year, the appointment of sugar controller and the fixation of prices, there is a sugar famine in the country; and whatever commodity is available it sells at a price higher than that fixed by the Government. The rise in the price of rice may also be traced to speculation and cornering.

The producers and traders, at least most of them at the present moment, no longer depend on the consuming public for the supply of their working capital for industry and trade through the banks. They are investing and re-investing their own money lying with their bankers, which has practically formed a pool for them. Speculative and cornering middlemen stand enormously strengthened and form now the main link between the producer and consumer. This has been possible only through an inflation of currency inevitably leading to its concentration in a few hands. The apparent boom-like activity is in the war section of the society and not on its civil side. The boom is essentially speculative, and not a genuine trade boom. There has been very little increase in reproductive capital promoting the real aggregate income of the people. Increase in money has been more than proportionate to the accompanying increase in production. Agricultural production has decreased. Industrial production also has not increased proportionately as revealed by the Business Activity Index.

There is no doubt that the greater part in the rise in prices in India is the result of inflation. In a country of all notes and token coins we must rely upon an analysis of Index Numbers for the detection of inflation.



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

THE WISDOM OF A MODERN RISHI—BEING A SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE—WITH AN ADDRESS ON *Rishi Ranade* by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Edited by T. N. Jagadisan. Published by Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., 292, The Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 175. Price Re. 1-8 only.

In this selection from the writings and speeches of Ranade, an attempt has been made, as the Editor points out in his preface, "to make available in a handy form some of the imperishable wisdom of this modern *Rishi*". And few will deny the right of Ranade to be considered a *rishi*. Ranade had a clear comprehension of the present social, political and cultural condition of India; he had a remarkably accurate grasp of its past; and he was not without a healthy and hopeful vision of its future. If a *rishi* means one who has a knowledge of the past, the present and the future, then so far as India is concerned, Ranade was certainly a *rishi*.

His comprehension of facts, coupled with a robust faith in the goodness of divine dispensation, enabled him to see all things in their true perspective. In all things he saw a divine purpose being fulfilled. In Muslim rule which lasted in India for over a thousand years, he similarly saw the realisation of a great end. "It cannot be easily assumed" says he, "that in God's providence, such vast multitudes as those who inhabit India were placed for centuries together under influences and restraints of alien domination unless such influences and restraints were calculated to do lasting service in the building up of the strength and character of the people in directions in which the Indian races were most deficient" (p. 7). This is generous enough to Muslim rule; but we have more: he goes on to say that in hundred ways "the Mohamedan domination helped to refine the tastes and manners of the Hindus" (p. 11). And the one lesson that he draws from the past is that "unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together and are determined to follow the lead of the men who flourished in Akbar's time," no progress is possible for India (p. 14).

One of the most dominant idea in his mind was that Hindu society needed reform. And he was never tired of repeating this thesis from all available platforms. There were and still are men in Hindu society who honestly believe and openly profess that the good old times should be revived. Ranade stoutly opposed this cult of revivalism. "What shall we revive?" he asks. "Shall we revive the old habits of our people when the most sacred of our castes indulged in all the abominations, as we now understand them, of animal food and intoxicating drink which exhausted every sec-

tion of our country's Zoology and Botany?" (p. 48). It required no small courage to say this more than a quarter of a century ago. Revival, according to him, was impossible—"as impossible as mass conversion to other faiths" (p. 55).

It is vain to attempt to summarise all that he felt, thought and spoke for the well-being of his fellow-creatures and the good of his country. He was a patriot, a thinker, a reformer and, above all, a seer. And in the present turmoil of the times when India is rent asunder between communism and *sanatanism*, revivalism and irreligionism, and many other understood and un-understood 'isms,' the thoughts of such men as Ranade ought to be a path-finder. And one feels inclined to exclaim after Wordsworth: 'Ranade, thou shouldst be living at this hour! India hath need of thee.'

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS: By Dr. Bhagavan Das, D.Litt. Published by the Kashi Vidya-pitha, Benares. 1939. Pp. lv+683. Available at the Indian Book Shop, Benares City. Price Rs. 2-8 post free.

For nearly half a century, the learned author has been serving the cause of Comparative Religion and his books have been eagerly read and translated not only in India and in the English-speaking world, but I have seen editions of them in French, Spanish, Dutch and some other European languages. The volume under review will long serve as the model of a Layman's Guide into the spiritual Treasure-house of mankind; and just when a succession of savage wars is about to destroy all faith in human unity, Dr. Bhagavan Das applies as it were a spiritual balm to the diseased nations in the form of his "Essential Unity of All Religions." His learning is prodigious, and his outlook is universal; so we not only get from him a tract of hurried generalisations (which mar the value of so many "mission"-texts), but an encyclopædic survey of the historical Religions of the World. In his opening chapter, he gives an incisive study on "Religious Science and Scientific Religion" which supplies the philosophical basis of the whole work. Then follows the discussions with opposite citations from authoritative texts, on the threefold paths (*prasthana-traya*) of *jnana* (knowledge), *bhakti* (devotion) and *karma* (works). He concludes the book with the chapter showing "the one way to Peace on Earth and Goodwill among Men." When we handle this volume we feel as if we are in a huge library; and the usefulness of the book has been enhanced considerably by the exhaustive general index and two separate indices of Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian words. The book of Dr. Bhagavan Das should be in every library worth the

name and we are sure that it will ultimately help in the triumph of Religion and Unity of Man as against the disruptive Nihilism of this materialistic age, already paying a heavy penalty in "tears, sweat and blood." Dr. Bhagavan Das has already given us valuable books on the Science of Self, on the Science of Emotions and others; the present work appears to be his supreme contribution to the Science of Peace.

KALIDAS NAG

THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND AFTER : *By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, University of Madras. 1941. Pp. 91. Price Rs. 3.*

This book has grown out of the lectures which Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan delivered at the University of Madras in February and March, 1941, as the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lecturer. Sir Shafaat, who is at present the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, is a well-known academic and political figure in this country. He was a member of the Round Table Conferences which met in London in the early thirties and as such he had ample opportunity of studying at first hand and from day to day the background of thinking of diverse political groups and leaders of this country. Some of the ideas and experiences which he acquired in this capacity were embodied in a former work of the author, *e.g.*, *Indian Federation*.

The lectures under review are not a commentary on the different aspects of the new constitution which is embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. The author in fact does not refer much to the provisions of the Act either by way of explaining them or by way of criticising them in respect of their working during the first two or three years. The author looks into the future and with copy of the Government of India Act, 1935 before him suggests different alternative lines along which the fundamental laws of future Indian administration may be framed. The merit of the work consists in the fact that it is mainly exploratory in character. He does not pick up one principle of government and advocate its adoption by the Indian people. He studies different principles in respect of some particular aspects of governmental organisation in this country and submits the results, as he would like to say, as a rapporteur.

Sir Shafaat has tried to maintain an academic detachment in these lectures but, as it is very natural, in regard to certain matters it is the politician who has spoken and the detachment has been overwhelmed to that extent. He has for instance pointed out that "a confederation is a mosaic state and falls to pieces at the slightest opposition" (p. 13). But all the same towards the close of his lectures he says, "The only suggestion which I can make here is that in the new scheme the old conception of federation must be radically changed and the new federation must be transformed into a confederation....." (p. 90). In a previous lecture (p. 37) however, it seemed that he was in favour of an All-India federation with all the provinces and Indian states as its units. He only appeared to demand that the powers of the provinces should be increased and their jurisdiction widened. To this end he suggested that List 111 of the Legislative lists should be overhauled. But at the end of the book as it has just been pointed out, he seems to have changed his mind. In other words, owing to his divided loyalties, he finds his position rather uncertain.

The book is very lucidly written and every student of Indian constitution will do well to read it.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

GRAMISM : *By Ram Rai. Published by the New Book Co., Bombay. 1941. Price Rs. 10.*

The book reveals the passionate enthusiasm of Mr. Ram Rai for the regeneration of India through village organisation. Its pages are littered thick with reorganisation, regeneration, remaking, reconstruction, recreation and resurrection and co-operation, coparcenary, collective co-ordination and so on and so forth. Behind the exuberant verbosity can be perceived his main thesis, which is that the Gramist State should be "an amalgamation of the best in the experiences of Americanism, Britishism, Fascism, Nazism, Kemalism and Sovietism." Under Gramism social services and public amenities shall be universally available but graded and apportioned equitably. The sacred right of private property shall be sustained, but its use shall be subject to the trusteeship of the State. "Private property and possessions shall be guaranteed up to a reasonable limit—say, fetching an income up to not less than the Congress standard of Rs. 500 a month or even more, according to the needs of the situation" (p. 207). Though the author speaks of rupees in this case, elsewhere he speaks of pounds sterling. For instance, the maximum remuneration for a public servant shall not be more than one thousand pounds per annum, and the minimum shall not be less than fifty pounds per annum. The reconstruction of the villages in India would cost some ten thousand millions sterling.

When Mr. Rai speaks of the autonomy of the village and the hegemony of incorporated villages, (p. 189) and of a "unitary institution with autonomous and associated units of a single corporate body under a supreme command with regional directives and areal and local executives as part of the rural system of all India," (p. 136) it is hard to follow. The author means well but his book is hardly readable or convincing.

P. KODANDA RAO

LITERACY IN INDIA : *By R. V. Parulekar, M.A., M.Ed. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1939. Price Rs. 1-12.*

One of the major deficiencies of India is the vastness of its illiteracy. National workers have been from time to time, trying to liquidate it, and Mr. Parulekar has attempted to analyse the present position and to survey the problem in its entirety. The census reports come in for a fresh examination, and rightly so. To read the reports is however no easy task. If Travancore and Cochin lead in the matter of literacy, one must try to understand why. The educational scheme must have been a great help—a two-class stage at the lowest rung will go a far way in the spread of literacy. Just outside India proper as constituted at present, Burma shows a remarkable advance, a percentage of 31.3 in 1931. That again is explicable only by the large number of monastic schools which have refrained their old-world mode of service to humanity through education. The dynamic energy in our educational mechanism, when that finds an outlet, will make short work of "wastage" and "stagnation," and Mr. Parulekar's analysis is bound to prove of lasting value to those who are bent on working the programme of national regeneration in which education must play an important part. The traditional method has to be revived and adopted.

It is, however, important to bear in mind that literacy is not education and that adult education in India at any rate, had better be oral in its method and more political than otherwise.

P. R. SEN

INDIA—THE ROAD TO SELF-GOVERNMENT: *By John Coatman. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. October, 1941. Pp. 185 and an Index. Price 5s.*

The author of this small book of ten chapters has been well-known to Indians as the erst-while writer of Government of India's publicity material and also some of the last annual surveys of Indian administration which were prepared for presentation to Parliament. Since leaving India, Mr. Coatman has been engaged in the teaching of Imperial history and we presume this is an instance of his presentation of Imperial themes to his audience.

The three decades, 1908-1940, of India's progress to self-government constitute the period of Mr. Coatman's survey. The significance of the year 1908 is emphasised as marking the parting of the old and new methods of approach to the Indian problem, and the story is presented as the unfoldment of the applicability of the principles "embodied in the Commonwealth of British nations of British and European origin" to peoples of a "very different origin and tradition." A review is not the proper place for challenging the validity of the thesis, but the underlying tone of patronage and the colossal ignorance about the democratic institutions and traditions of this country from a person whose business had been to study things Indian and publicise India, is amazing!

The short chapters summarise the constitutional provisions of the Morley-Minto Reforms and the Act of 1935, filling the gaps with perfunctory accounts of the intervening years, where unabashed attempts at extolling the achievements of British rule are made by talking in terms of big figures (for example at p. 60, re: irrigation), without emphasizing for the benefit of the unwary (especially foreigners for whose consumption the book is probably specially meant), the smallness of the actual benefit taking into account the total area and population of the country. The Indian Nationalist movement and the National Congress in particular—as has been the case with Mr. Coatman's presentations in the past—do not get a fair deal; and Mr. Coatman's last chapters, where he seeks to analyse the complicated attitude of the Princes, Moslems and Congress to the Federation proposed in the Act of 1935 and the 1940 August Declaration of the Viceroy—are poor. With so many excellent surveys of the period in the field, Mr. Coatman's fresh effort has little justification, either for the information culled together or for fresh light. Except vague generalisations, there is no suggestiveness or understanding of the latest developments in Indian politics.

Mr. Coatman mentions the Hindu Mahasabha once but calls it the "Indian" Mahasabha (p. 133); he thinks that the Sapru proposals regarding the grant of Dominion Status, Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council, facilities for militarization and industrialisation "do not seem to have raised any enthusiasm" (p. 134); he affirms that the fiscal autonomy convention was "never disturbed" and India "has had, to all intents and purposes, complete fiscal autonomy from 1921 onwards" (p. 59); he traduces the systems of education in India when the British came to the country, on the authority of Sir Philip Hartog (pp. 32-33) whose thesis on the subject has been rebutted in India in major details! And, nowhere in the book is any reference given or source cited to corroborate the *obiter dicta* of the author, so plentifully scattered over its pages!

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS—CONFERENCE NUMBER, JANUARY, 1942: *Published by the Department of Economics and Commerce, Allahabad University. Price Rs. 4.*

In what respects does India excel other countries? There might be many points, but one that suggests to the reviewer is the size of the conference numbers of the Indian Economic Association: no other country in the world brings forth such huge volumes for the annual conferences, the other three quarterly issues of the Journal being equally strikingly tubercular. There are 46 papers covering 638 pages! And this is not the end. The whole of the April, 1942 number also is occupied with the remaining papers and conference proceedings. Is this due to our excellent progress in economic studies? No, the poet has not been singing because he must, but because without a paper the participating economist is in many cases not paid his expenses by his authorities. Most of the papers are dull and humdrum, and a good many reveal woeful yarning. The papers reach the members almost at the eleventh hour and the papers are taken as read! What is more, even discussion has to be taken as done as there is very little time for an array of subjects, and the Economic & Political Science Associations meet together at the same place for mutual benefit! The matter of fact is that with social engagements and with homilies by the die-hard "elders," the conference every year is almost a formality.

The Ranade Centenary was celebrated at this conference as also the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Economic Association: the papers dealt with economic thought in India, rural co-operation in India and local finance. It is easy and comfortable to pat ourselves on our backs, but the following extract from a promising young economist draws a correct picture of the present position: "What is our contribution to Economics? Our contribution to pure economic thought is paretically nil; and our contribution to the analysis and solution of Indian economic problems is, if we count the pages written, enormous; but if we dwell on its quality, it gives a taste as of some stale stuff. We are able precis writers, brilliant economic historians, assiduous investigators, brave and intelligent guessmakers; but when it comes to arguing by first principles, we lack that 'apparatus of mind' that makes the economist; we have not yet developed that 'technique of analysis' without which all thinking on social problems is unfruitful" (pp. 280-81).

What is this bankruptcy in original economic thought due to? The answer is plain: the "child" has never been allowed to stir, and it will never know how to balance itself and how to walk. And then there are the aspirants to preferments: the more they sing of the glories of Government achievement, the greater are their prospects. Thirdly, there are those among the economists who care not for things Indian but would always quote from Marshall and Ricardo and Keynes—oftentimes knowing that what they say catches although it may not be pertinent.

The Department of Economics and Commerce of the Allahabad University, specially the Managing Editor of the Journal, deserves great sympathy for the tough job of proof-reading, etc., and for the irksome task of attaching heavy postage stamps for these conference numbers. Now that paper has surpassed gold in its rate of appreciation, we hope that wiser counsels will prevail at the next conference, and brevity will prove the soul of wit.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR PARTY :

By J. C. Kumarappa, with a Foreword by M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Price annas twelve.

This booklet of about 150 pages contains an essay and five closely printed appendices and was written originally at the end of 1929. It ran into two editions in 1930 and 1931 and has been reprinted in 1941. It gives facts and figures supported by the testimony of both Indian and English writers. It conclusively proves the thesis that the fiscal policy followed by the British Government in India both during the period of the Company Rule and since 1858 has been largely responsible for reducing the people in India to grinding poverty. The conclusion reached by the author is—

“As long as human nature is what it is, India's finances cannot be moulded to fit into India's needs until the powers that be are goaded on by motives which are identical with India's interests. Taxation has to be such as will increase production and encourage activity. When taxation nurtures infant industries; when the revenues are drawn without injuring the sources; when the starving masses are not called upon to support an extravagant and luxurious administration; when those who make their fortunes under the hospitality of India are made to assume their due share of the burden of administration; when India's revenues are spent in such ways as to bring full returns to the people, when government undertakings needed by the poor are operated on the principle of service, and the channels chosen do not run counter to those of national interests; when the choice of alternatives is determined by the needs of India; then and then only can India be expected to progress economically, and this cannot be until India wins fiscal autonomy.”

In advanced, self-governing and democratic countries taxation is being increasingly used to mitigate the hardships caused by unequal distribution of wealth and to bring about greater social justice and happiness. In India, unfortunately, the fiscal policy has worked just the other way—it has been an instrument not only of impoverishment of the country as a whole but of overburdening the poor to rally round the richer classes to the support of the foreign rule.

It is possible that other writers may shift the emphasis and may regard the fiscal policy as only a part of the whole imperial policy and they may dwell more upon the progress achieved by Indians during the recent years in spite of the handicaps imposed by alien rule. It is also likely that other Indian economists may differ from Mr. Kumarappa in his views on the population question or as to whether the real income per head has actually gone down since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But it is not possible to disagree with his conclusion that without fiscal autonomy, it is not feasible to solve the problem of India's poverty.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

THE TIGER STRIKES : *Published by the Director of Public Relations, Government of India. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta. 1942. Pp. 165.*

At a time when the fortunes of war in the western desert are once more in the balance, it is extremely refreshing to read the heroic exploits of British and Indian troops that led to the spectacular Allied victories in Libya and in the Near East during 1940-41. From the memorable victory of Sidi Barrani to the capture of Damascus it is a stirring and impressive story all through. General Sir Archibald Wavell in a preface to this book pays high tribute to the gallantry of Indian

soldiers and officers whose contribution has been invaluable in the campaigns led and conducted by him. Whether in the dusty wastes of the Western desert, or in the towering rocky mountains of Eritrea and Abyssinia, or on the dry scorching plains of the Sudan, or amid softer and greener hills of Syria, the Indians have fought with unrelenting bravery and calm discipline side by side with their British comrades. General Wavell has recorded his tribute in the following terms: “India may very well be proud of her troops which performed such feats. In all these battles British and Indian soldiers fought side by side in mutual comradeship and esteem. Off the field, their discipline and soldierly bearing, their good humour and kindness have everywhere aroused admiration.”

Although the chronicles depicted in this book have been written by a military officer and relate to several battles, it is not military history. Anyone who is fond of an exciting tale will like this book as much for the narrative as for the style in which it is written. The interest of the book has been much enhanced by the inclusion of a number of maps and photographs bearing on the narrative.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

AUTHOR CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, Vol. I A-B, Vol. II C-E. Price Rs. 6-2 and Rs. 6 respectively.

We are glad to see that the Imperial Library has at long last thought it advisable to bring out a new and revised edition of the Author Catalogue of printed books in European languages which was first published in 1904, and to which were added two supplementary volumes in 1917-18. Two volumes have already been published, and the other volumes are in course of preparation. These would fulfil a long-felt want, as the supplement was published about a quarter of a century ago, and Mr. K. M. Asadullah, the present Librarian, is to be congratulated on his decision to bring out the catalogue even in these days of paper shortage.

The two volumes already issued are neatly got up, and the entries therein have been carefully arranged. We would point out, however, that this being a catalogue of books written in European languages, the spelling of Indian names should have been left exactly as they were in the books, and the Editor need not have taken upon himself the additional labour of transliterating them in accordance with the Hunterian method, there being no necessity for any duplication in spelling.

We take this opportunity to suggest to the authorities of the Imperial Library that an Author Catalogue of books and periodicals written in the Bengali and other Indian languages is long overdue. There are many such books and periodicals in the Library, and these are constantly in requisition by scholars to whom such a catalogue would be of very great use. We hope and trust the able and enterprising Librarian will consider this suggestion.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1940-41 : *By Dr. K. P. Biswas.*

This annual report is as usual full of administrative details and reforms introduced during the year. About 3,900 specimens were identified in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden at Sibpur. The number of scientific publications relating to several branches of Indian botany has greatly increased during this year. They may be classified as follows: Algæ—14; Anatomy, Morphology—31; Economic—5; Fungi—4; Historical—1; Descriptive—7; Limnology—1; Palæobotany—3;

Physiology—11; Systematic Botany—42 and Tetralogy—8. Total 127.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

THE ASHTANGAHRIDAYA KOSHA WITH THE HRIDAYA PRAKASHA (A CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY COMMENTARY) : By K. M. Vaidya, Valapad, S. Malabar.

This is a dictionary of more or less unfamiliar terms occurring in the well-known Ayurvedic work, the *Ashtangahrdaya* of Vagbhata. The learned author has collected from different sources valuable information under each word. In connection with the Sanskrit names of Indian flora and fauna, he has given their synonyms from different Indian vernaculars as well as from English and Latin. This will be of immense help in identifying these objects. So the work is useful not to the medical student alone, but to the general student of Sanskrit as well. The author has drawn attention to the obscurity attaching to a number of the terms and he has referred to different forms and interpretations found in different works. We hope it will be possible for him to bring out his contemplated works, of a similar type, on other important texts like the *Caraka* and *Sushruta-samhita*. Besides facilitating the use of these texts, the works will bring together much valuable material for the compilation of a complete dictionary of the Sanskrit language. But, for this the references to the sources of the words (chapter and verse) should be more definite than what is found in the book under review.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

SRIMAD BHAGABADGITA : Edited by S. Anilbaran Ray. Published by the Culture Publishers, 25A, Bakul Bagari Row, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.

This is an edition of the Gita with an interpretation in a new light—the light of the teachings of Sri Aurobindo.

Sri Aurobindo is looked upon by many as a seer as well as a great teacher of modern times; his life is believed to be the embodiment of the truth which he sees, and the fulfilment of the philosophy which he teaches; he has a philosophy, which is essentially his own—based on his own intuitive experiences; in conformity, however, with the traditional belief of the Hindus, fundamental agreement of his philosophy with the teachings of our most sacred scriptures was sought to be proved in his unique exposition of the Gita, better known as the Essays on the Gita. Our editor has solely relied on these essays for the interpretation of the Gita texts; the book under review may therefore serve also as an introduction to the study of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy.

The real worth of this book lies in the unique interpretation of the doctrine of Purushottama, which is to be found in it. The two Prakritis (Ch. VII, 5-6), and the three Purushas, forming the basis of the doctrine have been explained quite differently from other Acharyas; but from a careful study it will be clear that the whole doctrine, as explained, rests on the explanation of the nature of Para Prakriti. The Gita describes this Prakriti as Jivabhuta. Our editor means, by this, that the Prakriti has become the Jiva, though originally it is something else and higher; that this meaning is erroneous, is apparent to every student of Sanskrit; had this been really meant, the Gita would have used the phrase Jivabhuta. As our editor must have known,

two types of compound words are to be met with in Sanskrit, with the word *Bhuta* occurring as the second member in each; but they do not convey the same idea. Purushottamasya Amsabhutam Kapilam (पुरुषोत्तमस्य अंश-भूतम् कपिलम्) in the Vishnu Purana does not mean that Kapila has become the part of Purushottama; Upasanayah Angabhutah (उपासनायाः अङ्गभूतः :—Ramanuja's Gita Bhashya) means something different from what is expressed by the phrase Upasanayah Angabhutah; Pan-yabhutam Sariram (पश्यभूतम् शरीरम्—मृच्छकटिक) does not mean that the body has become an article of merchandise; in this and similar cases *Bhuta* conveys the meaning of 'Same (सम) or "the same as," hence jivabhuta must mean the jiva itself, which is also Kshetragna; this is the meaning, given to it, by Acharya Sankara; and by no chance can it be twisted to mean anything else; therefore Sankara's is the only correct interpretation according to the language of the Gita; and it is no misnomer, as the editor has remarked. It is sad that the editor should have led himself into an error, which is bound to affect his whole philosophical position.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

BENGALI

SRIMA-KATHA (Vol. I) : By Swami Jagannathananda. Published by Udbodhan Karyalaya, Calcutta. January, 1942. Price Re. 1-8.

An admirable biography of Master Mahasay, the capable writer of Sri Ramakrishna-Kathamrita which has gained wide publicity through its novel technique. Swami Jagannathananda has adopted the technique very intelligently and readers will appreciate the work highly. In a way it may be said to be a continuation of the Kathamrita series, as Sri Ramakrishna's holy influence lives in the stories and anecdotes which meet us so often in the volume under review.

The style is simple and direct. It exactly suits the new technique.

P. R. SEN

MARMA KATHA O MARMABYATHA : By Sri Kala Chand Dalal. Prem Niketan, Santipur. Price annas eight only.

A small book of poems. It need not be judged too critically as a work of 'art,' nor does the author intend it to be taken as such,—it is a sincere expression of the poet's mind, an intimate picture of his inner life. Some of the pieces deal with famous men and women of history and some others with his friends and relations. If we are not struck by any extraordinary poetic skill, we are touched by the poet's simplicity and genuineness of feeling.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

DINBANDHU KO SHRADHANJALIAN : Compiled by Prabhudayal Vidyarthi Viskarad. Published by Pustak-Bhandar, Lahorisera. Pp. 187. Price Re. 1-4.

This is a symposium of tributes to the memory of C. F. Andrews,—that friend of the poor and so a man of God,—by about twenty persons, including Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. As one reads them one is reminded, over and again of the words of the Poet :

"Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust."

The motive of the compiler in publishing the sym-

posium is to add, so to speak, his own mite to the contributions of others to Andrews Memorial Fund by passing on the profits to the latter and as such it is laudable.

G. M.

MARATHI

PAKISTANCHE SAMKAT (THE DANGER OF PAKISTAN) : By S. L. Karandikar, M.A., LL.B., M.L.A. Published by the Author at 399, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Pp. 240. Crown Size. Price Rs. 2.

The Muslim League cry of Pakistan has provoked a number of rejoinders in various forms such as articles, pamphlets, brochures and books and Mr. Karandikar's book under review is one of the latest of them. The awakening of the humanitarian conscience of civilized nations was instrumental in making laws for the prevention of vivisection of human bodies prevailing in the medieval times and yet the Muslim League is trying to vivisect the body politic of an integral and living nation apparently with impunity. This has naturally brought about a general condemnation of the ghastly idea—a condemnation which has found expression in various languages and from various persons. Mr. Karandikar has traced the origin and development of the Pakistan scheme from the year 1930 and much further back than that to the advice tendered by a Kazi of Allauddin Khilji to that king in which he said : "To keep the Hindus in abasement is especially a religious duty, because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet and because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them and make them captive"; and he aptly quoted Dr. Ambedkar in describing the essence of Pakistan with reference to the present constitution as "the opposition to the establishment of one Central Government having supremacy over the whole of India." From this central idea underlying the Pakistan cry the author has delineated the various stages through which the idea has passed, mentioned the different schemes for the communal partition of India parading under different names, tried to meet some of the conclusions drawn by Dr. Ambedkar in his standard book on the subject and ultimately called upon all persons wishing to preserve the political integrity of India to fight this scourge before it assumes dangerous proportions. The book also provides indubitable facts and figures in support of the author's argument and is a powerful plea for the preservation of the homogeneity of Indian polity. It deserves to be carefully studied by all who can read it.

D. N. APTE

TAMIL

AN INDIAN IN WESTERN EUROPE : By A. S. Panchapeksha Iyer, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law. Translated into Tamil by T. A. Swaminatha Iyer. Published by G. V. K. Swami & Co., Kumbakonam. 1941. Pp. 923. Price Rs. 4.

The major portion of this voluminous work is devoted to the author's experience of men and things in Great Britain, France, Germany and Ireland. There is hardly a place of importance in Western Europe, that has not been visited by the learned author. His lectures, essays, and his appreciations of English life and literature are all very interesting. The book is useful.

MADHAVAN

MALAYALAM

MAPPILA REVIEW—VISESHAL PRATI (THE MOPLAH REVIEW, ANNUAL, 1942) : Edited and published by K. Abubucker. Printed at the Empire Press, Calicut. 4vo., illustrated. Pp. 147. Mappila Review Office, Calicut. Price Re. 1.

The Annual, 1942, is a special issue of the *Mappila Review*, a Malayalam monthly published in Calicut for the social and cultural uplift of the Moplahs of Malabar. It is a combined issue of Vol. I, part 12, and Vol. II, part I, of the *Review*.

The Annual is a praiseworthy compilation in several respects. It consists of 35 interesting and inspiring articles and poems from the pens of some well-known writers and poets of the Malabar coast, including the famous Ulloor S. Paramesvara Iyer, Vallathol Narayana Menon and others. It begins with a noteworthy editorial on the message of the Prophet, "Live in Peace," which is most appropriate for a special issue like the present one in view of the turbulent state of the world and the unsettled political situation in India today. In it is seen the sincere expression of a thinking mind giving an insight into the spirit of the Islamic faith. Apart from the poems and the learned articles which is a literary treat to the general reader, the value of the Annual is enhanced by many fine illustrations. As a book, it is nicely got up, handy and attractive on account of the artistic cover-design in colours. On the whole, the production of the Annual is a success and brings credit to the resourcefulness of the Editor in no small degree.

There are only two lone contributions (two small poems) by ladies, N. Lalitambika and K. Madhaviamma, in the Annual. When there is no dearth for lady writers in Kerala, the paucity of contributions by them in the present issue will, we trust, be made good in the next Annual Number of the *Mappila Review*.

P. O. MATTHAI

GUJARATI

PALATATA NAKSHA : By Ratilal Mehta. Introduction by Samaldas Gandhi, Editor of the *Vande Mataram Daily*. Printed at the Vande Mataram Press, Bombay. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 144. Price annas six.

The title of the book means "Changing Maps" and the contents justify the title. The present world war has already changed the old maps, and the book gives a graphic description accompanied with maps, as to how the changes have been brought about. The style in which the account is given serves its purpose, as the whole matter has been set out in simple language. It narrates events up to March, 1942.

SUDAMA CHARITA : By Maganbhai P. Desai. Published by the Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 120. Price annas ten.

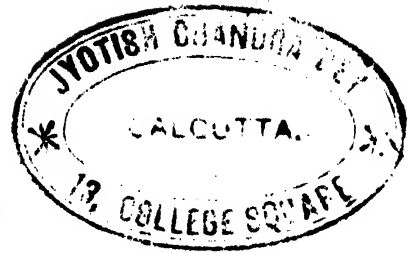
Two well-known old Gujarati poets, Narsinh and Premanand have written *Sudama Charita*. They have now been edited after collaboration of many MSS. and research by Mr. Desai, who has also contributed a very illuminating Introduction, in which he discusses the individual merits of the two authors and mentions the help he has derived from Mr. Manjulala Majmudar, a research scholar, and the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, which possesses three valuable MSS. The outturn of Mr. Desai's efforts is a very good contribution to this branch of Gujarati Literature.

K. M. J.

PURNA CHANDRA LAHIRI

1872-1942

By C.



THE death of Rai Bahadur Purna Chandra Lahiri has removed from the Indian scene a most remarkable figure who by dint of sheer ability and integrity obtained an honoured place with both the Government and the public whom he served with unflinching devotion. Rai Bahadur Lahiri's career is unique in the records of Police service in India. He rose from the ranks, having been appointed to the Bengal Police as a 3rd Grade Writer Constable on seven rupees per mensem in January, 1894, and he retired from service in 1927 as a Rai Bahadur and a Deputy Commissioner in Calcutta Police, a post next to that of the Commissioner in the force—he having been the first Indian to be raised to that responsible position by a Government which could not but recognise his outstanding merits. The Rai Bahadur hailed from the district of Nadia, and was the scion of a poor but highly respectable Barendra Brahman family with connections with the most exalted of the community all over Bengal. He was not a university man, but he had learned enough English and Latin from Professor U. L. Dey of the Bangabasi College, an eminent linguist of his day, well enough to make it the basis of his future distinction as an officer who could meet on equal terms his English superiors.

He showed his exceptional intelligence and his spirit of enterprise in deciding for the police line which he could enter only as a Constable: a Bengali young man of the *Bhadralok* class in his situation would ordinarily have tried to secure some inferior clerical post, and be quite content with that. In the police, Purna Chandra found the proper field for his many-sided talents, and his efficiency and dutifulness as well as his courage brought him immediately to the notice of his superior officers. Promotion was rapid, and in 1903 while Sub-Inspector, he was transferred to the Calcutta Police, the *elite* of the police force in India. It is tact and resourcefulness as well as cool courage which characterised him all through his career and won him high praise as well as rewards from Government on several occasions.

Purna Chandra Lahiri came into prominence

as a police officer during the Swadeshi Movement days, particularly in connection with Alipore and other Bomb cases. He did not subscribe to the doctrines of the revolutionaries in Bengal who believed in bringing freedom to India by terrorism, and he was a zealous police servant for the cause of Law and Order; this had exposed him to a certain amount of personal danger from the terrorists, but his courage—often reckless courage—in the face of danger not only from the



Purna Chandra Lahiri

terrorists but also from habitual criminals elicited high admiration from all and sundry. In his personal dealings with revolutionaries and terrorists, Purna Chandra was absolutely true to his own nature—he was a perfect gentleman against whom even in small matters no one could have any grievance. His duties as a most trusted officer of the Government brought him in close touch with all the higher officialdom from the Viceroy downwards, and his sense of self-respect and independence he maintained all through in

conducting investigational cases; he never flinched from the truth, and this was ungrudgingly admitted by revolutionaries also.

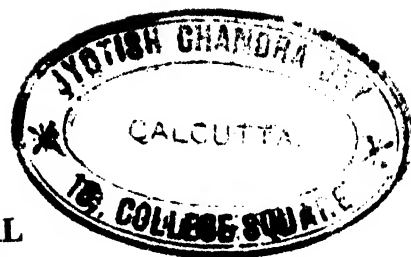
It is not necessary in this connection to give a detailed account of his service, or to narrate some of the numerous incidents which took place in his career as a police officer where his courage and intelligence saved the situation. He became Rai Sahib in 1908 and Deputy Superintendent of Calcutta Police in 1915, and it was his evidence before the Public Service Commission which was responsible for the creation of the posts of Assistant Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, to one of which he was appointed in 1916, being placed in charge of the administration of the Arms Act Department. He was promoted to the post of Deputy Commissioner of Police for the Northern Town, being the first Indian to be selected for this high office; and he retired from service in this capacity. He became Rai Bahadur in 1918. He was the only Indian Police Officer to draw oversea allowance with his European colleagues. He was a recipient of King's Police Medal.

One of the most distinguished Government servants, even Rai Bahadur Purna Chandra Lahiri could not escape the insidious workings of the canker of communalism in the administrative departments which has been manifesting itself in Indian life from after the non-cooperation days, and even earlier. A Hindu-Muslim riot of unprecedented fury and ferocity started in Calcutta in April, 1926, and Rai Bahadur Lahiri as Deputy Commissioner of Police took strong measures in putting it down. Some highly placed gentlemen in Government misinterpreted his motives and disapproved of his methods, although these methods (*i.e.*, rounding up hooligans, searching likely quarters for bad characters) had held a quick subsidence of the trouble. The Government then in power wished to make some departmental changes which he did not approve and as a result he gave up service, taking leave prior to retirement in 1926. The strong position taken by him established him more strongly than ever in the

affection of the people. And when he retired from service in 1927, Rai Bahadur Purna Chandra Lahiri was given the recognition he fully deserved—as a much respected member of the society who served both public and the Government to the best of his ability and his discretion. The Rai Bahadur's personal qualities won him staunch friends and adherents among his superior officers, his colleagues and inferiors in the service, and seldom was there a more popular officer of the police. Rai Bahadur Purna Chandra Lahiri was the most esteemed right-hand man of four successive Commissioners of Police who had the most genuine affection for him—Mr. R. Bignell, Sir Frederick Halliday, Sir Reginald Clarke and Sir Charles Tegart.

After retirement, the Rai Bahadur spent his time in his Calcutta residence at Entally where he breathed his last and in his native village of Jadubayra in the district of Nadia. The death of his son-in-law, the late Anil Chandra Sanyal, Advocate and distinguished pleader of the Calcutta Police Court, in the prime of his life, in October, 1933, followed a few months later by that of his elder daughter whom he dearly loved, and by the death of his daughter's son in 1934, was a blow from which he never recovered. His only son Protul Chandra Lahiri was a distinguished member of the Calcutta University Training Corps, a body with which he remained connected even after graduation from the University and finally he joined the regular forces, having obtained a commission of the Indian Artillery. Protul Chandra is now in active service in Iraq, and has been recently made Captain, and he was on a visit to his family only a short while ago—it is a tragedy that his father's death almost synchronised with his departure from the soil of India to join his duties at the front. Rai Bahadur Purna Chandra Lahiri leaves behind his widow, his son Protul and his grand-child and his second daughter, and two grand-daughters besides two sisters, and his brother Hem Chandra Lahiri, who is also a distinguished ex-officer of the Calcutta Police.





RIVER PROBLEM OF BENGAL

By SAMARENDRA NATH SEN, M.Sc.

INTRODUCTION

THE problem of riverine economy in this province has recently attracted public attention. For a long time the need of improving the rivers of Bengal was keenly felt and many suggestions were also put forward. But as ill luck would have it nothing definite emerged out of it, and none of the suggestions took any material shape. Recently the experts in river physics have been talking of establishing a river physics laboratory in this province to study in details various engineering problems in connection with the rivers, devise model experiments and chalk out the future course of action. The importance of such laboratories goes without saying. Such preliminary researches are indispensable if we want to formulate any scheme and work it out successfully. The examples of the western countries lend great support to this. They have now solved their river problems in an astonishing way, and there is no reason why the same thing will not happen in this country if we make the most of the scientific knowledge which centuries of research have placed at our disposal. Unfortunately the government has not yet paid very serious attention to this suggestion offered by specialists and has presented a customary callous face to this problem which vitally concerns the economic interest of the land.

The necessity and urgency of improving the rivers in a province whose major portions have become malarious and unfit for habitation can hardly be over-estimated. Those who have got some acquaintance with the history of Bengal know fully well how her history is closely linked with the destiny of her river system. These rivers largely determined her political and economic life in the past and are still doing now. To-day nothing remains of the past glory of historical places like Gour, Pandua, Saptagram, Sripur, Swarnagram, and the like. If we want to know anything of them we shall have to search through the pages of history, and then we shall find many a missing link which our dim, hazy, incomplete history could not recover. Judging from this marked relation between the river system of Bengal and her history Prof. M. N. Saha once said that in

writing the history of Bengal one should not lose sight of her ever-changing geography incumbent upon her rivers. That is a very trite saying, indeed. It is quite true that these changes were worked by nature and that on most occasions man had got nothing to do with these inexorable forces of nature. But still in this process of deterioration man had some share. His want of foresight, initiative, enthusiasm and correct planning often fanned the flame. The faulty planning of the Railway authorities in this country is well-known to us. But for this we could have perhaps slowed down this process of deterioration, stemmed its tide and turned it to more fruitful channels.

Though river changes have taken place from the very earliest times, even some two hundred years ago there was a more or less uniform distribution of rivers throughout the delta maintaining the health and prosperity of the entire land. In course of the last two hundred years catastrophic changes have taken place in the river system of Bengal resulting in a thorough readjustment of rivers. Thus many portions like central and northern Bengal were deprived of rivers while in others there was too much crowding of rivers as in East Bengal. So while there was a cry for silt-laden water in the former place East Bengal became the playground of regular floods, and the enormous quantity of water simply flowed to waste. The memories of the Teesta Flood in 1922 and of the Brahmaputra Flood in 1931 are still fresh in our mind. In connection with the Brahmaputra Flood almost the whole basin of that great river (25,000 sq. miles) was under water. The total loss in money was estimated at 8 crores of rupees. The amount of loss of life can easily be visualised if we remember that the population density in the affected area is something like 800 per sq. mile.

Sir F. W. Spring has estimated that during full flood time the river Padma near Hardinge Bridge discharges nearly 20 million cusecs of water. This discharge of water is 600 times greater than that of England's greatest river, namely, the Thames. This is even greater than the discharge of water through the Mississippi near New Orleans during full flood time. But

the discharge of the Brahmaputra again has surpassed that of the Padma; as a matter of fact, except the Amazon, the mighty south American River, the Padma and the Brahmaputra together discharge the greatest volume of water. One can easily imagine how fatal such a huge discharge of water proves to their basin.

RIVER CHANGES IN THE LAST FEW CENTURIES

Geologists tell us that the delta of Bengal is of rather recent origin. The delta-building activity of the rivers scarcely began even as late as some thousand years ago. The sea used to rage and foam where one finds to-day the province of Bengal. The Bay used to wash the foot of the Rajmahal hills in Bihar where the Ganges used to fall into the sea. Probably as a result of some geological upheaval an elevation of the land took place and the sea receded further towards the south. Silt and the soft alluvium carried by the river gradually deposited upon this plain and built up the delta. The thickness of this alluvium is hardly more than 300 to 400 feet as revealed by boring. By way of strong contrast to this we can refer to the old Gangetic basin of upper India where borings up to a depth of some 1,300 feet failed to reveal any strata of solid stone or in fact, a strata of any geological importance.

However, it is very difficult to give a complete account of the changes of rivers taking place since the formation of the land. As a matter of fact, no such record is available in any great detail. It will be more than sufficient if we can trace the history of the river changes for 3 to 4 centuries. Our sources of information are, indeed, quite varied. The most important of them, however, appears to be the maps compiled by various foreign geographers who happened to visit the land in those days. For instance, Jao de Barros' map has proved to be a very valuable source of information of the river system of Bengal in the sixteenth century. The river changes in the seventeenth century are distinctly apparent in the map of Van den Broucke, while Major Rennell's map clearly indicates the thorough changes of the various important river courses that almost reshaped the riverine geography of Bengal in the 18th century. Besides these maps constructed in different periods, accounts left by foreigners of their visit to this land and folk-lore current in different times at different places constitute important sources of information. Thus Ralph Fitch (1555) left a very vivid account of the prosperity and

wealth of cities like Saptagram, Sripur and Swarnagram that flourished in the sixteenth century. The folk-lore dealing with the accounts of merchants Chand, Srimanta and Dhanapati bear evidence to many past rivers and rivulets that cease to exist today.

For many centuries the Bhairab remained a prominent river and flowed through Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, and Khulna, that is, almost diagonally through the central Bengal. The steady and systematic decay of this river dates from the twelfth century when rivers like the Saraswati and the Bhagirathi were gradually springing up into prominence. In the sixteenth century one notices the south-flowing branches of the Ganges, namely, the Saraswati and the Bhagirathi firmly established. Upon their banks flourished a series of cities, marts and large important villages which contributed largely to the commercial importance of the province at that time. These two mighty rivers had their confluences at Triveni on the north and Bator (Howrah) in the south. The inclination of the Ganges to flow towards the south for the Bay on entering the delta near Rajmahal hills continued unabated up to the sixteenth century when great topographical changes took place resulting in the emergence of the eastern branch of the Ganges, namely, the Padma. For centuries this eastern branch was no better than a thin rivulet which ultimately lost itself into a series of 'Jhils' and 'Bils.' Various reasons have been attributed to the subsequent development of this eastern branch. The change of its course suffered by the river Kosi, an old Himalayan river, appears to be one of the most important factors. Emerging from the Himalayas the Kosi traversed a good length of North Bengal, met the rivers Mahananda and Atrai and ultimately discharged itself into the Brahmaputra. In the fourteenth or fifteenth century the river forsook its century-old route, detoured westward and discharged its great volume of water into the Ganges. Under the existing circumstances the eastern branch offered a natural outlet to this extra discharge of the Ganges, and the Padma gradually came into existence proceeding ever eastward. Among other causes may be mentioned the clearing of the jungles on the eastern slope of the Chhotonagpur hills for the cultivation of rice. The natural obstruction of the jungles having thus been removed, the east-flowing rivers received fresh impetus to follow their course with greater ease and force. Of course, it must be admitted that the slope of the land that

obtained at that time was quite favourable for the development of any such eastern branch of the river Ganges.

So in the sixteenth century one finds the river Padma or the Ganges, as it is called, firmly established. It coursed through the districts of Dacca and had its confluence with the river Brahmaputra near Sripur of historic fame. The river Brahmaputra is another ancient river whose origin is shrouded in mystery. In the Puranas and other classical literature the river was known as 'Lohitya,' while in the time of Portuguese supremacy the river came to be known as the 'Caor.' The emergence of the Padma sounded the death-knell of the southern branches of the Ganges. From the 16th century onward the Saraswati was on the wane, and this process of deterioration was complete by the end of the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century the river Bhagirathi made an attempt to revive her past glory, but soon fell victim to the steady and systematic process of deterioration which sealed the fate of most of the south-flowing rivers of the delta. From the beginning of the 18th century the river Bhagirathi almost ceased to be navigable. The seventeenth century is also marked by the birth of a number of rivers like the Jalangi, the Mathavanga, the Ichhamati, etc., all more or less moving towards the east through central Bengal. The emergence of these rivers was quite welcome at a time when central Bengal was rapidly turning out to be a moribund land owing to the silting up of rivers that had maintained its fertility for centuries. But they could hardly arrest the inevitable process of deterioration of land productivity that was already in action.

The rapid changes of the rivers of northern Bengal also deserve attention. The most ancient of all the rivers that traversed North Bengal was the Karatowa having its origin in the snow-fed heights of the Himalayas. The Atrai was also another old river in this region. Their existence is quite well marked in the map of Van den Broucke constructed in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, as the map of Major Rennell indicates, both these rivers lost their importance and the Teesta, a new river snatched their glory and rose to be the most prominent river of North Bengal. For a certain length it followed the old course of the Karatowa, met the Atrai in Dinajpur and finally had its confluence with the Ganges. The emergence of the Teesta had far-reaching consequences inasmuch as it was largely responsible for a catastrophic change which the two principal

rivers of Bengal, namely, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, underwent towards the close of the eighteenth century and marked the beginning of a new era in the riverine geography of Bengal.

For a long time the Brahmaputra was trying to enter the Gangetic delta in the west. But its attempt was frustrated owing to a number of geographical causes. On the west of the river the sudden elevation of the land (nearly hundred feet) over a wide area north of Dacca and the Madhupur jungles, and on the east the mountain range of Hill Tipperah compelled the Brahmaputra to stick to its old bed. Of course, for some time the river was trying to develop an western branch without much success. When such was the state of affairs there took place in 1787 a mighty flood in the Teesta the type of which had hardly been known before. The whole basin of the river was under water, and when the flood-water retreated, the river was found to have detoured eastward and effected a confluence with the Brahmaputra near Fulcharighat instead of with the Ganges as it did before. The great volume of water borne by the Teesta and now discharged into the Brahmaputra made the development of the western branch of the Brahmaputra easy, and the river Jamuna came into existence. The Jamuna discharged the combined water of the Teesta and the Brahmaputra into the Ganges near Goalundo. Formerly, the main branch of the Ganges flowed through Dacca district under the name Dhaleswari; but the Jamuna proceeding southward with an enormous volume of water arrested considerably the tendency of the Ganges to flow eastward and forced it to follow a comparatively unimportant branch of the Ganges south of the Dhaleswari (Kali Ganga). The combined waters of the mighty rivers overflowed the banks of the new channel, destroyed the historic works of Kedar Ray, Raja Rajballav and others and finally reached the Bay under the name 'Kirtinasha.' The creation of the new confluences of the principal rivers, the Teesta, the Brahmaputra and the Ganges which formerly used to fall separately into the Bay profoundly disturbed the river system of Bengal in a way not experienced before.

This is in short the history of the changes of river system in Bengal. We have not attempted a detailed discussion of this history but have contented ourselves with barely touching upon the important changes suffered by the principal rivers. It will be immediately apparent from this discourse that the swerving of the Ganges to the east and the consequent deterioration of the rivers flowing in the southern direction

are largely responsible for the quick transformation of the prosperous central and western Bengal into a moribund track. The eastering of the Teesta has similarly affected Northern Bengal. Forsaking their century-old courses these rivers have now joined hands in building up the prosperity and wealth of East Bengal. Chandpur has already developed into a great commercial centre. It need hardly be said that these changes are still in progress. The Ganges is still following an uncertain course. Near the Hardinge Bridge the Ganges has indicated its inclination to modify its course which has caused no small anxiety to the Railway authorities. The condition of the Hoogli river near Calcutta is anything but satisfactory threatening the future of the great city. Already the rapid silting up of the Vidyadhari has given rise to sewage difficulty which has become a puzzling question now-a-days.

EVIL EFFECTS OF THE RAILWAY LINES

Unavoidable as the deterioration of the soil consequent upon the unfortunate swerving of the rivers was, it cannot be denied that but for man's follies, want of planning and foresight the deterioration would not have proceeded at such a rapid stride. The construction of the railway lines in this country is a glaring example of how profoundly faulty planning, want of foresight and profit-seeking mentality can affect the well-being of the country. Railways have certainly done some good, but we had to pay heavily for it. The railways were introduced in this country in 1854-56, and it was roughly from that time onward that the rivers of the western and central Bengal began to silt up rapidly. Thus deterioration of the Damodar, the Rupnarayan, the Ajay, the Maurakshi, etc., in West Bengal and the Jalangi, the Mathabhanga, the Ichhamati, the Kapotaskhi, etc., in the central Bengal may be traced to the middle of the last century. Long before the railways were introduced the people of this country had raised earthen embankments to prevent flood water from inundating the countryside. But in pre-railway days the Government followed the principle of *laissez-faire* and as such the maintenance and protection of the embankments were entrusted to the local Zeminders. Breaches frequently occurred, and flood water could enter the field and enrich the soil by the deposition of silt. The introduction of the railways made the strict protection of the embankments inevitable and any such breaches were made illegal

on pain of severe penalty. The consequence became simply disastrous. The silt carried by the river from the upper reaches deposited layer after layer every year in the bottom of the river thus increasing the level of the river-bed itself. This necessitated the raising of the height of the embankments to prevent flood water for the protection of the railway lines. This process continued for decades, every year the embankments increasing in height till the rivers ceased to be the natural drainage of the countryside which became water-logged and ultimately malarious. Also the land being systematically deprived of the rich silt-laden flood water lost its previous fertility. Now at places the embankments have reached such frightful heights that the entry of flood water into the field is out of the question. The terrific velocity with which flood water will in that case roll upon the countryside will cause more havoc than good.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Serious as the river problem in this province is, its solution has proved to be still more so. We ought to have awakened to the importance of it much earlier instead of callously allowing the situation to grow from bad to worse. Even the Irrigation Department has at last realised this. Thus the Irrigation Department Committee, Bengal, declared in 1930, "It may be the case that deterioration has already proceeded so far that it cannot now be checked, that the tract in question (Central Bengal) is doomed to revert gradually to swamp and jungle." The remedy as the common-sense suggestion would indicate seems to lie in the restoration of the present river system to what it obtained some two hundred years ago. The same thing was pointed out by no less an expert than Sir William Wilcox who happened to examine closely the river problem in this country. Judging from the fraction of the revenue spent for irrigation purpose such a large undertaking does not appear to be a financially sound proposition. Recently in a series of articles published in *Science and Culture* Mr. S. C. Majumdar, Chief Engineer Irrigation Department, Bengal, indicated a number of practical suggestions worth paying attention to.

It goes without saying that different portions of Bengal have river and irrigation problems of their own. In the Burdwan division, for instance, the western track of this division has its problems quite different from those of the eastern track. We shall consider the problems of this division

and their probable solutions first. The average rainfall in this division is fairly satisfactory. A number of rivers, namely, the Damodar, the Ajay, the Maurakshi, the Darakeshwar, the Subarnarekha, etc., all having their origin in the hills of Chotonagpur, have traversed through this division, through the western portion in particular. The peculiarity of these rivers is that they swell during the monsoon and gradually dwindle and dry up in the months of September, October and November when water is badly needed for irrigation purposes. During the monsoon a great volume of useful water simply flows down these rivers to waste. Of course, the Division has not been entirely deprived of a number of irrigation canals. The Kasai in Midnapur, the Damodar in Burdwan, the Bakreswar in Birbhum have been tapped to irrigate 80,000, 180,000 and 10,000 acres of land respectively. But this is hardly sufficient. And under the present circumstances the rivers could not be tapped for any further extension of scheme. The only solution lies in arresting the unfortunate wastage of monsoon water by adopting some storage scheme in the catchment area up in the hills. Survey shows that Birbhum and Bankura districts offer natural facilities for such artificial storage of water. Huge tanks excavated long ago and now laid waste and covered by jungles as a result of centuries of neglect may be improved upon and utilised for the purpose with small financial resource. Similar storage scheme has also been successfully adopted in Madras where the problem was of an analogous character. There monsoon water has to be stored in the months of October and November to be utilised next year in July and August. Owing to such long gaps a good fraction of the stored-up water is wasted by such natural processes as evaporation, absorption, etc. In this respect any storage scheme to be adopted in Bengal does not suffer from such difficulty. It has been estimated that in Bengal the same quantity of water can irrigate nearly six times as much land as is possible in Madras.

The railway embankments to safeguard the interest of the railway authorities are mainly responsible for the miserable plight of the eastern portion of the Burdwan division. We have already explained how it happened. The only solution is to do away with the embankments by a slow and gradual process. There are many places where this may be attempted without much endangering the safety of the railway lines or running the risk of any catas-

trophic flood. Development of a strong public opinion and favourable government intervention in the event of opposition from the railway authorities actuated by shortsighted and profiteering policy are highly desirable.

The decay of the Saraswati and the Bhagirathi with the rise of the Padma sealed the fate of central Bengal. The emergence of the Jalangi and the Mathabhanga could not bring about any satisfactory solution though their emergence was certainly promising. Sir William Wilcox suggested the construction of a barrage across the Ganges and thus revive the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi, the Mathabhanga and their innumerable tributaries now shoaled up. But the consideration of expenditure such a scheme would involve did not favour the suggestion. Besides, one should not lose sight of the fact that rivers in the delta region are oscillatory in character. In course of a century the river may come back to its original bed it abandoned in preference to a new one. Optimistic experts think that in course of a century the Ganges may again develop her southern course into prominence. In the meantime one practical solution lies in feeding the river Mathabhanga from the Ganges by undertaking dredging work at the confluence of the Mathabhanga with the Ganges. From the Mathabhanga the waters may be led to other decayed rivers and rivulets by a laborious dredging process.

These are some of the lines along which improvements and constructive work may be attempted. The river problem should be attacked as a whole since the rivers form a closely interrelated system. Piece-meal attempts to improve a particular river or channel may bring about the deterioration of another. This requires, as we have pointed out at the outset, a careful study in the Physics of rivers for which purpose well-equipped River Physics Laboratory is essential. The River Physics Laboratory at Karlsruhe under the management of the Rhine Commission is a good instance in point. It is an International Commission as the river flows through France, Germany and Netherlands (pre-war geographical boundary). The purpose of this Commission is to keep the river navigable throughout the year. Similar River Physics Laboratory are distributed in important parts of Europe and America. From this one can realise the great importance of such laboratories in this country. Lastly, we conclude the article with the suggestion made by no less an expert than Dr. N. K. Bose of the Irrigation Research Institute, Punjab, a few years ago.

"What is necessary is to examine the Bengal river system as a whole, firstly a thorough surveying and levelling for a number of years and to collect old hydraulic data of these rivers if available. Meanwhile, a scheme for a river training laboratory can be prepared in some of the foremost laboratories of Europe and America and a laboratory started near about Calcutta where water supply can be arranged regularly, where the required University atmosphere can be obtained and the accumulated experience of irrigation engineers can be made use of. If

Government Irrigation Department takes up the work of surveying and levelling, the laboratory scheme can be started with a capital expenditure of two to three lakhs of rupees and a recurring expense of about fifty to seventy thousand rupees. This scheme can develop as its activities increase till a Commission very much similar to the Danubian Commission grows up that will embrace within its ambit all the irrigation projects that take their water from the Ganges and her tributaries" (*Science and Culture*,—June, 1935).

RAKSHA BANDHAN

By CYRIL MODAK

To meet our Country's wily foe
And prove a hero, soon you go;
Against the perils of the way
A sister's talisman today
I'll fasten to your wrist,
With hands vermilion-kiss't.

The scarlet threads that I have blest,
And to my virgin lips have press't,
Will bind your heart to chivalry :
This bracelet of my memory
I'll fasten to your wrist,
With fingers henna-kiss't.

My lyric hopes and dirge-like fears,
The poetry of secret tears,
My dainty youth, my patriot-pride
Will thrill your heart when I have tied
My red braid to your wrist,
With fingers rapture-kiss't.

To nerve your arm against the might
Of hordes that plunder us by night,
To bring the hour of their defeat,
This tasselled bond, your sister sweet
Would fasten to your wrist, "
With hands that Love has kiss't.





ROAD ACCIDENTS IN INDIA DUE TO MOTOR TRAFFIC

By AMAL K. DATTA

"The volume of road accidents in India due to motor traffic, to which the low standard of cars and responsibility exercised by many drivers of motor vehicles has undoubtedly contributed and the extreme difficulty experienced by the injured parties in obtaining compensation make out a very strong case for compulsory insurance."

thus observed the Committee appointed to investigate into the question of enforcing compulsory insurance of motor vehicles against passengers' risks.

The time is ripe when the public should take more than passing notice of the rising toll of accidents due to the growth of motor transport in India during recent years. Not only the public but the Government also should take up the matter in right earnest and collect data, if necessary on the important subject, with a view to introduce legislation. The object of enforcing compulsory insurance is to secure some sort of relief for the injured parties, who are in most cases deprived of the damages due to them owing to the unsatisfactory financial status of the owner or driver of a motor vehicle, where negligence is the cause of accident.

In England, the large expansion of motor traffic along with a corresponding increase in the number of accidents and insufficient financial backing on the part of motor-car owners brought the question of introduction of compulsory insurance against third party risk in prominence in the year 1928. Hence the Road Traffic Act was passed in 1930, which came into force on 1st January 1931.

The Motor Vehicles Insurance Act came into force in New Zealand, Sweden and Czechoslovakia in the years 1929, 1930 and 1935 respectively.

It is evident from the above that the countries in the west are very much alive to this problem.

It was found at the time of introduction of the Road Traffic Act in England that about 90% motor vehicles were insured, whereas in India only 25% to 30% of private cars and 15% to 20% of public vehicles are insured. The Committee referred to above has; therefore, rightly remarked :

"The smallness of the proportion of vehicles in India at present insured against second and third party

risk magnifies the effect on the motor industry of the introduction of compulsory insurance."

It appears from the statistics collected by the said Committee that India has a heavier casualty list than any other country of the world and the position is far from improving.

Only in 1935 the Committee points out that 1,43,515 motor vehicles were responsible for the deaths of 1,334 and injuries to 10,305 passengers. This shows that on an average 93 deaths and 718 injuries per 10,000 vehicles occur in India whereas in New Zealand and England the percentage of death per 10,000 vehicles is 7.4 and 30.4 respectively. In India vehicles have increased 12½% in 2 years whereas deaths and reported injuries have increased by 25% and 35% respectively. The Committee comes to the conclusion that all classes of vehicles are responsible for the increase of accidents and regrets the lack of road-sense on the part of drivers and further states that public vehicles are responsible for the greater number of fatal accidents.

It is high time when Government should introduce such legislation in view of the fact that considering greater number of accidents due to black-out, where warning from the local authorities is of lesser value.

Accidents by private and public vehicles sometimes fetch compensation, though inadequate, without recourse to legal action. It may be mentioned here in this connection that the Commissioner of United Provinces states in this respect that only Rs. 25/- was paid to a child for the loss of a hand as compensation. As for fatal accidents such payment is hardly ever forthcoming. Almost all the Provincial Governments' Principal Chambers of Merchants and also non-official opinion are overwhelmingly in favour of compulsory insurance.

In these circumstances it is reasonable to expect that the Government of India will introduce legislation enforcing compulsory insurance especially in the case of public vehicles in the light of the Committee's recommendation because of the unsatisfactory financial condition of the owners and drivers of the public motor vehicles in this country.

It is needless to mention that the legislature will adopt the bill in consideration of the volume of public opinion and heavy casualty list.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Message

In sending his greetings to *Science and Culture* on the eighth anniversary of its birth Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observes :

The very name of this periodical signifies the two things which, more than anything else India, like all progressive and civilised nations, must possess. For science and culture in their widest meaning comprise almost everything. Science is the very basis and texture of life today and without it we perish or, what is even worse, slide back to barbarism. Science does not just mean the thousand and one applications of it that we see today, but even more so the scientific and rational approach to all problems of life. Science has made great progress in the west and raised the standard of living in some countries to unprecedented heights. And yet that very science has failed to solve the major problems of the age and we see war with all its horrors ravaging the world. Thus science destroys itself if it is not extended to the political, economic and other fields of human life and endeavour. It would appear that science today is in a position to solve all these problems, or most of them, and to create conditions of well-being and progress for all humanity. Yet though we swear by science and accept it advantageously for many purposes, still the habit of unscientific approach remains. Vested interests, superstitions and out-of-date customs prevent the full application of the scientific and the rational method.

Science thus becomes a narrow field unless it is accompanied by a wider and more far-seeing view of human society. This is where a real culture comes in. Not the narrow culture of the upper social groups that we see, but the real culture which enthuses the great majority of human beings and gives to all their undertakings a moral and human basis.

So science and culture are of the essence of life today, in war and in peace, and any periodical which serves the cause of science and culture performs a service to India and humanity. I wish that *Science and Culture* will continue its useful career and will widen its sphere of influence, so that its message may reach even the laymen in India and might not be confined to the experts and the scientists. It is comforting to know that in spite of the war and the difficulties that inevitably result from the war, this journal has continued to come out. Indeed, it is in these times of war and crisis that the rational message of science is all the more necessary. So more power to *Science and Culture*.

Col. Johnson, Stafford Cripps and Formula on Defence

In the course of his article on Defence in *The Triveni Quarterly* B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya observes :

Col. Johnson had arrived in India on the 3rd of April and it was reliably learnt in Delhi that his very

first words at the aerodrome, on alighting from his plane, were "Wuat about Cripps?" This presents Col. Johnson's arrival in India in a different light to that sought to be associated by Sir Stafford, when later he stated in England that the Colonel's arrival in India at the head of a Trade Mission was an accidental coincidence. Anyway the fact remained that a new character entered the stage and really captured it. For a week, it looked as though the centre of gravity shifted from Cripps to Johnson, from London to New York, from Churchill to Roosevelt. Col. Johnson himself sent word to Jawaharlal Nehru on 7th April that he would like to see him at the latter's (Jawaharlal's) residence, but feared that it would get publicity and therefore requested that Jawaharlal might see him at his own (Johnson's) place. This was done. But Sir Stafford raised a controversy in England by saying that a Congressman first wanted to see Col. Johnson. Why should Jawaharlal single out Col. Johnson from amongst the ten thousand Yankee Tommies then present in Delhi? Cripps' version has no legs to stand upon. As a matter of fact, Col. Johnson himself became a problem until he threw up his hands and said he had done his best. He was gushing and frank in his talks. Jawaharlal stated at the Press Conference in Delhi that he was invited to go to America and see Roosevelt in the fastest plane of the world. The Colonel set at rest all doubts about American designs upon India and repudiated any intention of finding an investment in India for American capital during the war and after it. He was also deeply sorry that Mr. Churchill should have been niggardly in admitting the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to India. Anyway he took the initiative in sending a letter to the Congress President which heralded an amended version of the Defence Formula.

There is little doubt that Cripps was trying to be clever. It was clear that the Working Committee rejected the proposals successively on three occasions; first on 2nd April, but Cripps wanted it not to be published in the Press. It was then that he sent a formula on Defence which was again rejected on the 7th—that was the second rejection,—but this time, it was asked by Col. Johnson that the rejection should not be published. Then came Col. Johnson with another formula on Defence and this formula, after undergoing several modifications, was finally rejected on 10th April. That was the third and last rejection. From these details, it is clear that defence was the rock on which the frail bark of Cripps' scheme split.

The Land of the Amazon

Marcella Hardy observes in *The Indian Review* :

Like a main artery the immense river Amazon, for two thousand miles and more, flows across the body of South America; its main tributaries rise in the Andes Range on the western coast of the continent; the Amazon proper covers at least one thousand miles before reaching the East coast and the Atlantic, where its estuary is crossed by the equator.

The equatorial regions are hostile to intruders and the dice are heavily loaded in favour of death by any one of the innumerable agents at Nature's command: intermittent rain and sun, constant steaming heat, unbelievable myriads of noxious insects, strange animals that creep and crawl and stalk their prey from tree to tree, from shrub to shrub.

Small primitive types of men live in these dense Amazonian forests and, like the animals around them, exist by the sixth sense of instinctive self-protection.

Strange tales are told of their customs and how they deal with the unwanted intruder; they, too, can fade back into the decayed undergrowth to shoot their poisoned darts, unseen and unheard. Such is the world that the explorer disturbs when he navigates the Amazonian water-courses. In this riot of fertility, each type of life belongs to an eternal cycle in which the one that preys becomes, in turn, the prey.

To the South of the Amazon where Nature gradually becomes exuberant, stretches the famous plateau of the Matto Grosso, still largely unexplored.

Innumerable rivers, most of them flowing northward into the tributaries of the Amazon, irrigate this vast Matto Grosso—great forest, in old Portuguese—which has for many years attracted explorers in quest of its wealth of mineral resources.

Brazil occupies the largest area of South America and is amongst its richest territories.

It is also something of a paradise for the Naturalist with its vast plantations of coffee and its variety of plant and animal life: pumas, jaguars, tapirs, alligators, to say nothing of some of the most venomous snakes in the world; Brazil offers, too, beautiful birds with melodious throats, luscious fruits, marvellous butterflies, and exquisite flowers. All this and more is Brazil.

Below the regions of the Matto Grosso, a magnificent port on the Atlantic is brilliant—Rio de Janeiro. A capital city, it is with its wide avenues, parks, and spacious mansions; and with its white, pink, or pale blue villas clinging to the steep hill-side in nests of trees and flowers.

Past Rio de Janeiro and past Santos, the chief centre of a vast coffee-growing area, southwards across the green plains of Uruguay is the capital Montevideo.

As in all other habitable regions of South America, Roman Catholic and Jesuit missionaries settled here during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They built churches and garden estates, some of which still thrive.

From Montevideo across the immense estuary of Rio de la Plata lies Buenos Aires, another brilliant capital that rose to its present proportions from a mere huddle of mud-huts and sheds along the river bank.

The wealth of the Argentine comes from its packing-houses, hides, wools, and grain.

In the interior are vast estates whose areas are reckoned in leagues and the heads of cattle in thousands.

Northwards now, across the length of Entre Rios—the land between rivers—flat and grey-green for mile upon mile, then over the ferry at Posada, the train reaches Encarnacion, the border town of Paraguay.

The terminus of the "International," the railway

line from the South, is Asuncion. From this capital cargo boats go down the river Paraguay to Buenos Aires.

Lengua, Guaranis, and Inca blood mixed with Spanish and Portuguese runs in the veins of most South Americans east of the Andes. For along time, the mixture was an unhappy one that produced little to recommend it, but with passing generations a balance was achieved and the result is now manifest in a distinct race with its characteristic traits.

The Russian Front

The New Review observes editorially:

Developments on the Russian Front have disappointed the *a priori* admirers of everything Russian. Marshal Timoshenko's effort at forestalling the Nazi offensive was sound but his tactics were not up to Von Bock's standards. Marshal Timoshenko failed in the same way as he failed on former occasions: he was too slow; with his sluggish handling of troops, he could not develop the advantage which his surprise attack had secured; now in modern warfare, more than in the past, rapidity of manoeuvre is the secret of victory, especially against a master manoeuvrer as Von Bock who was quick to take advantage of the conditions of a fluid-like front and to wrench the initiative from the enemy.

Marshal Timoshenko did so poorly that Marshal Shaposhnikov had to interfere directly on the field. Marshal Shaposhnikov is officially the Chief of Staff at the G. H. Q. and is always at Stalin's elbow; in Soviet strategy, the voice is Stalin's but the brain is Shaposhnikov's. Marshal Timoshenko proved and developed his talent on the battlefield after the November Revolution and it is only after the army purges of 1937-38 that he 'grew as fast as a pine sapling in a thinned out wood.' Marshal Shaposhnikov is rather an intellectual strategist in the manner of Foch; a colonel in the Tzarist army, he passed over to the Revolution; but he showed no active interest in politics and stuck to his military studies, and his chess games. He is cold, reticent and his tall fur bonnet is as forbidding as his name. He has a good many books on strategy to his credit, and is said to know by heart every page of his favourite author, who is no other than Karl Von Clausewitz. He is responsible for the plans which were elaborated against Poland, Finland and Germany. By dint of unbending vigilance and skilful gunnery, he defeated the Nazi assault against Moscow and wrested the offensive from the enemy for the winter season.

Yet he has not succeeded in securing the objectives that would have placed him in a favourable position to resist the summer offensive of the Nazis. He did not free Leningrad, the Nazis remain in occupation of Schlusselfberg, due east of the city; he did not recapture Smolensk which would have greatly facilitated the defence of Moscow; he did not reach Dnepropetrovsk and could not put the Dnieper river as a barrier against enemy assault. But we may assume that he has prepared against the worse. It would be preposterous not to expect further setbacks on the Russian front during the summer months; Marshal Shaposhnikov will do well if he can cling to Leningrad and Moscow, and retreat in order as far as the Don; provided he can keep his line unbroken, he would be in a position to resume a large-scale offensive next winter.

Tagore's Art

Nandalal Bose writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

There are five connectives in a picture. Together they make a complete whole. The first is the Idea, the motive behind the subject; the second, the technique; the third, the balance, the adjustment of differences; the fourth is the surface quality or treatment and the fifth, the life movement. This last is the most important, though it hardly lends itself to definition. These are separately taken up for the purposes of analysis but in the finished picture they are so intermingled that it is difficult to say where one begins and the other ends.

The artist generally begins with the Idea. Next, he starts giving it a form. The practice is the same everywhere, East or West. But Gurudev's peculiarity was that he would start with the form straight away even before the idea had taken shape in his imagination. At first sight it would seem that he was playing with some architectural design or experimenting with some colour effect in composition. But when he had given it the finishing touch, the whole composition would seem replete with the life movement with all component parts properly adjusted and so intermingled that the whole production became a real work of art. Only a great genius like Gurudev could achieve this. He would unceremoniously break all popular and realistic conventions which, as a matter of fact, he never cared to study and yet his pictures never suggested unreality. They were real in the true sense. The average man may have doubts about the greatness of it all, but that would only indicate that the average man has not risen above the vulgar convention of giving importance to the object depicted rather than to the picture as a whole.

That the original Idea with which the artist starts often gets modified during transition, sometimes even out of all recognition, has been the experience of almost all of us. When the picture is finished, it is surprising to find sometimes how the connectives have adhered themselves to quite a separate set of ideas and have intermingled with the happiest of results. Gurudev often had such experiences. Again, he would never deliberately ignore the object but he would not give it any undue importance either. For this too, Gurudev's pictures can claim a certain distinctiveness.

Gurudev once told me that Truth, however, you may define it, has the power of attraction inherent in it. It must draw your inner self towards itself and the more you open yourself to it the more you will feel its hypnotic influence. The unnatural through its very novelty may attract us for a time, but the attraction does not last if there is no truth in it. The very fact that Gurudev's experiments in the grotesque, instead of repulsing us, continue to attract us more and more as time passes, proves that the truth element in them is not a negligible factor.

Our artists of old were not realists. The scientific treatment of the object was unknown to them. Nevertheless, they were creators of beautiful forms. Take, for example, the treatment of the picture of a house with a man standing in front of it. The realistic artist would only bring into the picture that portion of the house which is covered by the man's vision thus sacrificing individuality to scientific precision. The artist of the Indian school, on the other hand, would bring the

house and the man entire into the picture emphasising the individuality in each. In the hands of a real artist this latter treatment will undoubtedly have a happier effect. It will be a live picture, though not a realistic one. Needless to repeat, Gurudev consistently followed the Indian way.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri writes in *The Indian P. E. N.* :

"In wit, a man; in simplicity, a child" sums up the mental endowment of Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar whom I was privileged to know intimately and who recently passed away full of years and honours.

He and my great and noble father the late Professor K. Sundararama Iyer, who lived to be 87 and 84 years of age respectively, knew each other very intimately. They were born in successive years and spent many decades working in the same college at Kumbakonam.

My father was a devotee of the Sanskrit language and literature as Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar was of Tamil. Yet both felt that the two languages were the two eyes of India and that each had an original, underived and magnificent culture which was deeply and profoundly influenced by the other. The Tamil *Vedas* had a supreme fascinating charm in my father's eyes, while Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar used always to speak with bated breath and boundless reverence about the Sanskrit *Vedas*. Both were devoted to the *Panchakshari* (five-syllable) mantra which glorifies God Siva as the adorable divinity. Both used to bathe before dawn and perform their *gayatri japa* in the Kaveri and meditate on "the Timeless in the flame which measures Time." Both used to return home together with wet garments, and with their bodies smeared with holy ashes deep in converse on "the mighty minds of old."

Their never failing friends were they

With whom they conversed night and day.

Both were devoted to books as their most beloved intellectual companions. When their lives had passed the meridian and hastened westwards to sunset and nightfall, they drew ever closer together in spirit.

Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar was taught by that great scholar and poet Vidwan Minakshi Sundaram Pillai. When he was only twenty-five years of age, he succeeded a great Tamil scholar—Pandit Tyagaraja Chettiar—at the Kumbakonam College. He was later the Tamil Pandit at the Presidency College at Madras and was for some years Professor of Tamil in the Tamil College at Chidambaram, where he organized admirably the Tamil studies of the Annamalai University.

Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar was a pioneer in bringing to light the lost Tamil masterpieces. He went in bullock carts into distant nooks and corners of the Tamil Nad to recover the priceless and invaluable manuscripts of the masterpieces of the Sangham Age. In the course of her long journey down the road of time, amidst political convulsions, the goddess of Tamil culture had lost her jewels and gems. Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar traced them and restored to her her gem-filled anklet (*Silappadikaram*), her gem-bright golden girdle (*Manimekhalai*) and the glories jewel of her heart (*Chintamani*). He published these as well as other recovered masterpieces, such as *Purananum Pathupattu*, *Paripadal*, *Perunkathai*, *Takka Vajna Parani*, etc.

He was not an ordinary annotator and editor. He

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FOUR CARDINAL POINTS

(From our 28th Annual Report)

STRENGTH

Assets increased by Rs. 20 lakhs—a more substantial gain than in any previous year of our history. Assets at the end of 1941 exceed Rs. 166 lakhs.

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New Business paid for amounted to Rs. 68,73,149—a gain of 3½%. Over 33 lakhs were added to the total insurance in force. Since 1935 this total has grown from 276 lakhs to Rs. 534 lakhs.

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Expense Ratio reduced from 22.51 to 21.41 in spite of present abnormal rise in cost of living. This is a guarantee of continued prosperity and a proud record for a young company.

SERVICE

A low lapse rate indicates satisfied policy-holders and competent service in the field. During 1941 our proportion of lapsed policies was the lowest in our history and the lowest in the land.

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had a rare genius for the reconstruction of such manuscript material as was available only in all degrees of mutilation and worm-eatenness.

But he was not only a reconstructor. He was also a great interpreter. He could see into the minds of the ancient masters and interpret them as none else before or during or after his time could ever do. He combined the Pandit's depth of learning with the modern scholar's breadth of critical vision.

He was a perfect gentleman, the very soul of honour and of chivalry. He had a playful and at times disconcerting wit but it was gentle raillery rather than mordant satire. He was at first trained to a musician's career but he felt drawn to a scholar's life and worshipped Manuscript in preference to Music.

Thus Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar was at the same time the soul of harmony, the soul of humour and the soul of honour.

His Tamil prose is limpid, simple and charming, though generally learned Pandits write in a crabbed and unintelligible style which causes despair in the popular mind while kindling the satire of other scholars.

Communal Unity in India

Sentiments are the basis of human behaviour. It is in these sentiments that we must look for the cause of communal conflict. P. S. Naidu writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

Hindus and Muslims have organized their sentiments into widely differing scales, and their master sentiments are poles apart. For the Hindu oneness with every living and non-living thing that exists, is the highest ideal. It is this all-pervading universal sympathy and feeling of identity with the universal self that is connoted by the most sacred Hindu term—Brahman. The Brahman-regarding sentiment is the master sentiment in the Hindu scheme of organization of sentiment values. For the Muslim the individual self-assertion is the ideal. Self-regard is the master sentiment for the Muslim. This difference is brought out very strikingly in the Hindu and Muslim conception of brotherhood.

For the Hindu every living creature down to the humblest insect is his brother.

Perhaps this universal concept has made the feeling attached to it very dilute and even ineffective. But that is the fault of the individuals professing Hinduism, not of the Hindu *Weltanschauung*.

For the Muslim, brotherhood is very intense and effective in the practical sense only within the Islamic fold.

Anyone outside Islam, be he the most saintly and the most highly evolved soul, is a Kaffir.

Nations, groups, and races organize their sentiment scales under the guidance of their gifted leaders in religion, philosophy, art, and literature. These scales sink deep into the minds of the ordinary folk and colour deeply their daily life. They are then transmitted, according to Lamarckian principles of inheritance, to successive generations. They become part of the inherited mental structure of all the individuals belonging to that particular nation, group, or race. Traditions, customs, and taboos come into existence, and control the daily life of men and women sometimes down to the very minute details of their conduct.

It is by reorienting and reorganizing these aspects of life, not by political and economic sops, that we should try to bring about communal harmony.

When the traditions, customs, taboos, and ideals of one group are irreconcilable with, and repugnant to, another set of ideals and traditions of a different group, then conflict is bound to arise. If these two groups are forced to live close together, and if external causes tend to accentuate their differences, then the conflict is bound to develop into a conflagration.

The natural channels of expression for the great ruling national sentiments are art, philosophy, and religion. It is through the deliberate and purposeful manipulation and reorientation of these channels that we can hope to achieve a corresponding reorganization of the sentiments in the minds of men and women of warring communities.

The most effective way of achieving the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity is to bring about a common culture through the synthesis of the Muslim and Hindu art, music, literature, philosophy, traditions, and customs down to food and dress if necessary. In fact, a unified Hindu-Muslim *Weltanschauung*, and a harmonized Hindu-Muslim way of living should be brought about. The ways and means for achieving this unity should be devised by leaders of action.

The Three World Wars

It is a fascinating task to compare the main features, trends and course of the three Great World Wars. In the course of his article in *The Indian Review* Sir Jehangir C. Coyajee makes the following remarks :

These are, it need scarcely be said, the Napoleonic War, the Great War of 1914-1918, and the present war. Some day, no doubt, an eminent master of history will give the world a great work that will be worthy of the subject. But that anticipation need not prevent even humble students of history from putting together a few notes and observations on the great topic. History requires the services of all classes of workers, provided only that they do not stand and wait.

The three wars referred to above are world wars in more than one sense. They were waged in more than one continent and they decided the political fate of countries, scattered over the various continents. The parallel trends and features shown by these giant conflicts are due not to the action of similar ideologies or personalities but to the basic geographical, racial and strategic factors. The characters and capacities of no two men can differ more than those of Hitler and Napoleon; and yet Hitler's ambitious efforts and adventures are running the same course as those of Napoleon. Both found in England the great fortress of freedom which they vainly attempted to invade. Both massed their forces near Boulogne and threatened England. In the course of their struggle against England, both had to occupy the greater part of the Continent, and finally to invade Russia with consequences disastrous to themselves. The force of basic conditions led very different personalities follow the same chain of military adventure and the same lines of policy. In this sense, indeed, we can speak of something like historical and political determinism.

Nor can difference of ideologies matter a great deal in the face of those basic conditions which dominate world history.

What systems can differ more than French Republicanism of the eighteenth century and Fascism of our age? So far as ideals go, the systems stand poles apart and are as mutual antitheses. This was well brought out when the Fascist triumph in 1940 led the Vichy rulers to make an attempt openly and avowedly to break away from the principles of the French Revolution. Yet this opposition of principles has had little effect on programmes of conquest and annexation—on the application of the policy of *divide et impera* in territories from the Balkans to Scandinavia. In the East, too, the Japanese slogan of “co-prosperity sphere for Asia” sounds like an echo of the war-cry “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.” Japan professes like Republican France of the eighteenth century to liberate nations and to break their chains. In both cases the actual consequence has been to load the “liberated” lands with the heaviest and most galling of chains—new records in the long and unhappy history of political servitude.

A synoptic study of the three World Wars is useful not only for emphasizing the basic factors of history but also, to some extent, as a guide to policy.

Thus when some publicists advocate the rash and premature opening of a second Front on the Continent, they are best confuted by the lessons of the earlier world wars. Thus, it was Napoleon himself who gave the British the great chance of opening a second front in the Iberian peninsula. His unwise policy in attempting to annex Spain and Portugal gave the British their real opportunity. But earlier efforts to open up a second front were signal failures, as in the case of the Walcheren expedition. The best parallel to Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Spain, in the course of the present war, is the invasion of China by Japan. The fanatic opposition of the Spaniards to Napoleon is admirably matched by the patriotic spirit of the Chinese, which no defeats can quench. In spite of their victories in the field, the legions of Napoleon melted away in Spain; and at St. Helena, the French Emperor ascribed his downfall in great measure to “the Spanish ulcer.” Similarly, General Tojo may have to complain, in the not distant future, of “the Chinese ulcer.”

A Glance on Asokan Art

A writer observes in the Vaishakha number of *The Maha-Bodhi* :

The great event that made Asoka (277-236 B.C.) an unparalleled monarch was his conversion to Buddhism, and the activities he performed in propagating the doctrines of Lord Buddha. In order to make his subjects familiar with the tenets of his new faith, he caused a series of edicts to be engraven on rocks and pillars in different parts of the country. This method

of engraving was not limited to India, but it spread over other countries, such as Syria, Macedonia, Egypt, Northern Africa, Western and Central Asia and so on.

At present none of his stupas or monasteries are existing in such a condition as to be easily identified, but there is no reason to doubt that the sculptured railings at Buddha Gaya, Sarnath, Bharhut, and his edicts on the Sanchi-Stupa, pillars at Rampurawa, Sarnath, Allahabad, Lumbini, Maski were erected or engraven during his reign.

It is in the Maski edict that we get the name of King Asoka.

The Maski edict was founded in 1915. Though many of the pillars and edicts were identified with the help of the works which were written by ancient pilgrims, yet there are edicts which are not mentioned by the pilgrims. They are identified by the alphabetical resemblance and the text of the inscriptions. The alphabets of the other edicts resemble the Maski edict, where we get the name of King Asoka clearly. Thus the archaeological research scholars came to the conclusion that other edicts which bore similar remarks to the Maski edict, were also engraven by the great Asoka. These inscriptions and sculptures make up a mass of material for a picture of Indian art during his period such as no other age can present.

Asokan Art is absolutely pure in its Indian character. It begins with a school of sculpture and architecture of such far-reaching importance that it opens a new chapter in the annals of art.

Stone had been used in Indian architecture for centuries before, what to speak of the Asokan era. In the field of sculpture, many developments had been taking place. The developments that took place in the era of Asoka were only due to the change of values in the field of art, due to his conversion.

The art was getting gradual growth. Asoka helped it or gave something new to it inasmuch as he gave a new inspiration to it.

In Asokan art the capitals of pillars are seen in the shape of four animals, viz., lion, elephant, bullock and horse. In Buddhist literature when describing the banks of four directions of Anawa-Tallwa-Sarowar these four animals are mentioned. In Indian art the description of these four animals is found for many centuries. This tradition continued up to the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The Hindi poet Keshawa describing the palace of Ramchandra has written some lines for the purpose of mentioning the four directions : (1) Lion, (2) Elephant, (3) Horse and (4) Bullock.

Perhaps these four animals are signs of four directions. Among these four animals the first two and the last are still found on the top of different pillars but the third ‘horse’ was perhaps on the top of a Lumbini pillar which former may be under the ground near the pillar. The picture of the four animals is found beautifully sculptured in the capital at Sarnath just near the lion's feet.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Russia and Japan

Discussing the possibilities of a forthcoming war between Russia and Japan in his article "The Siberian War Cloud," written just before the entry of Japan into the second World War, W. H. Chamberlin observes in *Asia* :

The Siberian war cloud which hung heavily over North-eastern Asia for many years, which seemed to lighten after the outbreak of World War II and still more after the signature of the Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact of last April, again looms ominously on the international horizon. The regions of the modern world are disconcertingly similar to a series of compartments in an arsenal, each filled with high explosives. A shift of weather in Russia from heavy rain to clear and freezing, making possible a resumption at full strength of the German drive against Moscow, might let loose new hosts of combatants along the bleak, desolate three thousand miles of frontier between Manchoukuo and Siberia and Outer Mongolia.

The military and economic strain of Japan's war with China, which has entered its fifth year and shows

no signs of coming to an end, provides the principal explanation of the failure of the Japanese to make any move against Siberia during the first months when the full weight of Hitler's war machine was being thrown against the Soviet Union.

But it is most unlikely that Japan can remain in the role of a passive spectator of the Soviet-German conflict indefinitely. The hour of decision inexorably approaches, despite all the risks which such hours always bring. It is almost impossible for Japan to remain aloof in the event of a major Soviet defeat. And such a defeat, if it has not occurred already (we possess no approximately reliable figures as to Soviet losses in men and material) is a not improbable development of the fairly near future or, at the latest, of the coming spring.

Japan has a double incentive to strike for Vladivostok if Soviet military weakness should have apparently reached the irremediable stage. There is the impulse to eliminate an air and naval base which has always, but especially during the past decade, been a thorn in Japan's side. Vladivostok is the only well-equipped air base which is within range of Japan's inflammable large cities. From Vladivostok to Tokyo is a flight of about seven hundred miles, not so short as the distances from which Germany and England hammer away at each other, but too short to be comfortable. The substantial Soviet submarine flotilla at Vladivostok could seriously disrupt Japan's lines of communication with Manchoukuo and Korea.

Vladivostok in the hands of Hitler, should a Vichy regime emerge in Russia, would perhaps be even more formidable and disquieting than Vladivostok in the hands of the Soviets. Great squadrons of German bombers in the Russian Far East would exert the strongest kind of pressure on Japan's decisions. The Island Empire might sink to the status of an oriental Italy, a mere appendage of the Third Reich octopus.

To wrest Vladivostok from a chronically hostile Russia, to safeguard Vladivostok and the approaches to the Pacific against a too powerful Germany: these are natural Japanese political and strategic aims.

What are the relative advantages and disadvantages on both sides in the case of an actual struggle?

In this Far Eastern theatre one could reckon the following advantages for the Soviets. Their war industries are more developed and supplied more and better tanks and airplanes than the Japanese possessed. The countryside in the Soviet rear, while sparsely populated, is more homogeneous in racial make-up and more politically reliable than Manchuria, where the Japanese are still in the position of a small alien ruling class. The blows which the Russian air force could strike at Japan from the air are more severe and telling than those which Japan could aim at the Soviet Union, because the main centers of Soviet industry and population are far removed from eastern Siberia. On the other hand, by discounting the loss of a considerable number of airplanes, the Soviet army command could reasonably hope to inflict a good deal of damage on such pivotal centers of industry and sea communication as Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kobe and Osaka.

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Japan also possessed certain visible military advantages. Barring an improbable total disruption of communications by Soviet air bombing, the Island Empire could rush reinforcements and supplies to the important sectors of the front much faster than the Soviet Far Eastern army could hope to obtain help from European Russia. Japan would be fighting on the shorter inner lines with a much better net-work of railway lines. And Japan's superiority at sea would make it possible to blockade Vladivostok from the moment war broke out and to cover landings at various points in the Maritime Province of Siberia.

Each side has been energetically struggling to improve its position for the war which has always been regarded, both in Tokyo and in Moscow, as probable, if not inevitable.

There has been no attempt to construct fortifications of Maginot Line proportions along the extensive, desolate, slightly inhabited frontier. But the Red army has erected a chain of forts at those points along the rivers where invasion might be most reasonably anticipated. Underground hangars and oil storage tanks have been established and there has been every effort to make the Far Eastern army independent of supplies from European Russia for a fairly long period of time. Like Leningrad, Vladivostok has been transformed into a fortress, with powerful shore batteries mounted on the forest-clad hills around this chief Russian port on the Pacific.

The Japanese have also been making energetic military and economic preparations for war. Several new branch railway lines have been built up to the Soviet frontier. Some towns in Northern Manchoukuo, such as Mutankiang and Kiamusze, have grown very rapidly and have become important military and air bases.

A large new town, laid out along typical Japanese colonial lines, and provided with excellent harbor facilities, has been built on the site of the former fishing village of Rashin, in Northern Korea. Rashin is within an hour's flying distance of Vladivostok, and an air duel between the old Russian stronghold on the Pacific and the new Japanese outpost of imperialism might sound off the Soviet-Japanese War. There is an important Japanese air base in the vicinity of Rashin and an iron and steel works would doubtless be turned into a munitions factory in the event of war, if it is not already serving this purpose.

India and China

In an article under the above caption in *The International Review of Missions*, E. D. Spicer eulogises and emphasizes the importance of the present growing relations between the two great countries:

There have been times in the history of China and India when relations between them have been of considerable significance.

But in more recent centuries India and Burma have moved in a somewhat different orbit from China. . . . After a long period of relative indifference, China is again turning towards India and Burma and they towards her. There are many small indications that this is not only an affair of trade routes and commerce, important as they are, but also of personalities and ideals. These two types of forces may combine to forge very close and important links.

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This growing rapprochement between two great peoples, so vast in population and of such great potential strength, may be of much importance if it becomes a living reality. Both are peace-loving peoples, both are desirous of improving the lot of their own peoples rather than of dominating others and both are increasingly conscious of the overwhelming importance of their rural populations. Both at the moment have strong left-wing movements and both have much of their energy and thought taken up with the struggle against another country, whose desire to dominate them seems to stand in the way of their own legitimate self-development, China with Japan, India with Great Britain (though it would probably be fair to say that Indian opinion of British rule would vary more than Chinese opinion of Japanese rule).

In view of the present relation between India and China, what should be Great Britain's policy towards them?

Great Britain's policy in the Far East has been somewhat hesitant. We cannot stand alone in the Far East, and from a purely materialist point of view we surely stand to gain from being on genuinely friendly terms with China. Yet can we remain on good terms with China on the basis of full equality if we appear as an oppressor towards another great oriental people? The Chinese are bound to become more and more aware of British policy in India; is it such that it can bear the light of their full scrutiny? Must we not admit that while in the British Empire there is one strand of thought and development marked by an ever-growing freedom and grant of self-government, there is another strand of old-fashioned imperialism, marked by a desire to dominate and control, by racial arrogance and social snobbishness? We cannot appear in both roles and at the same time follow a successful policy in Asia.

Freedom and the Liberal Forces

The Inquirer observes that though many men are stunned in their inner life by the seeming triumph of evil in our own day, there are vast forces of freedom and liberty gathering strength to overcome the dark evil forces:

It is a thinker in one of the countries partly submerged by the evil things who has pointed out in our own recent day that history is the history of freedom. A thinker from Fascist Italy. Benedetto Croce more than once during the Fascist dictatorship has spoken for the real soul of Europe. Just as in the past men created the movement of history around their passion for liberty, so it is being created in the present. Beyond the boundaries of the power of the evil things there are vast forces gathering strength, fitfully, hesitatingly, yet with irresistible power, to declare that the threat of the dark forces shall be overcome. It would be unreasonable, to put it no higher than that, to assume that superstition and essential reaction has greater power than reason and the urge for human progress. Look beneath the surface; who can suppose that Mussolini will permanently hold a deeper place in the hearts of his countrymen

than, say, Garibaldi, or any one of the Italian Fascist leaders as deep a place as Mazzini?

Who can suppose that when all those liberal, visionary forces come to strength in Germany again, the forces that, in spite of all that Lord Vansittart has to say, always have been present in Germany—who can suppose that when they come to the surface that the miserable trio, Hitler, Goering and Goebbels, will not be given their rightful place? As well as a struggle for liberty this world struggle is a titanic one for reason. The vast incoherence of all the Axis effort is demonstration enough for that. Sprawled out in Russia what are their forces doing there and why have they come? Does the common Rumanian, Hungarian, Italian soldier know? Does the common German soldier?—told now to struggle for winter quarters or die. It is not possible to read into any of the Axis declarations during this war any comprehensible limit, any reasoned plan of what is desired. The fate of Germany, cries Hitler, for a thousand years is at stake. Which in effort is saying, "I don't know what I want, neither do you, but isn't it marvellous!" Side by side with that cry, the Atlantic charter, and the work of quiet men trying to implement it, is like the enlightenment of civilisation amidst the savage yells of a primitive tribe!

When is a Man Religious?

In *The Christian Register* we happen to find a definition of religion which seems very appropriate to us. The writer says that true religion consists in harmonious relationships and universal sympathies of a man with the great world to which he belongs:

When shall we regard a person as religious in a worthy sense?

A person is truly religious when he is sincere in his yearning for the kind of goodness that appeals to him to be noble. Conscious insincerity and a worthy religious experience are incompatible. Jesus pointed this out with great emphasis. He enjoined a drastic test. "If, therefore, thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift." (Matt. 5: 23, 24). In other words, if one desires the feeling of harmonious relationship with God, he will reveal the sincerity of this desire by the keenness with which he seeks harmonious relationships with his family and with the members of his community. Pretence and religious ritual may go together, but not pretence and real communion with God.

What makes a man irreligious is not his humanism or his agnosticism or even his declared atheism; what makes a person religious is not his declaration of belief in the one true God or his participation in religious ceremonies. What makes a person religious is rather the breadth of his sympathies and his understanding, his appreciation of the great world to which he belongs and his honest acceptance of himself as a modest contributor to the well-being of that world. He who is most broadly human in his sympathies is most divine in his character.



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NOTES

The Congress Resolution

The following is the text of the Congress Working Committee's resolution which was placed before the All-India Congress Committee on the 7th August and accepted by it on the 8th August last :

"The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution, dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British Rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

PRAISE FOR RUSSIA AND CHINA

"The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of

empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

VITAL AND IMMEDIATE ISSUE

"The ending of British Rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A Free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

"The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT

"The A.-I. C. C. therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British Power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The Provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary

functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong.

"The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

"The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to this freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial power.

WORLD FEDERATION

"While the A-I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand, a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

"An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

"Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

NATIONS' ANTIPATHY

"The Committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need.

ATTITUDE TO AGGRESSORS

"The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

RENEWED APPEAL

"The A-I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction, for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and Independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

APPEAL TO PEOPLE

"The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

"Lastly, whilst the A-I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A-I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India."—A. P.

Mr. Amery on the A-I. C. C. Resolution

Both the highest authorities who, humanly speaking, rule the destiny of India, namely, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, and Lord

Linlithgow, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, have made their pronouncements on the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee demanding independence for India. It is not necessary, nor will it serve any useful purpose, to comment in detail on the pronouncement of either. But, as in duty bound, we will make a few observations.

As Mr. Amery is the higher authority of the two, we will begin with what he has said. On the 9th August last his talks were broadcasted to the British Isles and Africa. On the 10th followed his broadcast to America. From the brief summary of the latter which *Reuter* has cabled out to India, it appears to have been more offensive in tone than the former.

Mr. Amery said :

"What India is up against is nothing less than a deliberate campaign to sabotage her war effort and the war effort of all Indians, British, Americans or Chinese who are in Indian soil and with the wholehearted support of the Government of India and of the loyal and responsible elements who form the vast majority of the people of India are today engaged in the present struggle for human freedom."

As mere journalists we cannot imitate so high a functionary as Mr. Amery. We cannot and will not say that he has deliberately misrepresented the aim and object of the Congress. But what we are constrained to say is that what he has said is false.

The primary object of the A.-I. C. C. resolution was, no doubt, the achievement of Indian independence. But, so far as the war effort is concerned, its object was also to enable India to render the fullest help to that effort that she is capable of. We have reproduced the resolution in full, but we will again print some of the sentences in which this object can be discerned even by persons of ordinary intelligence.

"It is clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is . . . enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom."

"A free India will assure this success ["of freedom and democracy"] by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations and give those nations whose Ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world."

"The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British dominations. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot pro-

duce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war."

"The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only . . . reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the United Nations."

In his broadcast to America Mr. Amery said :

"What India is up against is nothing less than a deliberate campaign to sabotage her war effort and the war effort of all Indians, British, Americans or Chinese who are in Indian soil."

In his first broadcast on the Congress resolution, addressed to the British Isles and Empire, he had said similarly :

"The real concern is not the demand, which cannot be taken seriously, but the action which the Congress is resolved upon and for which preparation has now for some time been in progress. This includes the fomenting of strikes in industry, commerce, administration, law courts, schools and colleges, interruption of traffic and public utility services, cutting of telegraph and telephone wires and the picketing of troops and recruiting stations. All this has been done non-violently." (Mark the "has been." Ed., *M. R.*)

These passages in the two broadcasts, coupled with the declaration that "in the face of this challenge and menace the Indian Government must needs take swift and firm action before the campaign gathered momentum," create the impression that the "challenge and threat" of a mass struggle contained in the Congress resolution was not a contingent but an actual, unconditional and immediate "challenge" and that the moment the resolution was passed the struggle was to begin, if it had not already begun with the passing of the resolution. But all readers of newspapers in India know, from an Associated Press message published in the newspapers, certainly not without the knowledge of the Government, that what was in contemplation after the passing of the resolution was that Gandhiji was to address a letter to the Viceroy and that either he or the Congress President was to address similar communications to the heads of Britain's three principal allies, viz., China, Russia and America. It was only if these appeals failed to evoke any satisfactory response that the mass struggle might or would begin. But such appeals, of which the British Government might have taken advantage to arrive at a satisfactory settlement, were rendered impossible by the precipitate action of the Government of India.

Among the different items of the alleged Congress "preparation" for the mass struggle mentioned in Mr. Amery's broadcast to America, as also in the resolution of the Governor-General-in-Council on the A.-I. C. C. resolution, there are some which involve the use of physical force, which means violence. As Gandhiji was to have directed the mass struggle contemplated and as he has given repeated proofs of strict adherence to non-violence, such items cannot possibly have been included in his instructions, if any, or been approved by him.

Only one or two instances of his disapproval and condemnation of violence, not merely in words but also in practice need be mentioned here. When riots broke out in Bombay in connection with the visit of the then Prince of Wales (now the Duke of Windsor) Gandhiji began a fast which he broke only on receiving an assurance that quiet had been completely restored. After the outbreak of mob violence at Chauri Chaura he called off the second civil disobedience movement. Dr. Rushbrook Williams, who for several years was a sort of official annalist, has recorded in several volumes his opinion of what Gandhiji's teachings and personality have done to wean away large numbers of our youth from terrorism and terroristic influences; e.g. :—

"But the spirit of modern India is changing, and young idealists can now find an outlet for their energies in directions more profitable both for their country and for themselves than the organization of anarchical outrage. The idealism characterising some aspects of Mr. Gandhi's movement must certainly not be deprived of its share of the credit for the achievement of this state of affairs."—*India in 1922-23*.

"The earlier stages of the non-co-operation movement, with its emphasis on non-violence, placed a considerable obstacle in their (terrorists') way. Mr. Gandhi's ideals and personality captured the imagination of the emotional middle class youth . . . to whom the terrorists have always looked for their recruits."—*India in 1924-25*.

(Quoted in *The Indian Social Reformer*).

Mr. Amery's first broadcast made on the evening of the 9th August last contains the following passage in relation to the failure of the Cripps Mission :

"The negotiations broke down mainly owing to the intransigent all-or-nothing attitude of Congress leaders who demanded that the Government of India should be handed over to a group of Indian politicians responsible to nobody. This would have been a negation of democracy and would have been acceptable to neither the 95 million Moslems of India nor to many other elements in India's national life. The rejection of the British proposal profoundly disappointed public opinion in India and has seriously shaken the credit of Congress leadership. In this situa-

tion Mr. Gandhi has determined upon a kind of open clash with the Government which is calculated to arouse mass emotion and so regain prestige for himself and his associations and focus attention upon themselves as the champions of India against so-called British oppression. That is the sum and substance of the real meaning of this latest move."

This passage contains several incorrect and misleading statements. It was unsportsmanlike to make such statements after imprisoning those Congress leaders who had talks with Sir Stafford Cripps and could have corrected them effectively from personal knowledge. But though these leaders are in jail, these statements of Mr. Amery have not gone unchallenged.

It has been correctly pointed out that the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps broke down, not because of the alleged but non-existent intransigent all-or-nothing attitude of the Congress leaders, but because Sir Stafford Cripps and the Government which he represented were unwilling to give real power to the proposed National Government in India, especially in the essential matter of Defence. Does not Mr. Amery know that Sir Stafford Cripps said that even if all parties in India were united in their demand for the Defence portfolio being entirely placed in Indian hands, it would be impossible for the British Government to transfer the control of India's war effort to an Indian ministry ?

It is a travesty of truth to say that the attitude of the Congress was all-or-nothing. On the contrary, as made known by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in one of his pronouncements, the Congress in its negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps lowered its demands as much as was practicable.

Another misstatement of Mr. Amery's is that the Congress demanded that the Government of India should be handed over to a group of Indian politicians responsible to nobody. The Congress never made any such demand.

It wanted the National Government to be representative of the principal parties and groups in the country and to be responsible to the legislature. The Congress was in fact the one party in the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps that from the first asked that the Government of India should be a truly responsible government, both during the transitional stage and later.

It is amusing to hear Mr. Amery talk of democracy. Does he not know that the essence of democracy consists in the ruling persons being responsible to the people ? Is the British Government of India responsible to the people

of India as a whole or to any section of them or even to a single Indian ?

According to Mr. Amery, Indian Muslims are 95 millions strong. Some months ago he used to say they were 90 millions. How fast they are growing ! He talked as if all Indian Muslims were Muslim Leaguers ! The Momins, claiming to be at least 50 per cent. of the entire Muslim population, Muslim Congressmen (whose number is larger than that of Muslim Leaguers) and several other large Muslim groups have openly repudiated the claim of the League to be their mouthpiece.

As the British proposal brought out to India by Sir Stafford Cripps did not satisfy a single Indian party or group, it is, therefore, untrue to say that its rejection profoundly disappointed public opinion in India. Nor did it in the least shake the credit of the Congress.

It is childish to suggest that Mahatma Gandhi got the A.-I. C. C. to pass the resolution to "regain prestige." The events which have followed his arrest and imprisonment are a sufficient reply to Mr. Amery's ridiculous insinuation. Will they be an eye-opener to him ?

"India's" Capacity To Handle "This Trouble"

In the course of his broadcast to America Mr. Amery said :

"You need not fear that India is not fully capable of handling this trouble by herself."

By "this trouble" Mr. Amery meant the trouble which he anticipated would be caused by the civil disobedience movement which the A.-I. C. C. resolution contemplated if Gandhiji's and Maulana Azad's appeals to the Viceroy and to China, Russia and America failed, but which movement had not yet started and could not possibly start when Mr. Amery spoke.

That was the *possible* trouble which Mr. Amery thought "India," that is, the Government of India, was capable of handling.

But what of the *actual* trouble, i.e., the disturbances caused all over the country by the misguided policy and action of the Government ? How is that trouble being handled ?

"Cutting the Fuse" or Lighting the Fuse ?

In the course of his broadcast to the British Empire and the British Isles, Mr. Amery said :

In the face of this challenge and menace, the Indian Government must take swift and firm action before the campaign gathered momentum. This has been done. There has been abundant ground for puni-

tive action but the Government of India confined itself to action which is essentially preventive.

INDIA SAVED

What they have in fact done is to disconnect Mr. Gandhi and his confederates, cutting the fuse leading from arch-saboteurs to all the inflammable and explosive material which they hoped to set alight all over India. By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied cause from grave disaster.

Mr. Amery is entirely mistaken in calling the Congress leaders, who are in jail and cannot make any reply, "arch-saboteurs." But let him please himself by giving them a bad name. It does not hurt them.

The question is whether the action of the Government of India has cut the fuse or lighted the fuse "leading to all the inflammable and explosive material...all over India." Now that that material is ablaze, the only man who with his trusted colleagues could have extinguished the fire is behind prison walls.

It is too early to assert that the action of the Government of India, misdescribed as prompt and resolute but really precipitate and unwise, has saved India and the Allied cause from grave disaster. It is a good maxim which tells men not to shout till they are out of the woods.

Good may come out of evil. The action of the Government of India has created a situation which may indirectly make it necessary to allow India to be free, and a free India would certainly render the Allied cause as great a service as she was capable of. The root cause of the present trouble, arising out of the action of the Government, can be attacked and destroyed only by the concession of freedom to India.

If that truth be realized by the powers that be and freedom be really conceded to India, then there need not be any hesitation in hailing the Government of India as the saviours of this country.

Governor-General-in-Council on A.-I. C. C. Resolution

Though it is not very high praise, yet for the sake of fairness it must be said that the Resolution issued by the Governor-General-in-Council a few hours after the ratification of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee by the All-India Congress Committee, is less bitter in tone and apparently more argumentative than Mr. Amery's broadcasts.

Many of the statements made in the Government resolution have been discussed before when

made in other contexts and connections. So it is unnecessary to discuss them again.

In the course of the resolution it is said :

For the demand of the Congress leaders there is no warrant. In the view of the Government of India that demand is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with a full sense of responsibility on the part of the leaders of the Congress Party, or a full appreciation by them of the realities of the present situation. The Congress Working Committee admit that "there may be risks involved." They are right.

We venture to think that there *was* warrant for the demand of the Congress leaders. We do not know why they made the *full* Congress demand *at the time they did*. But we along with other members of the public see that the Congress demand has produced at least this result that it has drawn the attention of the world to what India wants, whereas lower demands made by the Congress and other public bodies made previously failed to arouse the attention of the world public. And the demand is not a new one, as we propose to show later.

As for the possible risks involved, the Government resolution says :

Acceptance of the resolution must mean the exposure of India to Axis attack from without. Internally the withdrawal of British rule invites civil war, the collapse of law and order, the outbreak of communal feud, the dislocation of economic life with its inevitable hardships.

Not necessarily. Gandhiji and some of the other Congress leaders had explained even before the ratification of the Congress Working Committee's resolution that the withdrawal of the British power demanded by the Congress did not mean the withdrawal from India of the British and Allied troops—it was intended that they were to continue to stay in India for the defence of the country. *The Indian Social Reformer* observes in its issue for August 15 last :

Those who attended the All-India Congress Committee's meetings in Bombay on August 7 and 8, must have been struck by the tendency towards moderation on the part of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Gandhiji. In the one outstanding speech of the session, the Maulana Saheb set forth the demand of the Congress as a demand for civil control by the provisional government, with military power reserved to Britain. He said that the Congress did not for a second contemplate a state of anarchy in the country. Gandhiji in his concluding addresses seemed almost to be looking forward to negotiations with the Viceroy. Even before the session, however, Gandhiji had given clear indication that his slogan "Quit India," meant little more than a demand for some concrete, immediate, irrevocable step recognizing the independence of India.

As for civil war, etc., as the Congress intended that the provisional government should be formed by and from all the principal parties and groups in the country, it is clear the Congress leaders wanted to take all humanly possible precautions to avert "civil war, the collapse of law and order," etc.

Government has drawn attention to the risks involved in the Congress proposal. But what high endeavour can there be which does not involve risks? The arrest and detention of the Congress leaders had for its high object, according to the Government point of view, the averting of "the collapse of law and order," "the dislocation of economic life," etc. But has not that action itself been the cause of the collapse of law and order, the dislocation of economic life, etc., in wide areas in various parts of the country?

All this *could* have been avoided if the Government had agreed to the formation of a provisional all-parties National Government, as demanded by the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc. Indians are not children and ignomamuses. They find that in various countries "of the world new governments are being set up and even change of Generalissimos, spoken of as changing the helmsman in midstream, has been taking place in the midst of campaigns both in Axis and Allied armies. So setting up of a provisional government for Independent India is not necessarily a mysteriously difficult thing impossible of achievement.

British politicians in various pronouncements of theirs, as in the Government resolution under comment, have tried to make the world believe that the Congress party is only one among various other parties in the country, which is literally a fact. They admit that it is more powerful and better organized than any other party. What they do not admit and do not even refer to is the fact that the Congress outweighs all the other parties combined, as the outbreak of the present wide-spread disturbances owing to the arrest of the Congress leaders indicate.

Many British politicians have insinuated that the Congress wants all power for itself. There is a statement to that effect in the Government resolution under discussion also. Such insinuations and statements are false. The A.-I. C. C. resolution itself contemplates, what has been stated repeatedly before by Congress leaders, that the principal parties and groups are to form the provisional government.

Controversial Matter In A.-I. C. C. Resolution

It is stated in the A.-I. C. C. resolution that the views expressed therein relating to the future governance of India are its own. We do not know whether all members of the All-India Congress Committee accept all the views in detail. Nor is it known whether all Congressmen hold these views. Assuming, however, that all or the vast majority of Congressmen, including A.-I. C. C. members, hold these views, it seems to us nevertheless that, as the object of the All-India Congress Committee is to gain the sovereign power in India for "the whole people of India" and as the form of the future government of India is to be determined by a constituent assembly containing representatives of the principal parties and groups in the country, it would have been better if the resolution had not contained any opinions of a controversial character relating to India's future constitution. But it does contain such controversial matter. For example, it is said in the resolution that "the residuary powers" are to vest in the federating units. There is much difference of opinion as to whether the residuary powers should vest in those units and there has been some controversy on the point. In fact, in the resolution passed by the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha within the last few days supporting the demand for independence, it is stated that the residuary powers should vest in the central government, *not* in the residuary units.

One may go further and say that, as the people of India would frame their own constitution, it should be treated as an open question as to whether India should have a unitary or a federal form of government. There are political thinkers in the country who hold that our future government should be unitary. S. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, the oldest among surviving ex-presidents of the Congress, who presided over Malaviyaji's communal unity conference at Allahabad, holds this view. We have repeatedly shown in this *Review*, quoting passages from the Report of the Select Parliamentary Committee, that the so-called Provincial Autonomy was expected to weaken, if not to destroy India's unity—and it has certainly weakened India's political unity and strengthened fissiparous tendencies. It cannot, therefore, be accepted as a conclusion unanimously arrived at by all political parties and groups in the country that the future constitution of India should be a *federal one with the largest measure of autonomy*

for the federating units and with the residuary powers vesting in those units. Even if the arguments in favour of a unitary government were rejected and a federal form decided upon, the federating units need not be given the largest measure of autonomy nor the residuary powers vested in those units. For, calm consideration of the history of India shows that for the preservation of India's freedom and independence a strong central government with sufficient powers is absolutely necessary. Apart from that consideration, it is very doubtful whether the excessive strengthening of federating units will prove any more successful in India than it has done in other countries with a federal form of government.

A.-I. C. C. Resolution Supports Russia, China and Other United Nations

No one who reads the A.-I. C. C. resolution with an unbiassed mind, as in fact no one who has read the pronouncements of Congress leaders both before and after the passing of that resolution, can suspect the Congress of having pro-Axis leanings. What is said in the resolution in relation to and in support of the struggle of Russia, China, and the other United Nations for freedom should dispel all such suspicions, if any, even in the minds of persons prejudiced against the Congress.

The A.-I. C. C. and World Federation

The All-India Congress Committee rightly observes in its resolution that, "while the A.-I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problem of the modern world be solved." The resolution then proceeds to outline the kind of work which such a federation would do and observes that an independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems, etc., etc. This is no doubt looking rather far ahead, but it serves to show the kind of *free, not Axis-ridden, world*, envisaged by the Congress.

The Congress "Challenge"

The Resolution of the Governor-General-in-Council on the A.-I. C. C. resolution contains the following passage among others :

To a challenge such as the present there can only be one answer. The Government of India would regard it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities to the people of India, and their obligations to the Allies, that a demand should be discussed the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally, and would paralyse her effort in the common cause of human freedom.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's view was somewhat different. He was the mover of the A.-I. C. C. resolution. Called upon by Maulana Azad to wind up the debate on the resolution, the Pandit said, in part :

"This resolution is not a threat. It is an invitation. It is an explanation; it is an offer of co-operation. It is all that. But still, behind it, there is a clear indication that certain consequences will follow if certain events do not happen. It is an offer of co-operation of a free India. On any other terms there will be no co-operation. On any other terms, our resolution promises only conflict and struggle."

If instead of arresting Gandhiji and others, the Government had waited for a day or two to receive Mahatmaji's letter to the Viceroy, meant to avoid a conflict, it was at least possible, if not certainly probable, that a satisfactory settlement would have been reached and there would have been no talk of any conflict.

And there is no reason why there could not and should not have been pourparlers between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi and possibly some other leaders. For the "challenge" consists of two items, neither of which is at all new or unworthy of discussion. One item is the independence demand and the other a possible civil disobedience movement.

Every year, for years past, the Congress Independence Day Pledge has been repeated on the 26th of January from a thousand platforms and published in hundreds of Nationalist papers. This has been done with the full knowledge and implied consent of the Government. The opening sentences of that Pledge run as follows :

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people as of any other people to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights . . . the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. . . . We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence." "We pledge ourselves anew to independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry on non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained."

The demand for independence contained in this Pledge is substantially a demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. The Pledge having been allowed to be repeated year after year, the demand for the withdrawal

of the British Power from India should not have been considered to have come as a surprise upon the Government—particularly as Gandhiji and other Congress leaders have explained that the withdrawal demanded does not mean the withdrawal from India of all civil and military British officials and non-official Britishers. The Government may, of course, say that the demand for independence contained in the Independence Day Pledge has been for years an academic demand, and that the attempt to enforce the demand, even though by non-violent means, is a new departure. That is true. But was it reasonable to expect that the demand would continue to be academic till the Greek Calends, particularly when the Congress felt that only a free India could exert her full power to defend herself against aggression and to render the utmost possible help to the United Nations in their struggle for world freedom ?

Having patiently borne the independence demand for years, why could not the Government bear it for a few days longer ?

The other item in the "challenge" was the contemplated civil disobedience movement if the appeal and negotiation method for gaining the object failed. The civil disobedience method is implied in the words, "We . . . solemnly resolve to carry on non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained,"—contained in the Independence Day Pledge. Therefore, the contemplation of adopting this method, too, by the Congress cannot be said to have come upon the Government as a surprise.

By writing as we are doing here we are not attempting a defence of the civil obedience method for gaining any political object. Academic defence of civil disobedience is unnecessary, so far at any rate as the British people, the countrymen of Pym and Hampden, are concerned. Moreover, so far as Indians are concerned, Lord Hardinge when Viceroy declared it, as adopted by South African Indians, to be legitimate. But what is theoretically and academically defensible may not be defensible in practice under all circumstances. We must admit that if the Congress, failing to gain its object by the appeal and negotiation method, had the opportunity to start civil disobedience and had started it, that would have most probably affected the war effort adversely. But it was open and is still open to the Government to make the contemplation of civil disobedience unnecessary by bringing about a settlement with the Congress. The step taken instead by the Government to prevent civil disobedience was

the arrest of the leaders. That has brought in its train the present disorders. Quiet may be restored by drastic means. But sullenness, sometimes more ominous and dangerous than open manifestations of discontent, may remain. Hence it cannot be predicted beforehand confidently that the Government's preventive measure would not prove worse than the disease apprehended.

It is to be greatly regretted that, not to speak of conceding the Congress demand, the Government of India should have regarded "it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities to the people of India and their obligations to the Allies" that the Congress demand should even "*be discussed*." We venture to assert, on the contrary, that these very "responsibilities" and "obligations" should have led the Government to at least *discuss* the demand and would have justified them in doing so. In not doing so they have greatly blundered.

John Haynes Holmes on Promise of Dominion Status for India

At present British and American papers, practically the only foreign papers received in India these days, take a good deal of time to reach this country. So the April number of *Unity* of Chicago, published there in March last, reached us only a few days ago. In it the Editor, Mr. John Haynes Holmes, writes thus on the Cripps mission, which brought to India the previous stale promise of Dominion Status of a sort made by Mr. Churchill :

The spectacle of Mr. Churchill offering the promise of Dominion Status to India is so sensational, and the journey of Sir Stafford Cripps to India is so happy an arrangement, that one is tempted to elation over this latest development in the prolonged drama in the Far East. But the statement of Gandhi should not be necessary to remind us that all this contains no solution of the Indian problem. Dominion Status has been promised before—in the last war, for example, when it was promptly withdrawn in favor of the notorious Rowlatt Acts after the war was over. It was promised again in this war—in 1940, when it failed utterly to win the support of the Indian people. Why Mr. Churchill or anybody else should think that this offer can avail anything now, especially when coupled with the old subterfuge about the Indians agreeing among themselves as to the nature of home rule, is more than I can understand. For clear as crystal is it today that nothing will satisfy India but immediate independence—which means that India must be free to fashion and control her own government, and thus to join the United Nations on her own volition, on a basis of complete equality, in their war against the Axis! A recent issue of the English weekly, the *New Statesman and Nation*, states the case perfectly :

"The Chinese people [writes the editor] have fought bravely through four years to keep a freedom they won

by revolution. They could do this because they had at the head as president of their republic and commander of their armies a leader of their own. What Britain asks of India is to fight not for herself but for the British Empire, under a Scottish nobleman."

Mr. Holmes continues :

If we are to hold the allegiance of India, says this great London journal, "*we must give India a national government today*." How England can hesitate to make this grant of independence, when Chiang Kai-shek has met Nehru, and joined China to India in the latter's plea for liberty, is again not understandable. For if anything is apparent today in the Far East, it is that western rule is done for. No matter how this war comes out, the western powers must withdraw. If Japan wins, they will of course be ousted. If the United Nations win, they will retire before the united front of a China and India determined to be free. The one most important event since the war began, said Prof. Nathaniel Peffer the other day, was the meeting of Chiang and Nehru, since this event marked the end of the era of imperialistic exploitation, and the beginning of a new era of an emancipated Asia. So Mr. Churchill might as well go "the whole hog." As was proclaimed in the last issue of *Unity*—"Free India now!"

The paragraph from *Unity*, headed "Free India Now," was reproduced in our last August number.

Death of Mahadev Desai

BOMBAY, Aug. 15.

Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary, is dead.

The Government of Bombay has issued the following *communiqué* :

"The Government of Bombay regrets to report the death, at about 8-40 a.m. today of Mr. Mahadev Desai who was recently detained under the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Desai was engaged in conversation with Col. Bhandari, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Prisons, and two of his fellow prisoners when he complained of giddiness. Col. Bhandari advised him to lie down and he found that his pulse was low and that he seemed cold. Dr. Sushila Nair, who is detained in the same building, was sent for and she arrived at once. As the Civil Surgeon could not immediately be found another I.M.S. Officer was summoned.

Injectations were given to stimulate the action of the heart and everything else possible was done to keep up Mr. Desai's strength, but he died from heart failure only twenty minutes from the time when he first complained of feeling unwell."

BODY CREMATED

Mr. Mahadev Desai, who died here this morning of heart-failure at the place of his detention, was cremated in the afternoon near the place of his detention. All arrangements in connection with the funeral were made in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi, who was present at the cremation.—A. P.

SHORT LIFE SKETCH

Sj. Mahadev Desai was born in village Biyan in the Surat district of Gujrat. He belonged to a respectable Brahmin family and was the son of Haribhai Desai, a school teacher, who later became Deputy Inspector of Schools.

Sj. Desai graduated in 1910 and got his LL.B. degree two years later. He practised for a while and then joined the Co-operative Department of the Government of Bombay where he worked for some years.

He came into contact with Mahatma Gandhi on the latter's return from South Africa. He resigned his post and became a follower of Mahatmaji, subsequently becoming his Secretary. Since then he has been regarded as one of the closest associates of Mahatmaji.

He was the Organising Secretary of the Home Rule League for a year and had been to London with Mahatmaji for the Round Table Conference. During the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930, he was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

Sj. Desai was a prolific writer in Gujrati, and he has translated numerous books from English, Sanskrit and Bengali including some of the works of Rabindranath and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. Whenever Mahatmaji wanted to hear some poems of Rabindranath, Sj. Desai would translate some of them into Gujrati and read them to Mahatmaji.

Sj. Desai was a very successful journalist. He was Assistant Editor of *Young India* and *Nava Jivan*. He was Editor of *Independent* of Allahabad for some time. He had also been the Editor of *Harijan*. During the inaugural meeting of the All-India Editors' Conference in Delhi, he made a forceful speech in defence of the freedom of Press and lucidly explained Mahatma Gandhi's ideas on journalism.

He is the author of several books and his works include "The History of the Bardoli Satyagraha," "Life of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad," "Two Servants of God" (lives of the Frontier Gandhi and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib).

He was first imprisoned in connection with the Non-Co-operation Movement in 1921. During the C. D. Movement of 1930, he was arrested and sentenced for publishing a booklet in connection with collecting funds for the Congress. He was also imprisoned in 1932. On August 9 last, he was arrested with Mahatma Gandhi under the Defence of India Rules and was removed to an undisclosed place.

Mahatma Gandhi had sent Sj. Desai to Bengal on his behalf during the last illness of Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews and Rabindranath.

He was about 52 at the time of his death, and leaves behind his widow and children.—H. S.

Shri Mahadev Desai led a dedicated life. It is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to witness the triumph of the cause of Indian freedom and independence for which he had laboured for years whole-heartedly and suffered in consequence.

Judging from his writings in English as a journalist, which were always interesting and telling, never dull, one may be sure that in Gujarati he was still more convincing. He always stood up for the freedom of the press, never lowering his flag.

Had Sri Mahadev-bhai died at an advanced age and at any other time, the death of such a genuine and self-less patriot and humanitarian would even then have been a great loss to the country. At the present juncture his premature death is a great calamity and an irreparable loss.

The loss to Mahatma Gandhi cannot be overstated.

"The candle is blown out now for ever. Gandhiji is left truly orphaned," said Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on the death of Sri Mahadev Desai.

He added :

"For all those who have enjoyed the privilege of intimacy with Gandhiji, it is a tragedy that casts a gloom beyond words. It is a heavy blow for Mahatmaji, heavier even than what it is to the loving wife and boy left behind. What Mahadev was to Gandhiji cannot be described. He was something like a spare body that worked for him whenever his own took a little rest. Gandhiji is left truly orphaned. Mahadev was not only Gandhiji's Secretary and perfect sound box; he was a tower of strength to those whose love for Gandhiji did not prevent earnest battle with him sometimes. He often helped in modifying and shaping conclusions in some of the most important matters dealt with by his master. But the candle is blown out now for ever."—A. P.

SANTINIKETAN, Aug. 16.

As a mark of respect to the memory of Shree Mahadev Desai, Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi, all the departments of Visva-Bharati remained closed today.

A meeting was held at 9 a.m. at which a resolution was passed expressing its deep sense of sorrow and irreparable loss to the country at the sudden death of Shree Mahadev Desai and sympathising with the members of the bereaved family.

DEATH CONDOLED

The meeting of the Visva-Bharati Samsad held at 3-30 p.m. on the 16th August at Jorasanko Thakur Bari, Calcutta, was postponed after adopting the only resolution condoling the death of Sj. Desai.

A British Paper on Guerilla Warfare in India

News Review of June 4 last writes:

Meanwhile practical Indians were acting as best they could in preparation for the Japanese onslaught. Started by the Punjab Students' Federation was the first Indian guerilla training camp. But other news of guerilla progress in India was not so encouraging.

In the view of the Government of India, there is something about that country which is entirely unsuitable for guerilla warfare. Viceroy Linlithgow, no soldier himself, said so at great length in a broadcast, but did not explain why.

Aroused in many Indian minds, already thickly clouded with suspicion of the Raj, were dark thoughts. *What was there about India which did not apply to China and the Soviet Union when it came to guerilla fighting? It certainly could not have anything to do with size.*

Some Indians decided that, if they were really no good for anything except keeping their mouths shut and not getting in the way, they would leave everything to the Raj. Others were not keen on thus cutting off Britain's nose to spite India's face.

Recently invited by Indian anti-Fascists to organise guerilla units. Tom Wintringham, ex-member of the International Brigade which fought in Spain, was eager to be off, had plans up his sleeve. But somewhere a hitch occurred. Last week Wintringham moaned: "I

have been trying for weeks to find out who it is who won't let me go. . . I am certain it is not the War Office."—(Italics ours. Ed., M. R.).

If it was not the War Office, was it then the India Office?

First Muslim Lady M.B.

The Morning News learns that this year, Dr. Anwara Khatun has passed out of the Calcutta Medical College. She is the first Muslim lady in Bengal to secure the Degree of Medicine.

She comes of an ancient family of Dinajpur. She had been a student of the Beltala Girls' School, then of the Bethune College before she entered the Calcutta Medical College in 1936.

British Lady's Appeal to Britishers in India to Support Congress Demand

Miss Marjorie Sykes, Professor of English, Women's Christian College, Madras, writes :

"The silence of the British community in India on the arrest of Congress leaders and the arrangements for the control of the press may give the impression that the measures adopted by the Government of India meet with unanimous approval among us. This is not the case. Many of us view with deep distress the precipitation of a tragic crisis which we believe might have been avoided by a more patient and sympathetic approach to the central demand of the A. I. C. C.—real responsibility for real leaders.

Matters are too grave now for time to be wasted either in recrimination or in standing on one's dignity. The only way out of the morass of bitterness and suspicion is to take the noble risk of trusting India with real and immediate responsibility. The recent statements of the Metropolitan and of Mr. Rajagopalachari published today (August 12) point a way forward. I appeal to my fellow-countrymen in India to urge upon the Government by every means in their power that this way forward should be taken without delay."—A. P.

Chinese Papers' Comment on Indian Leaders' Arrest

CHUNGKING, Aug. 12.

Breaking their silence for the first time, Chinese newspapers today (Tuesday) all carried head-lined articles on the Indian political situation, unanimously deploring the aggravation of the tension. The official *Central Daily News* said : "We receive news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru and Maulana A. K. Azad with regret."

"The news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and of the disturbances and bloodshed in India have been received here with great sorrow," says an editorial in the influential independent newspaper *Takungpao*. It continues, "Both Britain and India are our friends and so we appealed for a compromise and have never expressed an opinion as to who is right or wrong. The spirit behind the present war is resistance against aggression in the struggle for freedom without which the present war is meaningless. India's struggle for freedom is identical with the war aims of the United Nations and we have no reason not to be sympathetic."—*Reuter*.

Un-English Boasting By Englishmen

Captain Francis McCullagh, an American military officer, has contributed to the last May number of *The Catholic World* of the United States of America an article with the heading "Such Boasting." These two words he has taken from the following two lines of Rudyard Kipling's "The Recessional,"

"Such boasting as the Gentiles use
And lesser breeds without the Law."

These two lines the Captain has used as the motto of his article.

He begins his article by referring to the "Englishman's most striking characteristics."

One of the most alarming features of the situation in England is not the loss of Malaya and Burma but the loss of that self-restraint, dignity, and tolerance which were formerly the Englishman's most striking characteristics. French, German and Italian literature of the last century is full of envious reference to English *sangfroid* which no disaster could disturb. One Frenchman wrote a book entitled *To What Is Due the Superiority of the Anglo-Saxons?* Jules Verne, in his tales for boys, pays frequent tribute to that superiority. So do a number of the songs in the old *Kommersbucher* of German students. But the Englishman did not seem to know anything about this hero-worship, because he did not, as a rule, know any continental language.

According to the writer, the Englishman's un-English boasting began with Rudyard Kipling :

Then came Kipling, with his un-English mentality and his un-English boasting, both due to the fact that he was born in India and was not really an Englishman at all. G. K. Chesterton described him very truly as "an alien voice in our literature." Had Chesterton lived to the present day, he would probably have described him as a symptom of decay, a Nazi, a totalitarian who preached the doctrine of brute force. "The Recessional" he would have regarded as wholly uncharacteristic of Kipling, save for the offensive and un-Christian line about "lesser breeds," which recalls the old Kipling in whose eyes the English were a *Herrenvolk*, tolerant, wise, silent, strong, incomparably superior to the intolerant, silly, verbose, braggart and incompetent lesser breeds.

Coming to the present times, when Englishmen have been guilty of too much bragging, Captain McCullagh writes :

During this war there has been too much bragging in England, and it has all been re-echoed in America. I was in London during the Dunkirk retreat, and got the impression from the newspapers and orators and the B. B. C. that it was the greatest military achievement of all time. Despite the scarcity of paper, the triumphant headlines would, if put end to end, have reached from London to Paris. Yet the retreat was nothing less than a vast skedaddle made possible by the heroic stand of a French army, not in a German concentration camp. What would have been said of Wellington if, instead of marching to Waterloo, he had turned tail and fled back to England leaving the Belgian army to be annihilated by Napoleon? And what would

Nelson have said of the "glorious victory" over the *Graf von Spee* which produced such hysterical jubilation on both sides of the Atlantic? I am afraid that the frills on that great Admiral's remarks would be unsuitable for publication in this magazine, but the substance would probably be that he had no word beyond that of formal congratulation for English captains who fought with odds of three to one in their favor.

Bragging About the Sinking of the "Bismarck"

Captain McCullagh continues :

Nor would he have indulged in paroxysms of joy when told of the *Bismarck*. Nor approved of the brutal remarks attributed to an English naval officer who saw the *Bismarck* go down with her flag flying.—remarks cabled to America and published in most of the American papers under the heading "Like a Dog Run Over by a Trolley Car." Describing the last terrible agony when that doomed, heroic battleship, hemmed in by a whole fleet of enemies and with her steering gear smashed, went round and round in circles, he said that "the damned ship reminded me of a dog with a broken spine, run over by a train. We soon finished the brute."

I sent a letter on this subject to the *London Times* (for which I once wrote a long series of articles on Russia) but that paper refused to publish it, as it consistently refuses to publish anything unfavorable to its own side.

Bragging Before Japan Attacked Pearl Harbour

Captain McCullagh writes in the same article :

The boasting to which I object has recently extended to future events. Just before Japan struck at Pearl Harbor, there was in England an outbreak of bragging and blustering which beat anything that had ever gone before. It goes without saying, of course, that not one of the braggarts was in military or naval uniform : they were all of them swivel-chair patriots who wrote in the newspapers, broadcast in the B. B. C. and spouted at banquets, rallies, parades and meetings of all kinds : the type is not unknown in America. It would be a mistake, however, to think that those blusterers are typical Englishmen. They are not. No English soldier or sailor would rant as they do. An English friend of mine who served in the last war and is now in Government service at home (being sixty-nine years of age) has written me a strong repudiation of the braggarts.

Mr. Hillaire Belloc's Violent Attack On British Braggarts

Mr. Hillaire Belloc wrote in his *Weekly Review*, February 19, 1942 :

"We have often heard it said and seen it written that Englishmen do not boast, and to a certain extent that is true of the nation as a whole; for the man in the street, and still more the man in the field, is not by nature a braggart; but of that ephemeral and vocal fraction of our people who control the Press or go about the country emitting the same public speeches week after week, it has been by no means true. These publicists have become confirmed in the habit of painting

rosy pictures, making excuses for blunders, and bragging about the past and the future; and when we fall on evil times all the wind goes out of them—the tinsel is tarnished—and their deflation and tawdriness spreads gloom and depression all round them. They seek feverishly new material for boasting, but there is no satisfaction in the hollowness of their boasts.

"Last week was a week of trial for England and for the nations that are fighting side by side with her. Tragic losses of men, material, and invaluable territory: humiliation in our failure to strike back effectively. These losses and this humiliation are hard to bear, but they are made ten times harder to bear because of the insensate boasting that preceded them by a section of our politicians and our Press. . . . These boasting poltroons have served us ill, so let us from today be quit of them. Let us be done with the people who talk as though they held the world in their pocket, who scorn the humble, necessary things of life, and dazzle their audience with bigness instead of quality, with sensation instead of cool deliberation, and with money and facile success instead of work and determination."

General MacArthur Rightly Praised

The writer of *The Catholic World* article rightly praises General MacArthur for the way he fought in the Philippines :

So far as the Philippines are concerned, the American record is good. General MacArthur did not allow any correspondent or commentator to gush over him or his brave men or to vilify the enemy. When vilification leaked out from other parts of the Far East, he sternly cabled to America that the Japanese were a serious, brave, well-equipped enemy. But in Hongkong, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies things were different. There British censors raised impenetrable smoke-screens which had no effect at all on the enemy but a disastrous and blinding effect on the American correspondents, on the American public and on the British public. From the center of every smoke-screen proceeded voices prophesying smooth things. Any correspondent who emitted a single false note was instantly choked off. Mr. Cecil Brown of the C. B. S. was the only rebel, and he was silenced.

About the Singapore Campaign

The truth about the fall of Singapore has not yet come out in full. Captain McCullagh writes :

Serious accounts of what really took place in Malaya are still very scanty, but they do exist in the shape of reports by the few British officers who escaped capture, and of several correspondents who had visited Malaya just before hostilities began, and afterwards wrote books on their experiences.

For want of space I shall confine myself to two specimens of the reports mentioned. One consists of a private letter written by a Colonel who commanded a Scottish battalion at Singapore to Lord Addison who afterwards read extracts from it in the House of Lords. The Colonel called the Singapore campaign "a disgraceful show." I quote further :

"As soon as we arrived it was patent that the military was still behaving as though peacetime soldiering was going on—not much on Saturdays and none if you could help it on Sundays.

"Dozens of staff officers at headquarters were arguing about the particular forms you should use for particular returns. Training was stultified because the greatest care had to be used in avoiding entering rubber estates. I was ticked off by a general because two of my trucks had gone into young rubber trees, in spite of the fact there was no manoeuvrable ground other than that covered by rubber."

Cause of Rapid Japanese Success in Malaya, Burma, and Indonesia

According to Captain McCullagh,

The rapidity with which the Japanese overran the Malay Peninsula, the Dutch East Indies and Burma is undoubtedly owing to the fact that natives of those countries were emphatically *not* against them. The Malays guided the invaders through the jungle, and the Burmese took advantage of their arrival to rise in armed rebellion against the English.

Optimistic Predictions of British, Dutch and Chinese Officers

Referring to the optimistic predictions made by "every British, Dutch and Chinese officer whom our authors met," the authors being two American correspondents named Carl Randall and Leane Zugsmith, Captain McCullagh writes:

Similarly wrong were the optimistic predictions of every British, Dutch and Chinese officer whom our authors met. In Malaya, a British Colonel was perfectly sure, by gad, Sir, that the Japanese would get lost in the jungle. "The Japs don't know much about this sort of thing," chortled the poor old boy as he sprinted for a few yards through the brushwood, with a pathetic display of senile energy. "And if they come through here," he added menacingly, "they'll find it hard going."

In the same way at Penang, Brigadier-General C. A. Lyon, a veteran who had retired before the war, and been recalled, "told us confidently" that "it would be suicide for any enemy ships to enter the channel" between Penang and the mainland. "He was confident, too, that enemy planes would never land on Penang"; and could not see any way by which the Japanese could make him evacuate Penang, but within three months after he had delivered himself of those forecasts, the Japanese had made him and his men leave the island so precipitously that they had had no time to destroy the vast stores of rubber that had accumulated in the godowns of Penang or even to dismantle the radio station. Is it any wonder that Australia refused to accept the services of such Generals, and insisted on having an American General as its Commander-in-Chief?

Why did the British War Office send out as Generals to such a vitally important place as Singapore such a collection of duds, blimps and fossils? General Percival was, it is true, of almost Napoleonic proportions when he commanded the Black-and-Tans in Ireland but that was twenty years ago and the Japanese are better armed than the Sinn Feiners were.

But why, I ask again, why did the W. O. send out such Generals to Singapore? The horrible suspicion assails me that she had no others to send.

About News of Soviet Successes

Captain McCullagh's article, from which we have made so many extracts above was written most probably sometime in April last. What he then wrote, if true even now, should make us very cautious in accepting the news of Soviet successes at their face value. We hope, now they are not over-optimistic. The Captain writes:

Morning, noon and evening the radio deafens us with shrieks of triumph announcing stupendous victories won by the Reds in unpronounceable places,—Stitcherbinin and Semyonovskoye, Zhizdrunsky and Shumikhino,—tens of thousands of Germans killed, hundreds of thousands taken prisoners, millions of square miles reconquered, innumerable villages captured, but as this lightning advance and terrific slaughter have been going on daily for six months, Stalin must by this time have annihilated at least twenty million Germans and recaptured twice as much territory as he lost. (In Russia, however, a village sometimes consists of two huts and a pigsty. There are millions of such villages).

We are told almost every day that whole German armies are surrounded, caught in an inescapable grip of steel, without food, munitions running short, planes carrying food shot down in the Russian lines, only two choices before them—destruction or surrender. Sometimes this tragic encirclement takes place in Staraya Russa (that amazing town which the Reds have already captured a dozen times and never lost). Sometimes it takes place at Rzhev; sometimes at Velizh; sometimes at Orel (all three as mysterious as Staraya Russa and for the same reason). But after a while we find that the Germans still hold them, and were never driven out of them since they first took them in November last.

The Irish Not Praised For Gallipoli

The same writer gives the following example of discrimination against the Irish:

In Gallipoli, the Irish battalions lost twice as many men as the Australians; nevertheless in order to soothe the Australian Commonwealth, justly irritated by the complete fiasco this expedition was, the British lauded only the "Aussies" and had not a word to say about the Irish and the British. "Anzac Day" was invented to flatter the Australians, but not even a memorial stone was put up in memory of the Munster Fusiliers who had lost sixty per cent. of their men on the beaches of Gallipoli.

British Labour Party's Statement on the Indian Situation

LONDON, Aug. 13.

The India Committee of the Labour Party at a meeting held last afternoon, according to the lobby correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, considered the situation arising out of the arrests of Congress leaders in India.

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Deputy Leader of the Party, has had a long consultation with Mr. Attlee, the Deputy Prime Minister and they both along with other members of the Party took part in the discussions.

Lord Beaverbrook's newspaper *Evening Standard's* leader advocating negotiations with the Congress and

asserting "This is not a private quarrel between the Imperial Government and the Congress," is being discussed in the Parliamentary circles.

News from Washington suggests that Americans also favour intervention by the Allied statesmen.

The India Committee of the Labour Party is composed of Messrs. Davies Alexander, Sloan, Reginald, Sorensen, A. S. Silverman and W. G. Gove.

Terming the detention of Congress leaders as "timely and unavoidable precaution" a statement issued by the British Labour Party says: "The labour movement is compelled to regard the present attempt to organise civil disobedience movement in India as certain to injure seriously the hope of Indian freedom, for such a movement must add heavily to the present burdens and anxieties of the leaders of the United Nations and give encouragement and comfort to the common enemy. At the same time, it looks with confidence to the British Government not to approve any action which would unnecessarily embitter the present troubles and urges the Government to make it clear that on the abandonment of civil disobedience it would be ready to resume free and friendly discussions with a view to safeguarding and implementing principles of Indian self-government already proclaimed by the British Government.—*Reuter*.

The detention of Congress leaders, instead of being a "timely and unavoidable precaution," is on the contrary very untimely, and a most grievous blunder. It was quite unnecessary and could have been easily and should have been avoided.

Who is responsible for giving the British Labour Party the impression that Congress had either started or had already organized civil disobedience? There is no such movement in existence. The Congress leaders had not even organized it before being arrested. The other Congressmen, not yet in jail, are not just now thinking of starting it. Provincial Congress Committees have been declared unlawful.

According to the A.-I. C. C. resolution, the starting of civil disobedience was to have been considered only after Gandhiji's intended talks with the Viceroy and the proposed appeal to the United Nations had proved fruitless. But Gandhiji and the Congress leaders were arrested before the former had had time to write to the Viceroy for an interview and the Congress President, too, was arrested before he could draft his appeal to the United Nations.

Modern propaganda brings into existence things which do not exist.

The British Labour Party's suggestion for the resumption of free and friendly discussions with the Congress is good. But it is unnecessary for the Government to make it clear that the abandonment of civil disobedience is a condition precedent to the resumption of negotiations, for the very simple reason that civil disobedience does not exist. It is for the Govern-

ment to take the first step and that step is to release Mahatmaji and the Congress leaders. Talks with them jointly can begin only after their release. Or after they have all been brought together in some big jail!

Mr. Horace G. Alexander's Wise Suggestions Re the Present Situation

Mr. Horace G. Alexander, the prominent Quaker leader, being in India on the spot has a clearer idea of the situation and what is necessary to do than the British Labour or other parties and British and American journalists in general. In the course of a statement on the death of Sri Mahadev Desai and the present situation, he says:

As a member of the Indian Conciliation Group and of the Society of Friends (Quakers), who had given me a special minute of support before I left England, I was dismayed, on reaching India in June, at the widespread sense of frustration and bitterness that I found amongst all circles. It was clear that Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that this frustration could only be turned to genuine co-operation in the resistance of Axis pressure by a drastic and immediate change of Government; but he satisfied me that he was most anxious not to proceed to any campaign of Civil Disobedience if he could get satisfactory acts and assurances by discussing with his friend, the Viceroy. A few hours before the news of the arrest of himself and the Congress Working Committee members I had received a telegram from him encouraging me to visit Sevagram on the following Thursday to talk over his letter to the Viceroy. He was evidently in no hurry to precipitate action.

ACTS OF VIOLENCE

The authorities have decided otherwise. *I have no idea of what Mr. Gandhi's plan may have been, but it is certain that he would condemn all acts of violence specially those committed by those who claim to be his followers. Strict self-discipline in the face of provocation is, we know what he is constantly enjoining upon his followers. But the country cannot really be united or peaceful unless the British Government will initiate a bold policy that spells real freedom, not merely at the end of war. Agreement was so near when Sir Stafford Cripps visited India that it is surely worth every effort to try again and persist in trying until success is reached. One of the most helpful signs of the moment is the widespread nature of the demand from many sections of Indian opinion for this fresh initiative. The Central Executive must be truly representative, and probably the India Office should go. These are matters primarily for the statesmen. "What the plain citizens of India and of England can do is to plead that this urgent political issue shall be approached in the spirit of hope, of determination, of all faith in the goodwill of the other party or parties which inspired the two noble appeals recently made by the Metropolitan of India.—U. P.*

British National Peace Council Urges Formation of Popular Representative Government

LONDON, Aug. 16.

A plea to reopen negotiations "having as their objective not only the ending of the present conflict—

but securing for India an interim Government based on all major political groups and broadly reflecting the popular will," is made by the Executive Committee of the National Peace Council in a resolution on the present situation in India.

The President of the Council is the Cambridge Professor of Astronomy Sir Arthur Eddington and the Vice-Presidents include the Bishop of Birmingham, Chief Raddi Hertz and Dan Hewlett Johnson of Canterbury Cathedral.

Sir Richard Acland, M.P. told a meeting in Birmingham that it was intolerable that negotiations should not be renewed immediately.—*Reuter*.

The gentlemen named above are eminent in their respective walks of life and their suggestion is good; but what following, if any, have they in the British House of Commons? Votes prevail, not wisdom.

"Situation in Hand" Indeed!

LONDON. Aug. 12.

The following statement was issued by the India Office tonight (Wednesday):

"Official quarters in London report that the authorities in India have the situation completely in hand and it is emphasised that any picture of widespread disorder in that country is utterly distorted. There is no indication of any widespread mass movement and the countryside is unaffected."

"There is virtually no interference whatever with the war effort. In Calcutta, for instance, which with its neighbourhood is responsible for by far the greater part of India's war and industrial activity there are no repercussions to the arrests of Indian National Congress Party leaders."

The picture drawn by the India Office on the 12th August last was quite unreal.

Is the production of munitions the only thing that matters? Or is it even the most important thing?

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the Situation

No one will deny that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru possesses a correct knowledge and understanding of the situation and that he is better entitled to speak on it with authority than the India Office situated at a distance of 6,000 miles from India. Says he in the course of his important statement:

"It is doing no good either to this country or to England to tell everybody in the world that the situation in India is not an anxious one."

Sir Tej Asks Parliament to Send Delegation

In the course of his important statement Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru observes:

To the meanest intellect it had been abundantly plain during the last four or five months that the situation in India was rapidly deteriorating. I suggest that simultaneously with the resort to legal powers for the

restoration of order and the preservation of peace in the country, constructive steps should be taken without loss of time. Members of the Parliament cannot divest themselves of their responsibility. They must wake up and not allow themselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. It is doing no good either to this country or to England to tell everybody in the world that the situation in India is not an anxious one. This country must be saved from those calamities which are certain to overtake it in the footsteps of all that is happening at present. Indeed, it is up to Parliament to send immediately a delegation to India to talk to leaders.

In his opinion mere repression will not do.

Any Government, be it foreign or national, would feel itself called upon to take steps to restore order.

It is, however, quite obvious that when there is a situation like this, things do happen and are bound to happen which would not be tolerated in ordinary life, but the problem of law and order cannot, in my opinion, be effectively dealt with in the existing circumstances merely by resorting to stern steps or using threatening language on either side, nor can it do good to any one either to exaggerate or to under-rate the gravity of the situation.

Taking things as they have happened and are happening without exaggerating or under-rating them I think in all conscience that they are very serious and even though strong steps may lead to the suppression of the mischief that is being done in the present moment, I do not think that the bitterness and anger produced for the time being can be easily eradicated from the minds of the people. The Magistrate, the Police and the Military have their functions to perform, but statesmanship has also its responsibility to discharge.

On the question of intermediaries he observes:

In my opinion, things have not gone yet so far that mutual discussions with broadminded members of the Parliament can be ruled out as impossible—impossible, either on the ground of prestige, or on the ground that they will be an evidence of weakness. I have very carefully considered, in the light of the last five days' happenings, as to whether it will serve any useful purpose at this stage for any one not belonging to the two big political parties in India to act as an intermediary between them and the Government. I am not by any means hopeful of a step like this leading to any fruitful result. No intermediary can succeed unless he has the authority to speak on behalf of the Government.

Perhaps this means that it is for the Government to take the initiative now, giving the go-by to notions of prestige.

Other considerations may not prevail with the Government. But the consideration that the present disturbed condition is and will be of advantage to the enemy may move the Government to necessary action:

So Sir Tej concludes:

I have given this warning repeatedly, and I do give it once again. Overshadowing everything else is the danger from the enemy, who is alert and follows events in India from day to day and is carrying on propaganda by radio which is apt to still further inflame the popular mind. There is not now, in my judgment, much time for a conference to be called to discuss the situation. The time, however, is over-ripe for decisions and

swift decisions in the political field. Thus and thus alone can the psychology of the people be changed and the forces of law and order restored and strengthened. This is the time for constructive statesmanship with some imagination and courage. On our side, we cannot, in the name of freedom and patriotism, directly or indirectly allow hooliganism which has been so rightly denounced by Mr. Rajagopalachari to goondas playing havoc with the life of the country.—A. P.

Vocational Guidance

Professor Girindra Shekhar Bose, D.Sc., M. B., head of the Department of Psychology, Calcutta University College of Science, writes :

Mental testing for vocational and educational guidance free of all charges has again been taken up by the Applied Section of the Psychology Department, Calcutta University. Those who are willing to be tested are requested to apply to the Lecturer-in-charge, Applied Section, Department of Psychology, University College of Science, 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. The applicants will be called in the Laboratory for testing according to the priority of their application. It should be noted that the candidates will have to come to the Laboratory for three or four consecutive working days in order that all the tests may be applied.

All-India Students' Federation Demands Release of Leaders

Miss Perin Bharucha, General Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, in course of a statement to the Press says :

CALCUTTA, Aug. 16.

"The A. I. S. F. calls upon the students all over the country to protest in an organised manner against Government action, and demands of the Government the release of National leaders and to negotiate with the Congress on the basis of freedom, for the establishment of a National Government. The A. I. S. F. also calls upon the non-Congress parties, especially the Muslim League to join with the progressive forces, A. I. T. U. C., A. I. S. F. and A. I. K. S. in unitedly demanding the release of all National leaders, and the opening of the negotiations for the setting up of a National Government. Let the Government know, that whatever be their differences with the Congress, they all stand unitedly behind the Congress demands which are recognition of freedom and National Government enjoying the support of all parties and the confidence of the people."

In conclusion, the A. I. S. F. ask students not to fall prey to provocation as violence will lead to National suicide.—U. P.

Bengal Muslim Young Men Urge Release of Leaders

CALCUTTA, Aug. 16.

A joint meeting of the Bengal Provincial Young Muslim Association and Muslim youths of Calcutta was held on Saturday, the 15th August. Moulana A. K. M. Fazlul Rahman presided.

The meeting regretted the action of the Government in arresting the Congress leaders and requested the Government to consider their decision and to re-

lease Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders. It was hoped that both the sides would make sincere efforts for an honourable compromise by forgoing some of the terms of the Congress resolutions and by modifying the Government proposals, so that the country might be saved from chaos, bloodshed and from invasions.

It was further resolved to send an urgent wire to the President and the members of the Working Committee of Muslim League to move for immediate release of the leaders and for an honourable compromise between the Government and the country.—U. P.

Reasons for Sir C. P. R. Iyer's Resignation

A *Reuter's* message from New Delhi, dated August 21, announces that Sir C. P. Ramswamy Iyer, Member for Information and Broadcasting, Viceroy's Executive Council, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted by the Viceroy. A *communiqué* announcing the resignation says :

Sir C. P. R. Iyer has intimated to the Governor-General that he takes so serious a view of the suggestions which have now been made in the public Press as to the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Indian States, and regards with so much concern the suggestion attributed to Mr. Gandhi that India, "including Indian India," should be made over to the Moslem League, that he does not feel that he can, consistently with his obligations to the Indian States with which his association has been so long and so close, and in view of his anxiety to be free to organize against any threat to their integrity and their position, continue to remain a member of the Government of India. He has, therefore, asked the Governor-General to set him free so that he may be at liberty to take up this matter, which he regards as of the first importance.

That Sir C. P. R. Iyer wishes to safeguard the interests of the Indian States, particularly of Travancore, is a good reason for his resignation.

We had not read anywhere that "Gandhiji has suggested that India, "including Indian India," should be made over to the Muslim League. But even the suggestion that only British India should be ruled by a government formed by the Muslim League, that is, by Mr. Jinnah, is only worthy of condemnation pure and simple.

In his letter of resignation Sir C. P. R. Iyer says :

"I wish to make it clear beyond all possibility of doubt that I am in full agreement with the action taken and the policy pursued by the Government of India, of which I have been a member, in respect of the civil disobedience campaign contemplated in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee of which we see the calamitous results today, and that my resignation is solely due to my desire at this critical period of Indian history to express my views and take the necessary action with complete freedom of speech and movement with reference to the mass action that, if unchecked, is bound to hamper India's progress and war

efforts and the constitutional changes that may be proposed in so far as they affect the Indian States in whose well-being and fortunes I am vitally interested."

That Sir C. P. R. Iyer desires to serve the Indian States cannot be objected to. That he was in full agreement with the action taken and policy pursued by the Government in respect of the A.-I. C. C. resolution, will not enhance his reputation for statesmanship.

That the present-day disorders are "the calamitous results" of "the civil disobedience movement contemplated in the A.-I. C. C. resolution," is not true. Sir C. P. R. Iyer calls these disorders,

"The Present Civil Disobedience Movement"

On the eve of his departure from New Delhi, Sir C. P. R. Iyer said, in part, in the course of an interview, as reported by the *Associated Press* :

I am even now hopeful that if, by the determined and conjoint efforts of all well-meaning persons, the present civil disobedience movement can be immediately called off without the need for further executive action, all that political India is longing for can be soon achieved.

The Dak edition of the *Sunday Statesman*, August 22, 1942, from which we have extracted the foregoing sentence, contains a leading editorial article with the heading "Opportunity Let Slip"—by the Muslim League. In the course of that article it is said with reference to the resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee :

The resolution calls on Moslems everywhere to abstain from participation in the movement initiated by the Congress. If the reference is loosely to present violence and sabotage, which in many aspects is hardly to be called a movement directly initiated by the Congress, the advice, though salutary, verges on the superfluous.

So even *The Statesman* even under its new officiating editor holds a view of the "present violence and sabotage" which is different from that of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. It is unfortunate that Sir C. P. R. is more bureaucratic and loyal to the bureaucracy and anti-Congress in his opinion in this matter than even *The Statesman*.

The Changeless Mr. Jinnah

The resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Muslim League at its last Bombay session shows that Mr. Jinnah is changeless in his tactics even though circumstances and situations may change.

The resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League adopted at Bombay says :

The Moslem League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any Party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war provided the demands of Moslem India as indicated above are conceded unequivocally.

What is "indicated above" is the demand that "the British Government should come forward with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to Moslems the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves to abide by a plebiscite of Moslems and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down at Lahore in 1940."

There is nothing new in this. It is Mr. Jinnah's old attitude.

On the whole, it is all for the good that the British Government has not made the "unequivocal declaration" required, nor that Mr. Jinnah has been called upon to form a government. Congress leaders are in jail, no leading men from the Congress side are now free men to conduct negotiations, and the Hindu Mahasabha is sure to oppose, and that rightly, a predominantly Muslim League government.

Viceroy's Reply to Gandhiji

NEW DELHI, Aug. 21.

It is understood that there was an exchange of letters between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy immediately after the A.-I. C. C. passed its resolution on August 8 in Bombay and the consequent resolution of the Viceroy's Executive Council on it.

The subject-matter of the correspondence is believed to relate to some statements made in the Viceroy's Council resolution which Mr. Gandhi is reported to have disputed. He received a reply expressing disagreement with his contentions.—A. P.

The letter referred to above is obviously not the letter which Gandhiji intended to write to the Viceroy on the demand made in the A.-I. C. C. resolution.

As the text of the correspondence between Gandhiji and the Viceroy has not been published, there is nothing more to say on it.

Commerce Member Visits Factory of National Iron and Steel Company Ltd.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, paid a visit to the factory of the National Iron & Steel Company Ltd., and National Screw and Wire Products Ltd., at Belur on the 10th August last. In welcoming the Hon'ble Commerce Member, Mr. Rakshit gave a brief account of the

beginning and development of the concern and how it had to fight its way against many obstacles. In emphasising the urgent necessity of a Government plan for the post-war reconstruction of industries, Mr. Rakshit requested the Hon'ble Commerce Member to take a long term view of the matter and adopt necessary measures even now to ensure the future existence and stability of Indian industries after the war.

In reply, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker assured the Directors of the firm that the problem of post-war industrial reconstruction was already engaging the attention of the Government of India and he would certainly do his best to safeguard India's industrial interests against post-war economic crisis.

The Hon'ble Commerce Member has recently visited Jamshedpur also for taking the leading part in the first Rabindranath Tagore Death Anniversary celebrations there. Most probably he availed himself of the opportunity to make himself acquainted with the industrial problems and needs of Jamshedpur and Tatanagar at first hand. Perhaps his future tour on the Bengal side will include Burnpur, Kulti and Hirapur. The Iron and Steel industries of India are basic industries, and with the exception of the Bhadravati Works of Mysore, all are concentrated at the places named above. The Commerce Member may be expected to visit the works at Mysore also.

Anti-Congress Propaganda By National War Front

A meeting of the Council of the Indian Journalists' Association was held on the 4th August at the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" office, S. J. Prafulla Kumar Sarker, the President of the Association, presiding. Besides the members a number of prominent journalists attended on invitation.

The President opened the proceedings by referring to the Government action in publishing anti-Congress advertisements in a number of newspapers. He explained the circumstances under which some of the newspapers published some such advertisements, and said that a letter was being sent on behalf of a number of Calcutta newspapers urging Government to stop such anti-Congress propaganda in the shape of advertisements. He also referred to the telegraphic correspondence with some of the provincial papers in this connection and said that the general consensus of opinion on this issue was that some sort of concerted action was necessary.

After considering the problem in all aspects, the meeting unanimously adopted the following resolutions :

1. This meeting of the Council of the Indian Journalists' Association deplores the recent press propaganda inaugurated by the National War Front inasmuch as it is mainly calculated to misrepresent the Congress and undermine its prestige.

In view of the above this meeting requests all the Indian newspapers to stop publication of all such anti-Congress advertisements forthwith.

2. Resolved further that a copy of the resolution be sent to the Secretary of the Standing Committee of the All-India Editors' Conference for consideration.

This meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association urges Government to desist from such form of propaganda in the shape of advertisements.

This meeting supports the spirit of the letter addressed by several newspapers of Calcutta to the organisers, Bengal National War Front and all advertising agents and resolves that this letter, together with copy of the resolution passed in this meeting, be sent to all Indian newspapers.

Condemnation of Hooliganism

We perfectly agree with Sjt. Rajagopalachari when he says :

"The burning down of municipal public halls and railway stations and warehouses, the digging up of the permanent way so as to derail or prevent trains from running and setting fire to bogies—such mad destruction and disregard of the safety of human life—cannot bring us Swaraj of any type or further any plan of Gandhiji's. Assuming that the authorities fail to check these disorders, what is it that will be established, not freedom, not happiness, not courage or mutual confidence, not the power of the spirit to resist brute force, but sheer mob rule of the worst type."

The burning of court houses and police stations, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, setting fire to buses and tram cars and educational institutions, and other similar acts of hooliganism are equally to be condemned. Gandhiji and his colleagues, if free, would have been the first to condemn and oppose all such acts of hooliganism if these had at all been committed, if they had not been arrested. If news of these occurrences reach them in jail, they certainly cause great grief to them.

Suspension of Publication of Nationalist Newspapers

All the Nationalist daily newspapers of Calcutta—Bengali, Hindi and English—have suspended publication, at heavy pecuniary sacrifice to themselves, because their conductors felt that, owing to the increasing restrictions on the publication of news and views, they could not carry on without sacrifice of self-respect and usefulness. Many newspapers in some other provinces, too, have suspended publication.

It is not the proprietors and conductors of

the newspapers and the public alone who gain by their publication. Government, too, derive much direct and indirect advantage therefrom. It is not known whether the powers that be feel the loss of this advantage owing to the action taken by the newspapers concerned.

Rumours and Reliable News

Even when the newspapers which have suspended publication came out regularly the public did not have a full news service owing to the restrictions on the publication of news, as also to some extent to the curtailment of the size of the papers. Now that the Nationalist papers have ceased, temporarily we hope, to come out, rumours are the only source of news. But they are not all reliable, though sometimes they may be true. Alarming rumours are a source of possible danger not only to the public but to the Government as well. So Government in their own interest should remove restrictions on the publication of news to such an extent as would induce the conductors of the papers to resume publication.

Bengal Premier Wants News of Casualties !

Some days ago we saw in the papers requests from Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, and from the Secretary of the Progressive Coalition Party to the public asking all concerned to send them information relating to persons either killed or wounded in the course of the disturbances.

The requests naturally make people ask themselves whether the police do not or cannot get full information relating to these casualties, and whether, if the police do get full information, they cannot or do not supply the Chief Minister with the same.

Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji

ALLAHABAD, Aug. 10.

Death occurred here yesterday of Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court.—A. P.

Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji was born on the 29th July, 1874. He married Srimati Nalini Devi. Educated at Ghazipur Victoria High School and Muir Central College, Allahabad. Practised at Ghazipur, 1896-1902; joined Judicial Service of United Provinces, 1902; was Munsiff from 1902 to 1914; Subordinate and District and Sessions Judge from 1914 to 1923; was deputed to Legislative Department of Government of India as an Officer on Special Duty, 1921-22; was appointed to officiate as Judge of High Court, December, 1923; was Additional Judge of the High Court, 1924-26, was made permanent Judge in March, 1926; Knighted in June, 1932; was appointed to officiate as Chief Justice

in July, 1932, again in October, 1932, retired 1934, Judicial Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1936-38. President, Board of Judicial Advisors, 1940 and 1941. Publications: Law of Transfer of Property, 1st Edition, 1925, (2nd Edition, 1931). He presided over the Calcutta Session of Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan.

Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji was one of Nature's perfect gentlemen. Whoever met him felt attracted towards him by his engaging personality. While his death will be felt as a loss by the public of the United Provinces and North India in general, it is an irreparable loss to the Bengali community living outside Bengal. With Dr. Surendranath Sen of Cawnpore, who is happily still with us, he was the wise leader of these Bengalis. He held enlightened and liberal views on religious and social matters. His eldest daughter-in-law is a daughter of the late Mr. Sarat Dutt, founder of the firm of Adair, Dutt & Co. This inter-caste marriage in his family is an indication of his social opinions. He continued to be a member of the orthodox Hindu society.

The praise bestowed on him by the Allahabad High Court Bench and Bar was fully deserved. In addition to being a distinguished lawyer and judge he was a man of wide culture.

Bengal Hindu Mahasabha's Protest Against Government's Repressive Policy

The Working Committee of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting on the 11th August last adopted a resolution placing on record its "protest against the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India in this crisis without exploring the possibilities of an honourable settlement between India and England although Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to approach the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt for this purpose before starting any movement." Sir M. N. Mookerjee presided.

The Committee expressed the opinion that the

"failure on the part of British Government to respond to the basic demand of nationalist India for the recognition of India's independence is definitely prejudicial to the safety of India and to the Allied cause of checking the menace of the aggressive totalitarian powers."

The Committee recommended to the All-India Working Committee that the Hindu Mahasabha "shall support the demand for the termination of the present system which keeps India in bondage and which affects the psychology of the people in the present struggle against the Axis powers. In spite of the policy of responsive co-operation followed by the Hindu Mahasabha, the elementary fact is to be appreciated that

unless the freedom of India is recognised and effected, the Defence of India cannot be supported by the mobilisation of the national will."

The Committee demanded immediate formation of National Governments, representative of the principal political parties, both at the Centre and in the provinces, and the transfer of real political power to such Governments to enable them to resist the aggressors in collaboration with the Allied powers in accordance with a common war policy.

The Committee thought that the constitution of a free India should be a federal one and that the largest possible measure of autonomy should be granted to the federating units, and expressed its view that in the interest of maintaining the unity and integrity of India, the residuary powers should not be vested in the federating units but should be vested in the Federal Government.

It condemned the "reactionary mentality disclosed by Mr. Jinnah who wants to exploit the present situation for creating cleavage between Hindus and Mussalmans and for strengthening the forces of Imperialism," and appealed to all sections of the people to "rise above merely sectarian considerations in this critical situation."—A. P.

Sir Francis Younghusband

Sir Francis Younghusband, whose death was announced in Indian papers on the 2nd August last, was noted alike as a soldier, an explorer and a philosopher, but particularly as a man of faith in the latter part of his career. He had a deep respect for India's culture and spirituality. He was born at Murce on the 31st May, 1863.

He was a great military strategist and earned fame as an explorer in Tibet during his sojourn in that country as the British Commissioner from 1902 to 1904. He was reputed as a philosopher and wrote a number of interesting books on the mystery of the universe.

He wrote the following books: *Heart of a Continent*, *Relief of Chitral*, *Souht Africa Today*, *Kashmir*, *India and Tibet*, *Within the Heart of Nature*, *The Gleam*, *Wonders of the Himalaya*, *But in Our Lives*, *The Epic of Everest*, *The Light of Experience*, *Life in the Stars*, *The Coming Country*, *Dawn in India*, *The Living Universe*, *Modern Mystics*, *Everest*, *The Challenge*, *A Venture of Faith*, *The Sum of Things*.

In 1937, he was honoured by India by being invited to preside over the Parliament of Religions convened on the occasion of Sri Ramakrishna Centenary celebrations, and his presidential address was much appreciated for its depth of thought and remarkable understanding of the trend of Indian spirituality. In December, last year, he presided over the All-Faiths Congress, held in London and expressed his anxiety for the solution of the Indian communal problem. He also contributed to various journals in England and America on India's spirituality and culture.

He was engaged in exploration works on behalf of Government in various countries in Central Asia, was in Manchuria in 1886, trekked from Peking to India via Chinese Turkestan in 1887, was on the Pamirs in 1889-91, and became political officer of Hunza in 1892. He was Political Agent in Chitral in 1893-94 and acted as the Special Correspondent of the *London Times* in the Chitral Expedition of 1895.

In 1896-97, he was in Transvaal and Rhodesia and became Political Agent of Haraoti and Tonk in 1898. He was Resident in Indore in 1902-3 and British Commissioner to Tibet in 1902-4. He was finally Resident in Kashmir in 1906-9. He was also engaged in various activities in Britain, becoming the Rede Lecturer in Cambridge and President of the Royal Geographical Society.

LONDON, Aug. 10.

Extracts from the scriptures of the world were read at a memorial service for Sir Francis Younghusband, Explorer, at St. Martins in the Fields today. Readings were made by a Hindu, a Jew, a Buddhist and a Muslim and a short address in English was given by Viscount Samuel.

Sir Francis was Chairman of the World Congress of Faiths and all great religions of the world were represented among the large number of mourners.

Readings from scriptures were given by Sir Atul Chatterjee (Hindu), Rabbi Dr. Salzberger (Jewish), Bhikkhu Thutilla (Buddhist) and Sir Hasan Suhrawardy (Muslim).

The Secretary of State for India was represented by Sir Gordon Neale.—*Reuter*.

I met Sir Francis Younghusband only once and that at the Calcutta Town Hall meeting in connection with the Ramakrishna Centenary presided over by Srimati Sarojini Naidu. I sat next to him on the platform. When I had finished reading my brief paper on "As Many Opinions So Many Paths" and taken my seat, he signified his agreement with my views of his own accord.

"Situation Completely In Hand"

LONDON, Aug. 12.

The following statement was issued by the India Office to-night (Wednesday):

"Official quarters in London report that the authorities in India have the situation completely in hand and it is emphasised that any picture of widespread disorder in that country is utterly distorted.

There is no indication of any widespread mass movement. The countryside is unaffected and here is virtually no interference whatever with the War effort.

In Calcutta, for instance, which with its neighbourhood is responsible for by far the greater part of India's War industrial activity, there are no repercussions to the arrests of Indian National Congress Party leaders."—*Reuter*.

In the absence of adequate and reliable news, we cannot say whether on the date (12th August, 1942) of the statement the situation was really completely in hand and has continued to be so up-to-date, or whether the India Office

did not receive correct information from here. But this we can assert, on the strength of such news as were allowed to be published in the Nationalist papers up to August 20 last, that there was "widespread disorder" in India on and about that date, that the countryside was affected, and that there was a widespread mass movement. As regards Calcutta, there certainly were repercussions there to the arrests of Indian National Congress Party leaders.

What the present situation is, we do not know.

American Armed Forces Asked Not To Take Part In Internal Troubles in India

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13.

The State Department said to-night that the American armed forces in India are there solely to prosecute the war against the Axis and have been warned to avoid taking any part in internal troubles.

The presence of American forces in India is primarily to aid China, the Department said. In the event of disturbances where they are stationed, they are authorised to resort to defensive measures only, should their own personal safety or that of other American citizens be endangered.

The Department added that the policy of the United States Government in this emergency had already been made part of the orders issued to the American forces which had been in India for some time.

"The American forces are not to indulge in the slightest degree in activities of any other nature unless India should be attacked by the Axis powers in which event the American troops would aid in defending India," it added.—*Reuter*.

Ordinance Investing Military Officers With Power Even to Cause Death

According to the provisions of a new ordinance, any military officer, in His Majesty's forces and in the forces of any Allied power stationed in India, not below the rank of captain, can use such force as may be necessary even to the extent of causing death, against those who fail to halt when challenged by a sentry or who attempt to do such acts as would endanger or damage any property which it is the duty of such officer to protect.

If American armed forces, according to the orders of their government, are not to take any part in India's internal troubles, why have their officers, along with the officers of other Allied powers' troops, been invested with such drastic powers by this ordinance?

The provisions of the new ordinance investing military officers of certain ranks with the drastic powers mentioned above should cause serious concern even to those who think that

the Government have had no alternative but to take stern measures to curb and put an end to hooliganism. As the authorities themselves had said, before the date of the ordinance, that the situation was well in hand, there was no justification for investing officers with such powers, unless in the meantime the situation had deteriorated very seriously. In the absence of adequate news, we cannot judge for ourselves whether it has improved, remained stationary, or deteriorated.

There have been various kinds of hooliganism; but so far as we have read and remember the news allowed to be published, in no case has it been alleged that any member of any mob fired on the police or the military. Even if such occurrences had taken place, the authorities already possessed sufficiently drastic powers to deal with them.

According to the new ordinance, the military officer who will exercise the powers given to him by it is to be the sole judge of the measure of the force to be used. We do not know whether the Government have taken any precautions to see that these powers will not be wrongly used or abused. Such precautions are necessary, as the ordinance affects not only hooligans but all members of the public also.

No doubt, Government have the right to put down disturbances by every legitimate means, but they have no moral right to adopt measures which are unnecessary and may be oppressive.

"The Poet's Prayer"

The Social Welfare of Bombay writes in its issue of the 20th August last:

India has been too distracted by the political dispute that has risen over the question of her National Freedom that she was not able to pay her homage to the memory of Rabindranath on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death. On the seventh of this month, the All-India Congress Committee met and the nation's entire attention was absorbed in the life and death struggle that lay ahead of her. But no formal tributes were needed to show that India had imbibed the message of the Poet.

That huge meeting of the All-India Congress Committee itself was a tribute to the spirit of Fearlessness and Freedom which Kavi Ravindra inculcated in his songs of matchless beauty. At that gathering indeed the mind was without fear and the head was held high. There indeed was the demand that the world should not be broken up into fragments by narrow walls of racialism or colour. There was an appeal to the world that the clear stream of reason should not lose its way into the dreary desert sand of dead customs and systems. The Poet's prayer that India should awake in that "Haven of Freedom" was repeated, perhaps in more prosaic terms but with firm resolution and grim deter-

mination. Words came out from the depth of truth and India's tireless striving stretched its arms towards perfection.

It is unquestionable that, but for the political situation, many more towns and villages would have paid their homage to the Poet than those which actually did so. But it is nevertheless remarkable that, in spite of political pre-occupations and disturbing war news, Calcutta, Lahore and many other places observed the 7th of August with all due solemnity.

Rabindranath Tagore on Going to Prison

In the course of a letter written thirty-five years ago to his son Rathindranath Tagore, who was then undergoing training in an American University, Rabindranath Tagore wrote :

"When the subscription to *The Statesman* expires, I will not send it any more. From now onwards I will go on sending *Bande Mataram*. It has become a very good paper. But if Aurobindo be sent to jail, I do not know what will be the condition of that paper. Perhaps he will not be spared incarceration. In our country serving a term of imprisonment is coming to be an indication of manhood. Our cowardice will not be removed unless the fear of going to jail is done away with. As batches of persons continue to go to jail, people will grow habituated to it—it will cease to be thought of as any thing out of the way. Just as we have malaria in our midst—suffering now and then, recovering now and then, sometimes dying too—similarly serving terms of imprisonment will be counted among our gentle folk as something like an unavoidable affliction and malady." (Translated from the Bengali letter in *Chithipatra*, part 2, pp. 5-6.)

Mahatma's Letter to the Viceroy

From "The Statesman's" Special Representative

NEW DELHI, Aug. 22.

It is stated here in well informed quarters that Mr. Gandhi has addressed a letter to the Viceroy explaining the Congress viewpoint. The Viceroy's reply may be sent soon.

Political quarters doubt whether this correspondence will lead to fruitful results. The question, however, remains as to whether some constructive approach can be made to ease the political situation now that mob violence has been brought under control.

Developments in the next week may be watched with interest.

New Cabinet For Assam

SHILLONG, Aug. 24.

Sir Mohammad Saadullah and his colleagues are taking the oath to-morrow as Ministers of the Assam

Government according to a provisional programme drawn up today.

The Cabinet will consist of the following ten members :

Sir Muhammad Saadullah (Premier), Mr. Naba Kumar Dutta, Maulvi Munawar Ali, Mr. Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty, Khan Sahib Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhury, Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Khan Bahadur Sayidur Rahman, Mr. Rupnath Brahma and Miss Mavis Dunn.

New portfolios of Civil Defence, Publicity, Price Control, Grow More Food and Transport are going to be created.—A. P.

The Government have now got their heart's desire. Sjt. Rohinikumar Chaudhuri had ere this signified his ability and readiness to form a ministry. But he was not allowed to do so, presumably because he is a Nationalist.

"Wrong Use" and Shortage of Quinine

In connexion with the new order on the above subject, dated London, August 12, referred to lately, it is doubtful if there would be any shortage if doctors (1) did not prescribe unnecessarily large doses, and (2) did not waste quinine by administering intra-muscular injections.

For 30 years I have never prescribed a larger dose of quinine than five grains for an adult; and I have never been disappointed with the therapeutic results. Doses larger than five grains are not only unnecessary but may injure the patient. I have met with quinine deafness among doctors themselves.

Intra-muscular injections of quinine are not only useless waste but cause serious physical injury by destroying all muscular tissue which comes in contact with the quinine solution. The quinine thus injected is chemically altered and of no therapeutic value.—Yours, etc.,

A. C. MACGILCHRIST,

(Lt.-Col., I.M.S., Rtd.).

Calcutta, August 18.

Professor Nibaran Chandra Ray

"Mr. Nibaran Chandra Roy, Emeritus Professor of Physics, Scottish Church College, died suddenly at his residence in Calcutta. From July, 1917, till his retirement at the end of June, 1940, he rendered valuable service as Head of the Physics Department of the College. Previously, he had served in Bishop's College from July, 1897, until Bishop's College ceased as an arts and science college in 1915. He then served for a year at the Belgatchia Medical College. He was a Fellow of Calcutta University and a member of the Syndicate of the University.

"Professor Roy was a prominent member of the National Liberal Federation and was several times one of its General Secretaries, besides being the Secretary of the Indian Association, Calcutta, for nearly 20 years."

Professor Ray was a lifelong bachelor. He was a member of the Brahmo community. He belonged to an early generation of students of the City College of Calcutta in the last century when the editor of *The Modern Review* was one of the professors of that college.

India's "Martial" Races Also Want Swaraj

The executive committee of the Union of the Martial Races of India, at a meeting held at New Delhi on the 26th July last, passed a resolution demanding the total independence of India and immediate transfer of power to Indians! So it is not only the Congress, not merely the so-called Babu class, who want independence immediately, but even the "martial" races do so!

The London "Times" Not For Unmixed Repression

When the Congress leaders were arrested, the London *Times* immediately lent its support to the measure. But hardly had three days passed when we in India got a long *Reuter's* message which began thus:

LONDON, Aug. 12.

Repression unaccompanied by any constructive policy is likely to prove as vain and ineffective in war as in peace, and far more dangerous, says *The Times* in a leader today (Wednesday) on India. "The capital of goodwill which the Cripps Proposals created for Great Britain in India and in other countries will be retained and increased only if the necessity is recognised of giving a positive and constructive lead," the paper continues.

Where "the capital of goodwill" "created in India" "by the Cripps proposals" remains in safe deposit in India we do not know. But that is only by the by.

The Times adds:

"Even the present crisis may open the door to a fresh opportunity. Much of Indian opinion remains fluid and hopeful." "But the political situation will not remain static; and the present Indian support for Government policy is combined in many quarters with a demand for more active Indian participation in the conduct of affairs. This is a reasonable, constructive and welcome demand."

Mr. Jinnah's History

Mr. Jinnah's history of the beginnings of British rule in India is like that of many other Mussalmans. A recent statement of Mr. Jinnah's in which he observed that he was prepared to form a government if the reins of administration were handed over to him, also contained the observation that "the British will be making full amends to Muslims by restoring the government of India to Muslims from whom they had taken it." The statement that the British took the government of India from the Muslims is rather amusing, though it may tickle the fancy of the latter. Every school boy knows, as Macaulay would have

said, that, though down to the days of the Sepoy War the Mughal Emperors continued to hold their toy courts in Delhi, they had long ceased to have any territory, power had long since left their hands, and the British had to fight not the Mughals but mostly the Marathas and the Sikhs for the sovereignty of India. That is not the opinion of Hindu historians or of them alone. Lord Roberts says in his *Forty-One Years in India*:

"Mohamedans looked back to the days of their Empire in India but failed to remember how completely, until we broke the Mahratta power, the Hindus had got the upper hand."

Sir Alexander Rogers on War Production In Australia And India

Sir Alexander Rogers, head of the Ministry of Supply Far Eastern Mission, who was in India sometime ago, says in the course of a statement:

Australians had an intense national consciousness that they were working and fighting for their own country. In India, on the other hand, the British official, an employee, tended to have regard first for his pay, and then for his pension on which he would retire from the country. There was not in the direction of India's industry, the intense national feeling there was in Australia.

The obvious lesson to be drawn from this passage is that India should be made free so that there may be "intense national feeling" at the back of the war efforts being made in India.

Gandhiji's Message to China

BOMBAY, Aug. 7.

In a message to the Chinese people Mahatma Gandhi says: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation, for, in that liberation is involved her ability to give effective assistance whether to China or to Russia or even to Great Britain or America."—A. P. I.

Criticism of Indian Literatures By Foreigners

The Indian P. E. N. for August writes:

Shri Buddhadeva Bose, writing under the significant title "Where Angels Fear to Tread," in *Current Thought* for May, 1942, protests against criticism of Indian literatures, particularly Bengali, by foreigners. Such criticism, however well-informed or well-meaning, is only too likely to be either banal or erroneous, on account of the general lack of acquaintance of the critic with the language and the life of the people. Shri Buddhadeva Bose takes stock of some recent books on Tagore by certain Westerners and exposes not only the inaccuracies and misstatements which abound but also the latent love of condescension and patronage which these criticisms betray. Sir William Rothenstein's *Since Fifty*, the last volume of his memoirs, specifically discussing the *Golden Book of Tagore* in which his countrymen paid spontaneous tributes to his genius, contains many passages unpalatable to Indians.

Rabindranath Tagore: His Personality and Work by Prof. V. Lesny is a well-meaning but inadequately informed book. E. M. Forster's criticism of Dr. Tagore's *Ghare Baire* is only too well-known. No criticism of a book can be competent unless it is preceded by a thorough grasp of the genius of the language in which it is written, and a knowledge of the life which it seeks to portray, so that the critic does not miss the poetry of its language or the social implications of its theme. Translations cannot lead us far and unless we are in a position to know what the book means in the original, to those for whom it is intended, the critic has to guard against doing a disservice though he intends none.

We have not seen Sir William Rothenstein's *Since Fifty*. So we are unable to say whether the "passages unpalatable to Indians" contain undiluted truth, or half-truths, or falsehoods.

Roosevelt's Message to United Nations on Anniversary of Atlantic Charter

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14.

President Roosevelt has sent a message to Mr. Churchill and the heads of the United Nations on the first anniversary of the signing of the Atlantic Charter, in which he said :

"A year today the nations resisting the common barbaric foe were units or small groups fighting for their existence. Now these nations and groups in all continents of the earth have united.

"If the forces of conquest are not successfully resisted and defeated, there will be no freedom and no independence and no opportunity for freedom for any nation. It is, therefore, to the single and supreme objective of defeating the Axis forces of aggression that the United Nations have pledged all their resources and efforts.

"When victory comes we shall stand shoulder to shoulder in seeking to nourish the great ideals for which we fight."—*Reuter*.

Mr. Churchill's reply to this message has not been published. Has he said in it that as India is not a nation, that India is not one of the "nations fighting the common barbaric foe," and that, therefore, she cannot expect to derive any advantage from the Atlantic Charter when victory has been won ?

China and a Pacific Charter

CHUNGKING, Aug. 11.

A suggestion that a Pacific Charter giving assurances about the future of India, China, Burma and Korea might prove helpful, was made by the Director of the Chinese Political Department, Mr. Tsiang Fu, speaking of the attitude of the Chinese Government to the Indian situation.

Mr. Tsiang said, "The Chinese Government is a friend and ally of Britain, while the Chinese people have the warmest friendship for the Indian people. Even at this late hour I hope some method will be found to improve the situation in India. If there is anything China can do, she will be glad to do it."

Mr. Tsiang added that any premature suggestion now might not be helpful. He was concerned lest trouble might affect supplies for China.

Mr. Tsiang will head the Chinese Education Mission to India. The Government of India has informed the Chinese Government that the end of August or early September will be the best time for the Mission's departure.—*Reuter*.

Castration as a Punishment for Rape

A few years back it was suggested in the pages of *The Modern Review* that vasochotomy is the remedy for preventing rather too frequent abductions &c., in Bengal. The opinion of late Mr. Justice Syed Ameer Ali was quoted in favour of capital punishment for gang rape. We have it on the authority of Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, that Alauddin Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, prescribed castration as a punishment for adultery. Writing in *Current Thought* (July-Sept., 1942) he says :

"History describes him [Alauddin] as the greatest enemy of those who committed adultery. He had ordered such criminals to be castrated. When the Qazi of Bayana, criticised the order as not in conformity with the law of the *Shariat*, the Sultan is said, as reported by Zia-i-Barani, to have told the Qazi, "I too am a Muslim and the son of Muslim like you but as neither admonition, chastisement, physical punishment or imprisonment would make people desist from committing this offence, I have ordered them to be castrated. My motive, however, is nothing but correction. I, therefore, hope that God Almighty will forgive me if it is against His Law."

It will thus appear that the Muhammadan Sultans of Delhi did not hesitate to prescribe castration as a punishment for adultery, even if it was not sanctioned by the Quranic Law. The Quran does not prohibit castration; so in cases of necessity the earthly ruler may prescribe it as a mode of punishment. We would ask the Bengal Government to appoint a small committee to consider the suitability of this form of punishment for abduction, adultery and other similar crimes against women. J. M. DATTA

Calcutta Commercial Bank Ltd.

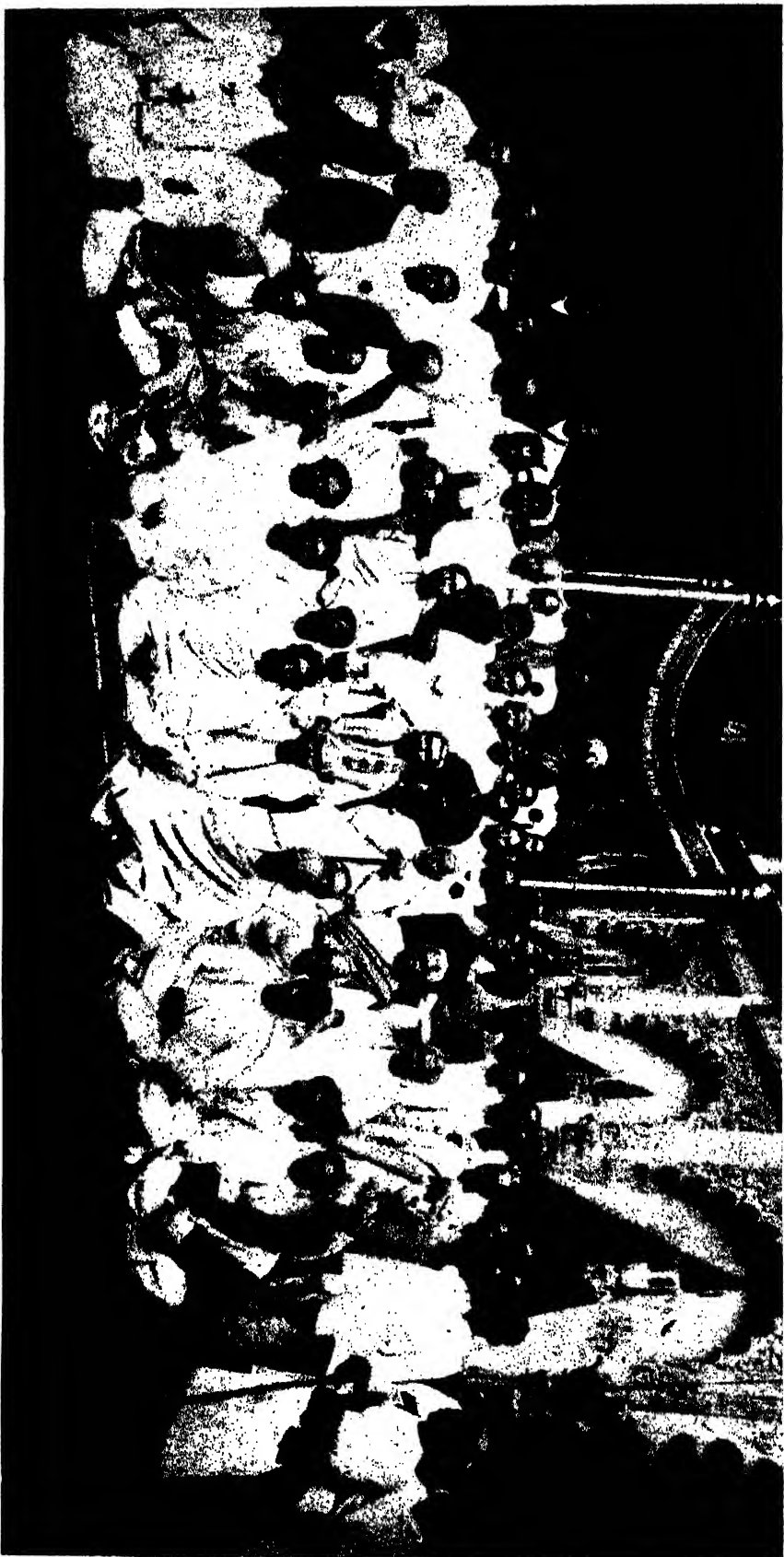
The Calcutta Commercial Bank Limited, with its many branches, is deservedly prospering. Not to speak of other items in its recent balance sheet, the amounts of deposits in the following recent years, taken from it, show remarkable progress :

30-6-38	31-12-39	31-12-40	31-12-41
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89,166-15-5	9,78,782-8-9	26,35,607-11-0	38,05,263-1-6½
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These cash deposits, supplemented by the share capital of the Company, brought the working capital of the Company to Rs. 45,83,810-15-1 on 31. 12. 1941, a position which not many companies could claim in the seventh year of their working.

IN MEMORIAM RABINDRANATH TAGORE



The First Session of the Bengali Literary Conference (1907 A.D.) at Cossimbazar under the Presidentship of the Poet

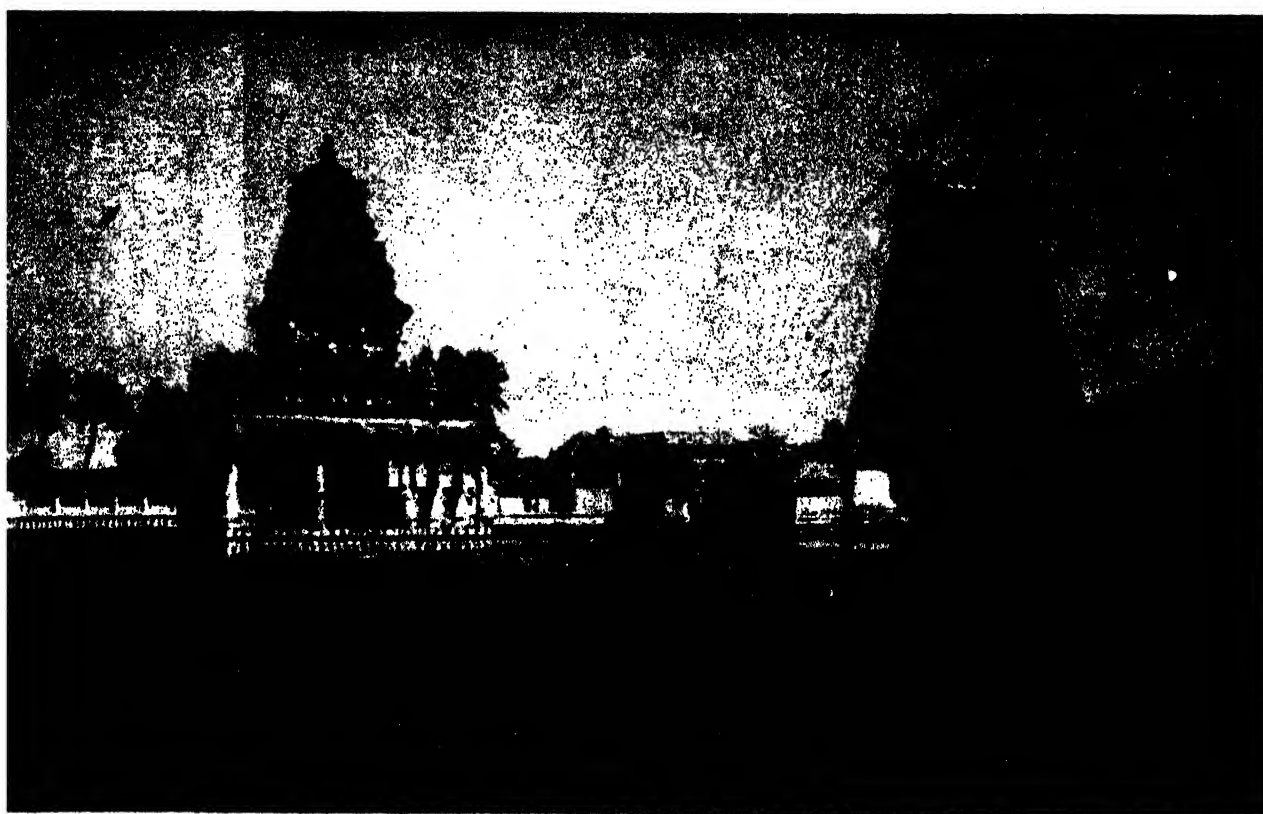
*From the Left, on Chair :—*4th Kaliprasanna Banerji, 5th Hrishikesh Sastri, 6th Rabindranath Tagore, 7th Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, 8th Maharaja Jogindranarayan Ray (Lalgola), 9th Ramendrasunder Trivedi, 10th Debendranath Bose

*From the Left, Front Row :—*1st Muhammad Rehsan Ali Chaudhuri, 3rd Byomkesh Mustafi, 5th Akshaykumar Maitreya, 6th Sailesh Chandra Majumdar, 7th Jagadananda Ray, 8th Kedarnath Majumdar, 9th Chandrasekhar Mukherji, 10th Sasadhar Roy, 11th Durgadas Lahiri, 14th Ramkamal Sinha, 16th Devendranarayan Roy, 17th Nalinranjan Pandit

Courtesy : Jnanendranarayan Ray



A view of the Suchindram temple and the Teppakulam (temple tank) with the Mandapam in the centre



A general view of the Suchindram temple and tank

WHY INDIA HELPED BRITAIN IN THE LAST WORLD-WAR

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

NON-INDIAN SEPOYS

WHY INDIANS ENLISTED AND FOUGHT FOR BRITAIN

It has been stated that, before the war of 1914-1918, the strength of the Indian section of the Indian Army, combatant and non-combatant, was approximately 230,000 and that before the Armistice was signed in November, 1918, it rose to 1,161,489, that is to say, in the course of four years or so, it increased five-fold.

It is true that when the last war was being fought, British officials tried to persuade India that the war was her war and that her sons should cheerfully undergo all kinds of sacrifice in order to defend their hearth and home. In spite of statements such as these, it is not correct to explain the remarkable increase in the strength of the Indian Army just referred to as being due to the feeling among India's masses that it was their duty to lay down their lives in defence of their motherland. It is admitted now that pronouncements of this type were more or less propaganda. This is proved by what Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in a speech he made to the officers of the Indian Army at a luncheon given to them on the 16th December, 1941, by the Overseas League. He is reported to have observed,

"Their (Indian troops') participation in that war (of 1914-1918) was justified by India's general interest in the strength and security of the British Empire rather than by the need for warding off any direct menace to India herself."

If this is so, the question which naturally enough suggests itself after one has scrutinised these figures is how is it that an alien Government, ruling India from a distance of seven thousand miles, through its British agents who ordinarily have little direct contact with the masses, succeeded in persuading such large numbers of Indians to die for it in so many different fronts? It was probably the first time in the history of the human race that nearly a million and a quarter could be enlisted to fight in a war which was not of their bringing about and could not, in any sense, be regarded as of much, if any, concern of theirs.

From official figures, it appears that about a quarter of the total number of soldiers who were in the Indian Army in the last war were members of the trans-frontier tribes and Gurkhas.

Though in the course of his travels in India, the present writer has met some of these tribesmen and tried to find out their point of view, he does not claim any intimate knowledge about them. Some among those met were ordinary sepoy, others Viceroy's Commissioned officers. None of these seemed to possess either the necessary education or the training which would enable them to earn their living in any other line of work. And so, it appeared to the present writer that, almost instinctively, they had turned to the army as the one profession open to them where they could best utilise their natural aptitude for warfare developed through the environments in which they are placed and stimulated further by the traditions inherited from a long line of predatory ancestors.

The question of loyalty to an impersonal, invisible Government, so far as the present writer has been able to infer from the comparatively few contacts he has been able to establish with such people, does not seem to appear in the picture at all. But it is quite correct to say that there is admiration and even affection for individual officers, which of course would play its part, though not necessarily a very large part, in stimulating recruitment.

It is impossible for a civilian to make any guess as to the number of such officers in every regiment which included members of the trans-frontier tribes or the actual number of recruits drawn to the colours from these people through the personal influence of these officers. But there cannot be much doubt that one is on safe ground when he assumes that pecuniary inducements were very largely, though not exclusively, responsible for increased recruitment and that they made a powerful appeal mainly on account of the chronic poverty of these people.

That it is not totally incorrect to say that loyalty to the British Government was not the

deciding factor in encouraging large-scale recruitment is proved when we consider the capriciousness of the attitude of these tribesmen towards it for, at one moment, they co-operate with it and the next they go against it. There is also the question of desertion, but it is a matter on which the present writer prefers to remain silent.

So far as the trans-frontier tribes are concerned, we know that they are very ignorant and that they are often driven by want to plundering expeditions into the more fertile and prosperous parts of the plains inhabited by British Indians and the kidnapping of wealthy British Indian subjects. It is not contended that they are not turbulent by nature. What is maintained is that they would not be such troublesome neighbours but for the perpetual want from which they suffer, and which is due to the far from sufficient crops they are able to raise from the barren tracts inhabited by them.

Government, which has always to keep these people in check, is occasionally compelled to not only send punitive forces into their country, to impose fines on them in the shape of money and arms, but even to have recourse to bombing from the air in order to impress on them the foolishness of their ways and its ability to mete out swift and sure punishment. It has also provided some among them with subsidies and utilised their services as irregulars, one of the reasons for this policy being the desire to do something to remove their want. If the official opinion that their case is similar to that of the Highlanders of Scotland, who, for centuries, conducted forays into the Lowlands, is correct, it is obvious that the most powerful incentive to recruitment in such areas was poverty and want.

Coming to the Gurkhas recruited from Nepal, one cannot but admit that primarily they owe their loyalty to their own ruler. It is said that in the last war, Nepal contributed about 70,000 men, which is a large number for this far from densely populated Indian State.

It does not seem proper for a subject of British India to criticise the doings of an independent Indian State regarded as a firm and loyal ally of Britain. But one cannot utterly shut one's ears to the stories of the recruitment of Gurkhas under pressure and of their large-scale emigration into British Indian areas, such as the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Shillong, adjacent to Nepal.

The present writer prefers to leave the matter here but there cannot be much doubt that

what we understand by loyalty to the British Government was not ordinarily operative in the case of Gurkha recruitment, though it is admitted that, once recruited into the regiment, loyalty to individual officers was and is the rule.

Omitting these non-Indian recruits, we have still to say something about the reasons which impelled the majority of Indians who numbered something like a million to join the army in some capacity or other, specially as the recruitment, according to the official spokesmen of the British administration, had always been on a voluntary basis.

MARTIAL RACES AND RECRUITMENT

The distinction drawn by the military authorities between the martial and the non-martial races of India has been responsible for the idea, generally held in the West, that, apart from loyalty, it was the love of fighting for its own sake and the love of military renown which explain the enthusiastic response made by the former to the recruitment campaign. While it is not denied that the desire for martial glory and the itch for adventure may have been operative in the case of members belonging to certain social and religious groups, it is maintained that, even when they were concerned, these alone were not so powerful as other factors.

In this connection, the reader should remind himself that sentiments, such as these, are ordinarily to be expected only among those who are sufficiently well-off in the economic sense to feel that they and their dependents can always command an amount of food and clothing adequate enough to meet their normal requirements.

That the economic factor was generally responsible for heavy recruitment is abundantly evident from the fact that some at any rate among the so-called martial races of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier suffer permanently from such insufficiency of food that, in the language of Rev. G. H. Macfarlane, who spent the major part of his active life in the rural parts of these areas, the people there "count themselves lucky if they get only one square meal every two days."

There is also the fact that as the Indian Army went on expanding under the stimulus of war, the man-power of the martial races gradually showed signs of exhaustion and members of non-martial races had to be recruited. It therefore, follows that, in the case of the non-martial people, love of fighting for its own sake or the desire to win military honour could not

have been operative in calling men in very large numbers to the colours.

IMPROVEMENTS IN PAY AND PROSPECTS

That pecuniary inducements played and have always played a large and important part in encouraging recruitment, specially on a large scale, and that this fact has always been recognised by military experts is proved by the following extract from the findings of the Nicholson Army Committee published on the eve of the War of 1914-18.

"We have evidence, too, that in the event of a serious war, recruitment would fall off unless the conditions of field-service in the theatre of operation were such as to attract the Indian ranks."

Government was aware from the very outset of the war when it sent out nearly 80,000 British officers and men and some 230,000 Indian ranks, combatants and non-combatants, overseas that the war would be a prolonged one and that it was practically certain that India would have to despatch still larger numbers of soldiers outside her borders to defend the Empire of which she was a member, although a subordinate one. It also knew that it would have to offer higher emoluments to attract large numbers into the army but it would go on increasing its offers from time to time as the need for recruits grew more and more acute.

Recruitment of soldiers on the old pay and prospects went on up to the end of December, 1916, that is to say, for two and one-third years of the war, when Government, in order to attract still larger numbers, was compelled to offer higher inducements with effect from the 1st January, 1917. The pay of Indian commissioned and non-commissioned officers was substantially increased. The Jamadar's pay was increased by nearly 20 and the Havildar's pay by 10 per cent. Free rations instead of the inadequate messing allowance permitted under the existing rules were granted to all Indian ranks.

Six months later, that is from June, 1917, a bonus of Rs. 50 was given to every combatant recruit and a war bonus twice a year to every trained soldier. Still later, after the King-Emperor's call to India in April, 1918, further concessions were granted to recruits and to all ranks serving outside India.

Reference has been made to these measures merely to prove that the steps taken were such as to stimulate recruitment of the rank and file and that the Indian officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, were also offered additional pecuniary inducements not only in order that

they might do their work with more than ordinary enthusiasm, but also in the expectation that they would show their gratitude for these new favours by inducing their people to join the army.

However well-trained and "martial" in disposition, the Indian soldier has a natural preference to stay in his own country and, if possible, to fight and die there. It is correct to hold that, up to 1914, he had been accustomed to think of himself as one who would ordinarily be called upon to quell internal disturbances, to overawe an unarmed, subject race and, occasionally, to take part in frontier expeditions where he would have to fight opponents very much less efficiently equipped and armed than himself. But in the war then going on, he would probably have to encounter highly trained armies of Europeans equipped most efficiently with arms and munitions the quality of which had been improved in the light of the very latest scientific knowledge. The Indian sepoy was aware that in such a contingency, the casualties would be more numerous and more severe than even in the bloodiest of frontier engagements. This would mean families unprovided for—a prospect which would be far from welcome to him.

It was more than likely that considerations such as these would have the effect of slowing down the rate of recruitment. It was probably the recognition of this disturbing factor which induced Government early in January, 1917, to announce that the ordinary pensions accorded to retiring officers and the rank and file of the Indian Army would, in official language, be "considerably raised." Arrangements were also made for liberalising the conditions under which family pensions were granted to relations of deceased soldiers.

It has not been thought worth-while to distract the attention of the reader by giving detailed information about the very tempting pecuniary inducements held out to soldiers and would-be soldiers. Those interested in the nature of these inducements and desirous of finding out how, with the progress of the war, they were made more and more attractive will find a short account of them on pages 164 and 165 of the *Indian Year Book* for 1919.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has told us in his memoirs (*India As I Knew It*, p. 223) how

"agriculturally poor districts such as Jhelum and Rawalpindi were each receiving from £15,000 to £20,000 monthly in remittances, and this undoubtedly encouraged those at home to continue sending their young men to the Army, and enabled them to bear the burden of bad seasons and high prices."

This is the best possible proof that it was the sting of poverty which was largely responsible for driving even the so-called martial Mussalman, Sikh and Jat of the Punjab into the army.

The correctness of this opinion is supported by what we find in a publication issued by the Punjab Government in 1922 entitled "The Punjab and the War" written by Mr. M. S. Leigh, a Punjab I. C. S. This book gives an impressive account of the services rendered by this province during the last war. On page 477 of this publication, the official spokesman of the Punjab Government admits that, taking into account the number of males of military age, the response in the matter of recruitment was always discouraging from areas under canal irrigation where the economic condition of the inhabitants is and was more prosperous than in other parts of the province.

Similarly, Sir Michael O'Dwyer on page 227 of his *India As I Knew It* has said :

"Their very prosperity and the needs of a highly-developed agriculture were among the causes that kept back the Sikhs and Mahomedans of Lahore, Lyallpur and Gujranwala."

In another place in his memoirs, Sir Michael has stated that the Mahomedans of Multan Division comprising the districts of Montgomery, Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan and the Jats of Karnal and Ambala were also equally backward in enlisting and for identical reasons.

If the conclusion that economic prosperity acted as a deterrent in the matter of enlistment is correct, it lends additional strength to the inference we have already drawn, viz., that poverty was very largely responsible for taking men from the less prosperous areas into the army.

OTHER INDUCEMENTS TO RECRUITMENT.

But inducing men to join the army and getting the very best of which they are capable are two different things. The something additional offered by Government took the form of extra rewards the most attractive of which, in the case of people living in rural India, would, of course, be fertile land.

After informing his readers how the pessimistic anticipations of those who believed that the Punjabi Mussalman soldiers would refuse to fight against their co-religionists in Mesopotamia were falsified, Sir Michael has given various reasons for the loyalty of the men recruited from

his province, of which the fourth only is quoted below.

"(4) Finally, and this was the most effective of all inducements to the Punjab peasant, directly war broke out, I put at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief one hundred and eighty thousand acres of valuable canal-irrigated land for allotment later to Indian officers and men who had served with special distinction in the field. I also set aside some fifteen thousand acres for reward-grants to those who gave most effective help in raising recruits."

Truly the man who said that "even loyalty if not well-watered with the streams of Pactolus is apt to droop" was wise in his generation and that the British officials were familiar with this truth and knew how to utilise it for purposes of encouraging recruitment is abundantly evident from what has appeared above.

There were other inducements also of the same kind calculated to appeal to the poverty of the masses. Let us hear how this was done in the Punjab by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, probably the best recruiting sergeant the British administration had in those days. On page 224 of his memoirs we are told that

"The village communities in each district which had the best record—some had given half their male population—were entered on a Roll of Honour and received remissions of land revenue exceeding £100,000.

"Most of the Punjab districts were being reassessed for land-revenue during the War, and in deciding on the amount of the assessment and its term, I had no hesitation in giving favourable consideration to the war-services of the rural population, especially in Gujrat, Shahpur and Amritsar. Two districts of the Punjab—Rawalpindi and Jhelum—stood out pre-eminent in all India, and for these, in addition to other rewards, I obtained sanction to the extension of their revenue settlements for an extra ten years—a concession representing £20,000 to £30,000 annually.

"By such measures it was brought home to the people that Government would reward loyal service with honour and material benefits. The results are evident in the recruiting figures of 1917 and 1918."

It has been justly observed by an Englishman (E. Thompson in his *Reconstruction of India*, p. 116) that "the dispensation of public revenue as largesse and gesture, in accordance with the passing demands of the hour and with standards of loyalty to a war waged far away, seems mediaeval."

THE NATURE OF THE APPEAL

Taking all these things together, we find that there was the lure of a pension with prospects of a well-paid job at the end of the Indian soldier's service. Disablement was made less fearsome by a pension. On the event of death in service, the dependents were, more or less, provided for. So far as the immediate attrac-

tions were concerned, the pay offered to the prospective sepoy when compared with the average daily wages was certainly tempting. Good clothing obtainable without payment was there, also abundance of good food such as had very rarely come in the way of the ordinary rural folk. The opposition of the family disappeared when it realised that the absence of one of its able-bodied members would not imply hardship at all. On the contrary, the sepoy, unless he was very reckless and extravagant, would be able to remit home the greater part of his pay and probably the whole of his war bonus. Lastly, there was an opportunity of seeing new lands and new people with the likelihood of, may be, a little looting thrown in. There might also be opportunities of a fling or so, a matter of some difficulty in any place near one's home. All these would and, as a fact, did appeal irresistibly to the recruit. •

PRESSURE ON NON-MARTIAL RACES

With a formidable enemy to fight, Britain was compelled to use the Indian Army in various fronts. As was to be expected, the supply of men began to run short. The most obvious way of meeting the difficulty was to approach those classes of men, dubbed martial, who had been contributing recruits to the Indian Army for half a century and more.

But the supply of men from these sources being limited, it became necessary not only to get as many of them as possible but also, horror of horrors, to recruit men from hitherto untapped and therefore "non-martial" sources. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in spite of his over-effective organisation, had to supplement martial by non-martial recruits whom he obtained by tapping castes and tribes that had, in his language, "hitherto been little recruited, and to draw upon areas, . . . which had few military traditions."

How such people were induced to join the army is told by the anonymous author of the *Lost Dominion* (p. 263), according to whom, "the net of the military organisation was flung very wide, brought up some very strange material. It was discovered that some of the castes which had been supposed to be worthless were really capable of being turned into valuable soldiers, and there pressure, hardly to be distinguished from compulsion, was freely applied." The inference one feels justified in drawing is that the application of pressure came in only when it was found that pecuniary inducements failed to call forth recruits from these groups.

CIVIL RECRUITING AGENCIES

As the war dragged its weary length, such pecuniary inducements to encourage recruitment as had been offered were found insufficient to ensure an even and adequate flow of recruits. To meet this contingency, the assistance of the civil administration and the co-operation of Indian non-officials were increasingly sought. This method was pursued all through India and Sir Michael was not exaggerating when he said :

"Active help in recruiting was from the outbreak of hostilities placed by the Government foremost among the duties of the civil officials and rural men of influence; new depots were opened and the recruiting organisation steadily expanded;"

And again,

"Assistance in raising men for the Army was made a duty of all executive and village officials and of all who were enjoying grants of land or other marks of consideration from Government, and one of the main qualifications in establishing claims on Government."

The work of these officials occupying very humble positions in the civil administration and of rural men of influence was supervised by other officials, generally British, occupying high positions who, as a study of the newspapers published at that time will show, used to hold Durbars and public receptions where they met war-workers and local prominent men whom they encouraged to carry on the campaign for recruitment and money with greater vigour than before.

THE SECURING OF NON-OFFICIAL INDIAN CO-OPERATION

The efforts of zealous Indian officials found recognition in the usual way, that is, through promotion, the award of honours, etc. So far as Indian non-officials were concerned, we have the evidence of Sir Michael as to how these were rewarded.

"The rewards were such as would appeal to the Oriental mind, such as Indian titles of honour from 'Raja' and 'Nawab' down to 'Rai Sahib' and 'Khan Sahib,' robes of honour, swords of honour, guns, revolvers, complimentary sanads (parchment rolls) inscribed with the name and services of the recipient, cash rewards, grants of Government land, of revenue-free land to individuals."

It is hardly necessary to tell, at least the well-informed Indian, that those non-officials whose loyalty to the British administration was encouraged in these ways generally belonged to the small land-owning classes and those members of the middle class intelligentsia who were either office-hunters or those others who, already well-placed in life, had an itch for titles and honours doled out by Government.

In anticipation of the time when intensive

recruitment would have to be done by local men living in rural areas and some among whom would be poor to the extent that titles such as "Raja," "Nawab," "Rai Sahib," "Khan Sahib," robes and swords of honour and such other things would not be sufficient incentives to the putting forth of their best efforts, Sir Michael had, according to a communication addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, "set aside some fifteen thousand acres for reward-grants to those who gave most effective help in raising recruits."

The present writer admits that he does not possess equally convincing evidence that this particular procedure adopted in the Punjab was also followed in other provinces of India. It must, however, be admitted that such a procedure or any thing approaching it was calculated to lead to the adoption of objectionable methods of recruitment specially when we remember the type of men whose co-operation it was intended to secure by this appeal to their acquisitive instincts.

It is fortunate that we have the evidence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself as to the class of people who, in his view, were and have been really helpful to the administration in difficult times. In the First Despatch of the Government of India dated the 5th March, 1919, is incorporated Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter and memorandum on the constitutional reforms proposed under the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. An extract from his memorandum which appears on page 230 of this document reads as follows :

"A recent calculation made by the Lieutenant-Governor shows that about seven out of every ten non-officials to whom he grants interviews either know no English or are unable to express themselves in that language. Yet these are the men to whom the present Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) and his predecessors have invariably appealed—and rarely in vain—for support and co-operation in times of stress and difficulty."

In the same memorandum, Sir Michael had stated that it is not on the politicians but on "the quiet men of local influence" that Government has to depend. These "quiet men of local influence" who were harnessed to the work of recruitment as well as the Indian officials had been warned that "while no legitimate form of appeal should be neglected, there was to be nothing savouring of coercion or compulsion." Sir Michael has told us that

"these warnings were necessary to prevent the zeal of subordinate Indian officials out-running their discretion and to check the ardour of non-officials who, believing that the bringing in of recruits would be a means of acquiring merit in official quarters, were not

likely to be over-scrupulous as to the methods by which the recruits were obtained."

THE AGENCY IN ACTUAL OPERATION

Sir Michael O'Dwyer had served in various capacities in our motherland for nearly thirty-five long years from 1885 to 1920 and the experience he had acquired during the term of his service should have told him what results were likely to follow from the methods he was employing to encourage the recruiting efforts of the class of people referred to just now. The warnings and admonitions administered by him and by other British officials who imitated him were there, but they were respected more in the breach than in the observance.

These "local men of influence" so quiet in his presence belied the character he had given them and behaved, in the language of Mr. B. G. Horniman, then Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, like officers directing "the old English press-gangs in the French war." Another Englishman, Mr. G. T. Garratt, a retired I.C.S., confirms this view when he says :

"The methods employed in enlisting men for the Army and Labour Corps often savoured of the press-gang." (*An Indian Commentary*, p. 142).

From the official report of the Punjab Recruiting Board, it appears that the recruitment returns of the Multan District at the end of December, 1917, was 1 in 586 and, just one year later, it stood at 1 in 93 of the male population. These figures read very oddly when we remember that on the 1st January, 1915, that is to say, six months after the war had started, this district had contributed only 39 men to the Indian Army out of a total of about a lakh and a half males of military age. That compulsion on the part of the "quiet local men of influence" who, in the opinion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, were so helpful to Government during times of stress, was responsible for this unexpectedly high percentage in the recruitment figures, is evident from the following observation made by the English Commissioner of Multan :

"I am afraid with a few exceptions, the leading men in the district have not done their duty. Instead of enlisting members of their own families, they tried to buy or coerce men of lower stratum; objectionable methods of coercion were resorted to by some headmen with the result that in some cases public tranquillity was disturbed."

No one denies that Government had issued orders that compulsion should not be used, but those who have any knowledge of the psychology of seekers of official favours and of ambitious subordinate officials are aware how often the

desire of either standing well with superior officials on the part of local men or of demonstrating their fitness for promotion on the part of underlings in Government service leads them to do many things to which no Government, desirous of retaining its prestige, can lend its countenance.

This forcible enlistment led to frequent desertions—a fact admitted, probably in a moment of weakness, by Sir Michael, as the following extract from one of his speeches shows :

“A large proportion of those who joined, deserted from their depots or units, and very few indeed faced the enemy in the field.”

It has to be stated here that these methods were not confined to the Punjab only but were found in other parts of India also. The effects of such methods were what one would expect in large masses of uneducated men frightened out of their lives by tales of German invincibility and German frightfulness. These men showed great reluctance in joining the army and, as shown by quotations from the accounts of English observers in India, pressure almost indistinguishable from compulsion was applied, it is said, far and wide. The reaction to it assumed the form of outbreaks of disorder. Nor were such disturbances confined to the Punjab only—convincing proof that if these objectionable methods of persuasion had their largest application in that province, other parts of India too were not immune from them.

Satisfactory evidence for the views expressed here is supplied by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who on page 221 of his *India As I Knew It* has told us that

“Riots and disturbances arose in three or four out of the twenty-eight districts in the last year of the War. There were not more than a dozen serious cases in the Punjab, and similar disturbances occurred in many other Provinces.”

From what has appeared above, it is clear that so far as the fighting races are concerned they, like the rest, were generally driven into the army on account of economic necessity and enlisted in large numbers for the sake of what they considered high pay. Military ardour and love of excitement may have played their part in encouraging them to join the army, but their influence cannot be regarded as so powerful as the economic factor.

As for the rest, combatant and non-combatant, they went wherever they were led. All these people found that their countrymen in whom they had confidence told them that they should join the Army or the Labour Corps.

Their poverty made the terms offered very tempting. There was the English official overseeing everything and he too told them that they would better their prospects if they did some soldiering.

Lastly, the prestige of the British Raj had never stood higher. Sirkar was invincible. It was good to serve it. There was plenty of food, food with which he could fill his chronically empty stomach, covering for his body which before this had rarely known adequate clothing, a salary regularly paid, a quick and maybe an easy war with a medal or so thrown in, a pension if he was disabled and a profitable berth after the war was over. If he was so unfortunate as to die, there was some provision for his dependents. These were the very material considerations which brought out much of the “loyalty” of the Indian soldier.

WHEN AND HOW LOYALTY CAME IN AND ITS NATURE

If the reasons advanced for the very large recruitment to the Indian Army placed before the reader are, on the whole, correct, a question which may naturally enough may be asked is whether it is the opinion of the present writer that Indian soldiers had any feelings of loyalty towards Government. The answer to this would be in the affirmative with some slight qualifications.

We have to take into account certain psychological considerations which explain why, as a class, the Indian soldiers, irrespective of caste, creed and race, fought, suffered and bled in defence of the British Empire.

Once the ordinary people who, it has been maintained, were neither hostile nor loyal to the British Government, had joined the army, they naturally enough came into intimate contact with their officers and their comrades and tended to establish friendly relations with them. Face to face with the enemy and with officers and comrades dying by their side, there must have arisen not only a sense of personal loss for officers whom they had liked and for comrades whom they had loved but equally also a burning desire to avenge their slaughter. Feelings such as these, natural under the circumstances, would have the effect of creating an *esprit-de-corps* and a solidarity which would ensure the loyalty of the rank and file to their commanders.

This sense of solidarity would be strengthened when victory smiled on their arms. Every individual would feel that he was one of a victorious band of men who had achieved success.

Similarly defeat, till such time as *morale* had utterly broken down, would bring them closer to one another for a retreat or even a serious set-back would offer many an opportunity of helping one another and services accepted and rendered would have the effect of not only drawing individuals together but of making the protective instincts on the one hand and feelings of gratitude on the other operate in the establishment of still closer bonds between individuals all fired with the twin purposes of defeating the enemy and winning the victory.

All these factors would have the effect of welding together men coming from different social and religious groups and even those belonging to different races into an organic whole inspired by a common purpose and a common ideal. This desire for the achievement of common ends, possible only under a common leadership and a common organisation, would tend to produce feelings very much akin to, though not always absolutely identical with, what we ordinarily understand by loyalty.

This type of loyalty, however, cannot be regarded as of the same character or quality as the loyalty displayed, say, by the soldiers of China or those of Soviet Russia to-day. The Chinese and the Russians are cheerfully laying down their lives in their hundreds of thousands for the sake of certain principles. An ally of Britain, China is not fighting so that the Union Jack might float eternally on Hongkong. Neither is Russia doing the same in order to bring back the old Tsarist regime which denied her children economic security, social justice, political power and cultural facilities. It cannot be contended for even one moment that, during the last war, India felt what China and Russia are feeling to-day.

For nearly five years China, without modern equipments for carrying on war, has, in the

language of its great leader, "traded space for time" and though, till lately, fighting alone against Japan armed with the latest types of weapons, opposed it with magnificent courage and stolid determination only because it is looking forward hopefully to new and more prosperous times.

Similarly, Soviet Russia, which every one thought would go the way of the other nations assailed by the war machine built up by Hitler, is gallantly opposing the German army which had so long been regarded as invincible. Last year, repeated misfortunes could not cow down the Russian or make him fearful of the future. He bided his time, husbanded his resources and turning round struck and continued to strike such shrewd blows that the German army, with all its resources and its splendid organisation, was forced to give way before the dogged impetuosity of the attack. And all this has been possible only because the Russian has built up a social, an economic and a political order in which he has such an abiding faith that he is glad to lay down his life for its preservation.

If the Indian soldier had no such incentive, and for the purposes of the present discussion there is no need to ascertain as to who was responsible for its lack, how can any reasonable man say that he was loyal to Government in the same sense that the Chinese or the Russian is loyal to his Government? The type of loyalty entertained by the Indian soldier while admirable in its own way can never be regarded as possessing the same superb quality as the loyalty of the Chinese or the Russian. It is therefore that the present writer has been compelled to qualify the answer he has given to the question as to whether the Indian soldier was loyal to Government or not.

(To be concluded)



AN ANALYSIS OF BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA

By SRIVATSA

IN analysing the causes that led to the failure of the Cripps Mission, it is not sufficient to confine our examination merely to the proposals of the British War Cabinet. In many of their aspects, the War Cabinet's proposals reflected the traditional British policy towards the Indian demand,—a fact which was made abundantly clear by Mr. Churchill in his statement of March 11, 1942. Explaining why his Government felt called upon to make another attempt to solve the Indian problem, Mr. Churchill declared that the War Cabinet had decided to present for Indian acceptance a constitution embodying in more precise terms the Declaration of August 1940. But Mr. Churchill ignored the fact that unsatisfactory as the Declaration of August 1940 was, its revised edition was even more so inasmuch as it envisaged for the first time the disruption of the unity of India. Sir Stafford Cripps was thus entrusted with the impossible task of securing Indian assent to proposals which conceded nothing new and promised a constitution bristling with defects and inadequacies at a future full of risks and uncertainties. And when the Mission inevitably failed, British statesmen comforted themselves with the complacent belief that the complexity of the Indian problems admitted of no solution. It, however, did not occur to them that by this confession of failure they were adding one more tragic chapter to the history of British connection with India.

But are the problems of India of such an insoluble nature that they should baffle even the reputed British statesmanship? To know whether these problems are inherent in Indian conditions or whether they have arisen out of British policy, it is necessary to make a brief survey of the course of events during the last half a century. The history of India's struggle for freedom is a little over fifty years old, although some take it back to the period leading to the outbreak of 1857. Though it is difficult to determine the exact period when the national movement took its origin, there is no doubt that it entered upon a new phase with the establishment of the Congress in 1885. When the Congress met, the London *Times* very appropriately declared that the Indian nation was meeting together for the first time. The

Congress was truly national because it soon became the rallying-point of all the nationalist elements in the country, brought consciousness, for the first time, to the Indian people that notwithstanding all their seeming diversities, they belonged to one nation, and, lastly, by giving an organizational basis to the forces of nationalism in the country, it became the sole and most powerful national organization pledged to fight the nation's battles till freedom was won. How the Congress could at all function in a country which but a century ago was plunged into what seemed an irretrievable chaos and whether the British rule alone was responsible for making India a nation, are issues that cannot be appropriately discussed here.¹ But

* 1. No fair-minded Indian seeks to deliberately underestimate the advantages that have accrued to India from British connection,—advantages, which, incidentally, are not one-sided,—but it is impossible to accept the claim that Britain *made* India a nation. The basic unity of India was there many centuries before the coming of the British,—a fact which is freely admitted by all impartial writers. In the book entitled *The Government of India* by Ramsay MacDonald, it is written thus: "India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has foreordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety, its unity . . . Political and religious tradition has also welded it into one Indian consciousness. Even those masses, who are not aware of this, offer up prayers which proclaim it and go on pilgrimages which assume it."

This spiritual unity dates from very early times in Indian culture. An historical atlas of India shows how again and again the natural unity of India influenced conquest and showed itself in empires. The realms of Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka (305-232 B.C.) embraced practically the whole of the peninsula, and even after, amidst the swaying and falling of dynasties, this unity was the dream of every victor and struggled into being and never lost its potency. . . . Then the British came, and the inevitability of a united India defied their modest proclamations and led them from Province to Province until they reached the seas and the mountains" (page 29). Till the coming of the British, India lacked continuous and coherent political unity owing to her vastness and lack of quick means of communication and transport. Dealing with this aspect of the question at some length in his book entitled *The Unity of India*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes thus: "The British gave political unity to India. This had now become possible owing to the development of communications and transport. It was a unity of com-

what is relevant to our present purpose is a study of the reactions of the British Government to the birth and growth of nationalism in India.

The history of the national movement in India was very largely the history of the Congress, and as the inevitable object of the movement was the attainment of the country's freedom, the Congress naturally came into conflict with the governing classes. It escaped suppression,—and suppression at the hands of the powerful bureaucracy was easy in those times,—because all its activities were strictly confined to constitutional methods. Moreover, in its early stages, it merely reflected the contemporary thought and feeling of the intelligentsia, who were perfectly satisfied with a share in the governance of the country. Loyalty and moderation were the key-note of its proceedings and it took exceptional care not to offend the ruling class by any unwitting remark or unguarded observation. Studied in the context of current Congress politics and the manner in which it is pursued today, its early proceedings and resolutions make a curious reading. But neither its moderation nor its attitude of prayer and petition in relation to the Government, bring to it immunity from official suspicion. Discerning officials saw that the modest aspirations and constitutionalism of the Congress were but a prelude to the growth and intensification of the national movement, which, they realized, would ultimately develop sufficient strength to enforce the national demand.

Consequently, hardly a couple of years after the establishment of the Congress, men like Sir Auckland Colvin began to busy themselves with plans for weakening it.² Their method of operation was two-fold, namely, first, to carry on a ceaseless propaganda belittling the influence and importance of the Congress, and, second, to increase the number of the dissident elements in the country by an ingenious use of the enormous

mon subjection, but it gave rise to the unity of common nationalism. The idea of a united and free India gripped the people. It was not a superficial idea imposed from above, but the natural outcome of that fundamental unity which had been the background of Indian life for thousands of years" (pp. 118-19).

2. Sir Syed Ahmed's anxiety to enable his community, which had been harshly and unjustly treated by the Government as the instigator of the Mutiny, to pull its full weight with the other progressive elements in the country was fully exploited by men like Sir Auckland Colvin who persuaded Sir Syed to prevent his coreligionists from joining the Congress. Sir Syed was also made to found what he called the Anglo-Muslim Defence Association! (See *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny* by Sir C. Y. Chintamani, page 42).

mass of dangerous patronage which they controlled. Referring to British reactions to the growing tide of Indian nationalism, Bishop Whitehead writes thus :

"British opinion from 1883 onwards moved in exactly the opposite direction. There was a distinct hardening of the ruling race theory during the next thirty years. Aspirations for self-government were stigmatised as disloyal; even the claim of Indians to take a larger share in the government of their own country was looked upon with disfavour, until at last men like Mr. Gokhale came to regard the British bureaucracy as a determined opponent of all the cherished ambitions of educated Indians. This was a disaster." (*Indian Problems*, page 211).

It is a tribute to the vitality of Indian nationalism that, notwithstanding the open antagonism of the British and their blatant assertion of racial superiority, the Congress steadily grew in strength, importance and popularity, drawing an ever-increasing number of people into its fold. It still pinned its faith to constitutionalism, but it was no longer the constitutionalism of the "prayer and petition" variety. With its political perspective considerably widened, it greatly enlarged its policies and programmes and made self-government the central plank of its agitation. So disconcertingly steady was the growth of its importance that its opponents freely and heartily invoked damnation upon it. Even a man like Lord Curzon was profoundly disturbed by its activities. On November 18, 1900 he wrote to the Secretary of State for India in these terms :

"My own belief is that Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise." (Quoted in the book *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt).

His belief that the Congress was "tottering to its fall" was, of course, baseless, but, then, it ill-served his *amour-propre* to admit that the Congress could remain powerful under his regime.

The years following the exit of Lord Curzon in 1905 mark a fundamental departure in the Government's policy in two important directions. The Government discovered that Curzon's methods of repression alone were not sufficient either to abate or suppress the uprising tide of nationalism in the country. The Congress had gone from strength to strength and it was no longer possible to put it down by mere repression. Some other methods had to be found out for weakening it, and Minto's Viceroyalty stands out as pre-eminent for discovering them, although it is an open question as to how far they have succeeded. Minto's name is remembered not because he was associated with Morley in

sponsoring the Indian Reforms. These Reforms meant nothing to nationalist India and those who believed that anything good would accrue from them were soon disillusioned by Morley's candid expression of opinion on them. He said :

"If it could be said that this Chapter of Reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it."

Minto's Indian policy is, therefore, important for two different reasons, namely, that the long-standing attitude of the Government towards the States was reversed and that communalism was introduced for the first time in the political life of the country.

The change of attitude towards the States lay in the fact that, whereas the Government had all along been resorting to unregulated intervention in the internal concerns of the States in the name of fulfilling its obligations as Paramount Power, it now decided to use this right with greater restraint. The adoption of this liberal attitude towards the Princes was dictated by the pressure of events in British India,—a fact which is made abundantly clear in the following quotation taken from the *Cambridge History of India* :

"At almost the same moment, the attitude of the Government of India (towards the Princes) began to change. The explanation lies less in any belated recognition of the Princes' rights than in the fact that political movements within British India itself were beginning to dispute the right and authority by which India was governed. Assailed by the intelligentsia, the Government looked round naturally for allies and helpers. In 1857, the Princes had in general aided to resist the tide of the Mutiny. In 1907, they might aid to slacken the onslaught of political unrest. They were therefore to be cultivated rather than coerced." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 506-7).

Communal representation or separate electorates were introduced by Morely and Minto in the name of governing the country in co-operation with popular representatives. It was argued in defence of this disruptive principle that the disparity in progress between the Hindus and Muslims, the political importance of the latter as a community, and the services rendered by it to the Empire, were all considerations that necessitated the introduction of separate electorates. This declaration was indeed an open avowal of the Government's preference for the Muslims, although in actual fact solicitude for them was a mere affectation. Assuming that the Muslims as a community were backward and that politically their position in the country was unique, it was childish to expect that, without efforts for all-round reform, their progress would

be ensured by mere representation in powerless Councils. The real intention, to borrow the words of the official who wrote to Minto soon after the Muslim deputation, was "nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."

The evils of communal representation are so obvious that one need not labour to point out the pernicious influence it has had on the public life of this country. While sectional representation was abolished in other countries like Ceylon as harmful to the growth of national life, in India it has been allowed to work itself out to its logical conclusion, namely, to create deep fissures in the body politic. It is worthy of note that men like Montagu fully realized and openly admitted the baneful effects of communal representation on the political life of India, but did not stir even their little finger to undo the evil. In Montagu's *Diary* we read again and again entries condemning communal representation. At page 100 he records thus :

"We must beware of this system which Morley introduced, for it is fatal to the democratisation of institutions and causes disunion between the Hindu and the Mohammedan, and we must not extend it more than we can help."

When pointed out by Sir V. P. Madhavarao that communal representation had caused much ill-feeling between the two major communities, Montagu agreed and remarked :

"Of course, that is quite true, but to suggest that we could get rid of it now seems to me to be impossible" (page 68).

Why was it impossible for a man like Montagu who, as Secretary of State for India, held an important place in the British Cabinet to secure the abolition of an admitted evil? Was the "precedent" created by Morley and Minto so sacrosanct and immutable that its reversal would have constituted an outrage upon any cherished principles? The fact seems to be that Montagu must have realized the impossibility of getting the assent of his colleagues in the Cabinet and of the Government of India for abolishing a system upon which reactionaries in England and India so largely depended for defeating Indian nationalism.

The present Indian impasse should, therefore, be studied in the context of the problems created by the so-called Morley-Minto Reforms. Our troubles have not grown overnight and it has taken them more than three decades to mature into a crisis. We have already had to contend with two formidable problems arising

from British connection, namely, those of the Army and of British vested interests, and to these the 'statesmanship' of Minto and his successors added the problems of the States and of "minorities." The Indian States, as is well known, are *sui generis*. They have no place in international law and the only status they enjoy is the one given them by the paramount British Government. Their justification for continued existence—at least of an overwhelming majority of them, some of which are hardly bigger than your back-garden!—is in the determination of the Paramount Power to keep them as a permanent factor in the Indian political system. By suddenly discovering the "sanctity" of the treaties and engagements with them—documents of whose existence and value no one cared till the question of India's freedom came to the fore,—the States have been treated as foreign territory, without the previous consent of whose rulers no constitution for the whole of India is made possible. And as the Princes are deeply interested in maintaining the *status quo* and cannot in fact do anything contrary to the wishes of the Paramount Power, it is impossible to visualize a satisfactory solution of the States' problem unless the British Government decides to part with power in favour of Indians.

The "two-nations" theory, which has so largely contributed to vitiate our public life to-day, has had its origin,—of course, in a different form,—in the fertile brains of Minto and his successors who created for the first time the problem of the "minorities." In a country where for long official action was the prime-mover in all matters, political activities provided the various elements in the population with a valuable common-ground upon which to build a corporate national life. This important vantage ground was taken away from the Indian people by politically segregating the Muslims from others. Mr. H. G. Wells speaks the profound truth when he says that there would be very little community feeling beyond the range of frequent intercourse. The growing estrangement between the Muslims and the non-Muslims, the growth of the idea that the former have nothing in common with the rest of the Indian population and that, therefore, they belong to a different nation requiring a separate homeland, are all developments that owe their origin to communal representation which is the negation of the community feeling of which Mr. Wells speaks. And the resultant lack of unity in the country has given a plausible pretext to the British Government to declare that it owes

special obligations to the "minorities" and that there can be no freedom for India without the consent of the "large and powerful elements in India's national life." Men like Mr. Churchill, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Amery have been exploiting the situation to their best advantage by using all their effervescent eloquence to convince the world that, whereas British intentions towards India are sincere, it is the complexity of her own problems that is really keeping her away from her goal.

I am not unmindful of the numerous declarations of the British Government on India's political goal, but of what value are these declarations so long as they are either explained away at the earliest opportunity or some impossible conditions are tacked on to them? I will take as my example some of the famous declarations and try to show how impossible of fulfilment they were. The Declaration of 20th August, 1917 envisaged

"the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India."

The essence of this declaration was a repetition of the long-exploded theory of the "inevitability of gradualness" and a demand from the Indian people of an unquestioning acquiescence in the measures to be introduced by the Government, as a condition precedent to the fulfilment of its pledge. Nationalist India naturally refused to enthuse over a declaration which promised freedom at some distant future. Take again Lord Irwin's announcement of 31st October, 1929, which assured us that "the natural issue of India's constitutional progress... is the attainment of Dominion Status." Asked whether the Round Table Conference would be convened for the sole purpose of determining the terms of Dominion Status to which he had referred in his announcement, the Viceroy emphatically denied that he had ever

"sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of the purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, have provided a solution for the problems which have to be solved before the purpose is fully realised."

He clinched the issue, as if by way of an anti-climax to the hopes which his announcement had engendered in India, by reminding us that "no sensible traveller would feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey, but it is an assurance of direction." I do not wish to go into all the sordid details of the attempts made at the Second Round Table Conference to whittle down the pledges given to India, on the strength

of which Mahatma Gandhi had agreed to attend the Conference, beyond reproducing here an illuminating passage from the confidential circular of Mr. Benthall (Commercial Representative of European interests in India at the R. T. C.), published by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah in *The History of The Congress*.

"But after the General Elections," says Mr. Benthall "the right wing of the Government made up its mind to break up the Conference and to fight the Conference and to fight the Congress. The Muslims, who do not want responsibility at the Centre, were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with Provincial Autonomy, with a promise of Central Reforms. We had made up our minds that the fight with the Congress was inevitable; we felt and said that the sooner it came the better, but we made up our minds that for a crushing success we should have all possible friends on our side. The Muslims were alright; the Minorities Pact and Government's general attitude ensured that. So were the Princes and the Minorities" (page 875).

This, it might be objected, is past history, but the recent and current history presents no brighter picture of the situation. It is enough to give two out of a number of such examples to prove my thesis that these declarations, if not read in the context of their inevitable conditions and provisos, are devoid of any meaning. Read what Sir Samuel Hoare, as Secretary of State for India and as the sponsor of the India Bill which later flowered into the Act of 1935, said in the House of Commons on 27th March, 1933 :

"The pledges of the past leave full liberty to Parliament in the choice of the time and manner of constitutional advance. I accept this principle. Although it was Lord Curzon who with his own hand wrote the words about responsible Government into the Declaration of 1917, our hands today are free to take what course Parliament in its wisdom thinks proper in pursuance of that declaration." (Speeches by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India—1931-35, page 44).

Take again the Declaration of August 1940, whose importance lies in the fact that its revised edition provided the basis for the Cripps Mission. The Declaration claims to concede to Indians the right of framing their own constitution at the end of the war. This, of course, is an important concession, were it not for the fact that it is riddled with conditions. It would be impossible for Indians to frame a constitution of their own choice if it were to provide for the

"due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connexion with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility."

Nor would it be practicable to win an all-round approval for the constitution when dissident elements in the country are so decided on sabotaging any workable scheme. But, then,

conditions such as these are the invariable features of all Declarations dating from August 1917 down to our own day, and such is their potency that they thoroughly neutralise the very offer that is embodied in the declarations. "Dominion Status" or any other improved status becomes a mere unrealizable goal, and after all the ballyhoo that invariably accompanies official Declarations, the *status quo* quietly reasserts itself.³

The proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps failed to secure Indian acceptance because on fundamentals they made no departure from the traditional British policy in India. I do not propose to examine here the Cripps Mission in any detail; much has already been written on the subject by those who actually participated in the talks and more and more light is being thrown as to why the negotiations failed. But certain points need a greater emphasis. They are : First, the Cripps Mission failed on what is today the fundamental issue of Defence. The mental evolution of British statesmen has not yet reached the stage when they can trust Indians on such a vital issue as fighting for their own safety. The Congress refused to accept a scheme that did not provide for the transference of responsibility to Indians to defend their own hearths and homes. Secondly, although the Congress laid greater emphasis on the Defence question, other sections of public opinion in the country took serious objection to some of the provisions in the scheme intended for the future. The choice to Provinces to keep out of the Union if they so desired, is full of sinister import inasmuch as this provision gives for the first time official imprimatur to the preposterous theory of the divisibility of India into any number of political units. In this respect the British War Cabinet's offer is more reactionary than all the previous enactments and declarations which at least did not seek to break up the unity of India. Thirdly, the scheme stultified itself by seeking to win the approval of all the three mutually differing political sections in the country, namely, the Congress, the anti-national elements and the Princes,—a tendency in British policy which has been repeating itself with such disastrous persistence. It is reasonable to suppose that both

3. Referring to Indian reactions to the term "Dominion Status," Mr. Edward Thompson writes thus : "You must know Indians, to realise what exasperation has gathered round this phrase (Dominion Status). It should be uttered never again but once when the pledge is implemented." (*Enlist India for Freedom*, page 117).

Sir Stafford Cripps and his colleagues in the British War Cabinet sincerely believed that the Congress would accept their scheme because it declared that

"the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs."

Then they proceeded to meet the demand of the Muslim League, which they either erroneously or deliberately thought to be the backbone of the Muslims of India, by conceding the right of secession to those Provinces that chose to keep out of the Union. And the Princes, who have been so magnificently helping the war efforts, could not, of course, be coerced into giving their adhesion to a constitution, which, if implemented, would have made great inroads into their arbitrary powers. It is difficult to imagine how a scheme that attempted to please parties with such cross-purposes could at all have succeeded. If it was intended to succeed,

it should have aimed at satisfying the predominant feeling in the country instead of trying to placate the various reactionary elements. But, then, that has all along been the *modus operandi* in attempting the solution of the Indian problem, and we should not, therefore, be very much grieved over the failure of the Cripps Mission.

What is the way out of the Indian impasse? The failure of the Cripps Mission has strengthened the feeling in this country that Britain being an interested party, cannot in the nature of things make a realistic approach to the problem of India's freedom and that it is a fit case for arbitration. President Roosevelt's name is freely mentioned in this connection. Add to it the two other equally outstanding names of M. Stalin and Marshal Chiang-Kai-shek, and the Board of Arbitration will be invested with unique prestige and authority. India's freedom is a matter of world conscience, and the new order, which we all hope will emerge from the war, will remain a mere unrealizable utopia if this country continues to be unfree.

VANDE MATARAM

By CYRIL MODAK

Vande Mataram ! Vande Mataram !
 Mother ! famed abroad for ageless hoary hills
 Like some royal prophets in a trance,
 Sung by alien bards for classic lore that fills
 With the echoes of a high romance,
 Flowering forest glades, where fearless sages dreamed
 Truth-envisioned, death-defying dreams,
 Where the fluted strains of pleading music streamed
 In seductive sense-deluging streams.

Vande Mataram ! Mataram !
 Thou remembered for thy chiming temple-bells,
 And the Muezzin's soaring call to prayers,
 Patriot-vigils, mothers' vows, and chanted spells,
 Song triumphant over envious cares !
 Mother ! Mother of a beauteous star-gemmed
 sky,

Mother of an ancient race of seers
 Who proclaim a Beauty that can never die,
 And a victory that has no fears !

Vande, Vande Mataram !
 Lo ! the splendour-crown'd immortals kneel and
 pray,
Bharat Mata ! Madar-i-Hind ! for thee,
 God shall touch thine aching limbs today
 With resurgent hope and liberty;
 So in conquest thou may'st learn to love, forgive,
 Seek forever soul-enkindling truth,
 Churn from raging seas incarnate dreams that
 live,
 Win the nectar of unaging youth !
 Vande, Vande Mataram !

COMMERCE MEMBER AT JAMSHEDPUR : TAGOREAN FUNCTION

(From A Correspondent)

JAMSHEDPUR, Aug. 7.

"ENRICHED by the contributions of peoples of various races and nationalities, Jamshedpur has built up a composite civilisation and culture, free from any parochialism or a myopic outlook and therefore represents in some form the ideals of universal love and brotherhood which the great poet (Rabindranath Tagore) had set before his countrymen," said the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member of the Government of India, at a public meeting held at the Milane, this afternoon to commemorate the first death anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore.

The function comprised speeches by the Commerce Member and Mr. J. J. Ghandy who was in the chair, and four Tagorean songs. The hall was packed to capacity and was suitably decorated for the occasion.

After welcoming the Commerce Member, Mr. Ghandy referred to the humanism and catholicity of Rabindranath Tagore and said :

"His (Tagore's) poetry pursues the Good, the Beautiful and the True and has the stillness of nature. His lyrics are a veritable orchestra of harmonious sounds swaying us to sadness or delight at the whim of the poet. In his dramas, such as the *Cycle of Spring*, *Nature's Revenge* and *Chitra*, the stress is not on action as amongst conventional dramatists, but on music and philosophy. His novels like *Gora* and the *Home and the World* are a fascinating blend of the heavenly exquisiteness of poetry and the sober realism of the man of the world.

"In his philosophy which gains immensely by immersion in religion and music, the stress is on the infinite personality of man revealed, not in isolation, but in one grand harmony of human races. His *Gitanjali*, an offering from Finite to Infinite, the Voice of Life itself, enshrines a mysticism that is positive and is ever pressing forward to a fuller and completer life. God, to Tagore, is the divine minstrel and the whole Universe is His song. 'The steps that I heard in my play-room,' he said, 'are the same that are echoed from star to star.'

"An ardent educationist, Tagore was in revolt against the existing soulless system of education. Education to him, as with Plato and Aristotle, must ensure a full and harmonious development of the child. This is what his world-famous academy at Santiniketan stands for. It is no ordinary international seat of learning. It embodies the forest ideals of the old Indian sages. It is a centre of Indian Renaissance in art, music and culture, and an instrument for the reconstruction of Indian rural life.

"Though no professional politician, Tagore was an ardent patriot throughout his life. He discarded the concept of western nationalism as a mere dam checking the free flow of western civilisation towards the brotherhood of man. For soulless bureaucratic administrations, he had no time, nor for mere political freedom built upon the quicksand of social slavery. His faith was in social co-operation, each man developing himself in co-operation with other men. It was no colourless internationalism or empty idealism, but a realistic concept of the world community, the *civitas maxima*, a concept which today is gathering increasing support even in the West.

"Poet and philosopher, dramatist and essayist, patriot and educationist, painter and musician, Rabindranath Tagore departed this life and joined the rare band of Immortals full twelve months ago. Today, we meet with humility and gratefulness in our hearts, to pay homage to his memory. Countless years may descend on man, till this earth itself is old, but they will not dim his fame. His influence will ever shine like a beacon guiding the footsteps of humanity towards Perfection."

The Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker then rose to the microphone and said :

"Rabindranath has enriched the Bengali language with new dictions, invented new tunes in our music, given new motifs to our art and literature, introduced new strands of thought in our nationalism and profoundly influenced the patterns of our cultural maker. Indeed modern Bengal is largely his own creation. Even in his mannerisms of speech, epistolary style or calligraphy, the modern Bengalee has been profoundly influenced by Tagore.

"The new phase in India's national and political life which started with the Swadeshi Movement and whose first surge was witnessed in Bengal owed a great deal to Rabindranath. Young Bengal drew inspiration and courage from his poems and writings and enthused by his fiery songs steeled itself to cheerfully bear all repression and incarceration.

"While by his songs, poems and writings, Rabindranath gave strength and inspiration to the nationalist movement, he urged his countrymen not to lose sight of fundamental facts and problems. Thus, he emphasized that if boycott of foreign goods were launched in a fervour of nationalist sentiment, the fundamental problem would remain untackled so long as we did not make persistent endeavours for building up national industries of our own. In all things, he laid stress on the need for national self-development and self-reliance.

"Speaking at a time when political movements were confined practically to the educated middle classes, he pleaded the necessity for mass contact. Thus, more than thirty years ago, at a conference in Pabna in Bengal, he said : 'If we wish to make our political welfare and betterment true and lasting, then it must be broad-based and we must above all things devote ourselves to the uplift of the under-dog.'

"In his *Letters from Russia* there are again remarkable passages on the masses who toil unceasingly. Present-day society, he says, uses a section of the community merely as a standard to hold up the torch of its civilisation, while that unfortunate section of humanity has no share in the benefits of this civilisation; the light of civilisation throws its rays upwards but underneath there is eternal darkness. To Rabindranath, the inevitable nemesis of such a state of things was absolutely clear. He observed that the pent-up size of this accursed section of humanity would one day fill the whole sky with its stench and envelop the entire world in a cataclysm born of the inequities of this civilisation based on the slavery of a class.

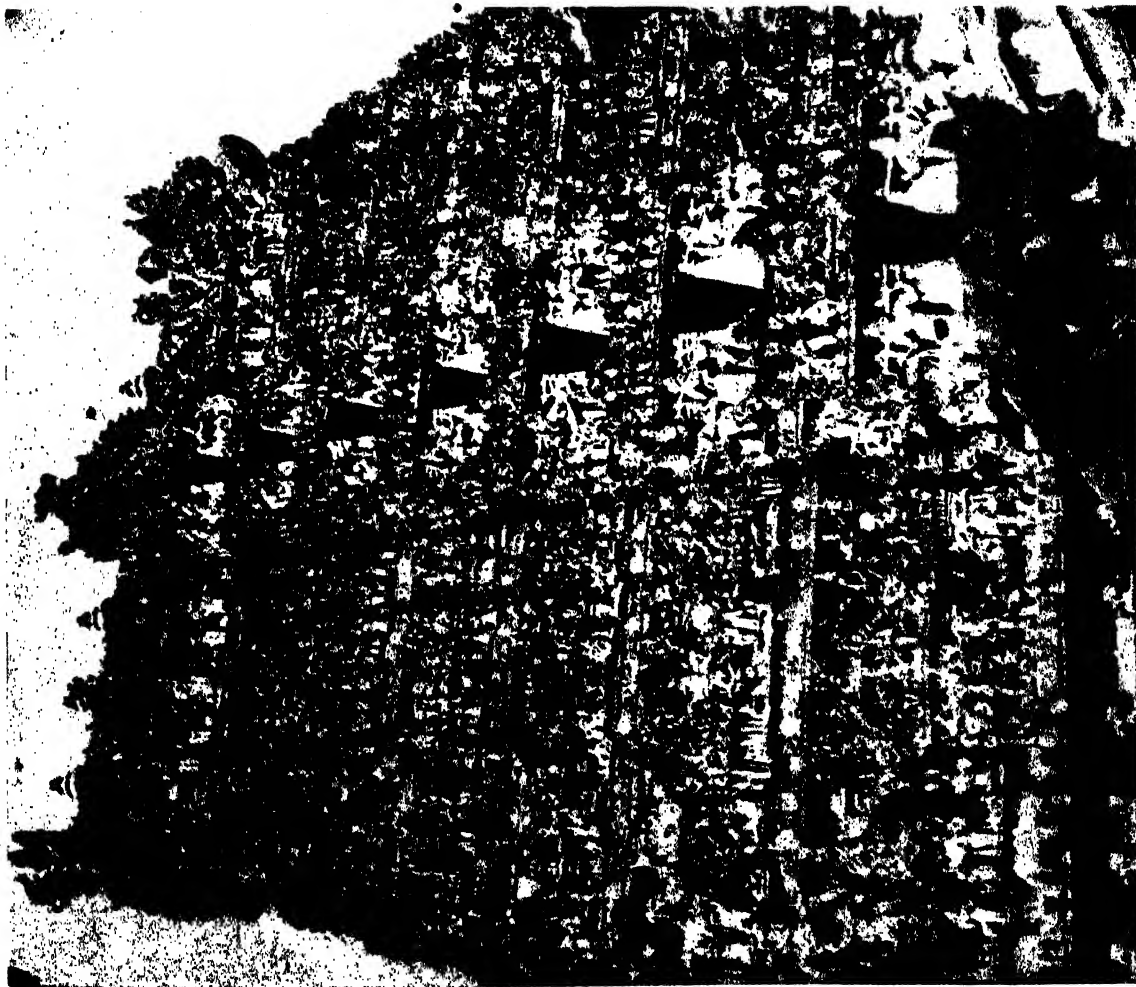
"Of the Hindu-Muslim problem, Rabindranath took a very broad and liberal view many years ago. He advised Hindus to be more generous since they have so far had more of the opportunities and advantages of life. He also felt that however much we dislike the

tendency of Muslims to seek their own betterment separately, real and permanent unity could come only when Muslims had come up in the social and economic level. Referring to the criticism often heard that a foreign power out of a policy of divide and rule was keeping the communal differences alive, Tagore said that if the people themselves became free from feelings of communal disunity, no government could succeed in fanning or perpetuating communal differences.

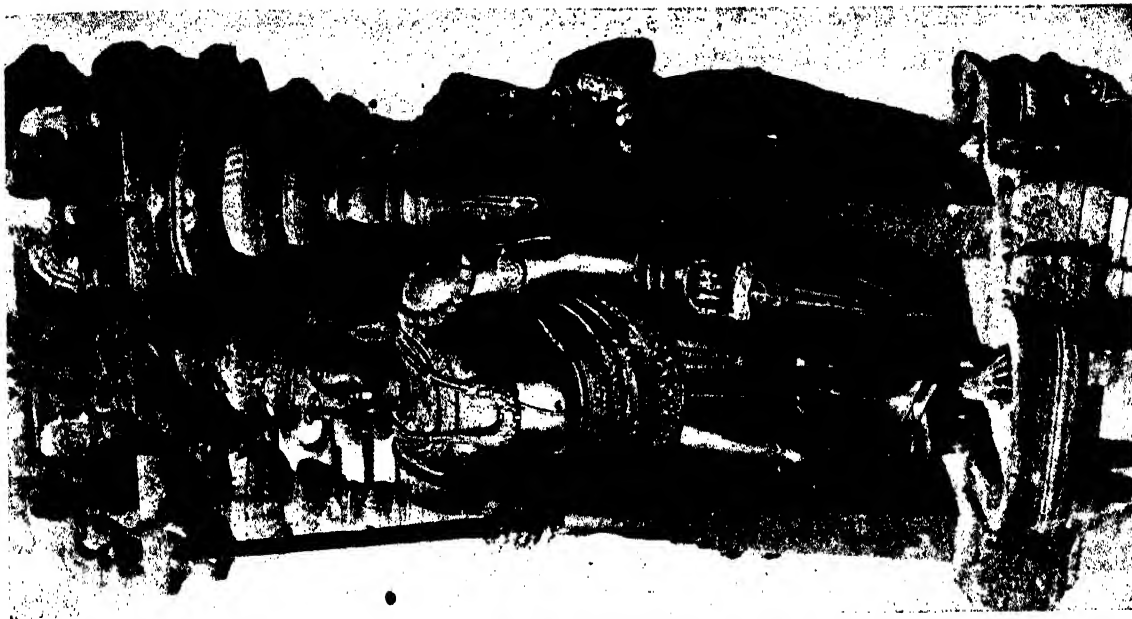
"Rabindranath could never countenance inequity or exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. After the perpetration of Jalianwalla-bagh massacre, he did not hesitate for even a moment to renounce his Knighthood. You must also have read the spirited reply he gave to Miss Rathbone's statement about India just before his death. Such a reply is only possible from a person whose heart for the country burns at white heat and who is deeply hurt by insults meted out to his motherland.

"To his thoughts and ideals, Tagore has sought to give a concrete shape in the Visva-Bharati, the international university at Santiniketan. The Visva-Bharati has not only attracted scholars from every part of the globe, but has also been the recipient of the munificence of many foreign organisations and governments. Only the other day, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek donated a princely sum to this unique institution. It is heartening that Mahatmaji should have raised Rs. 5 lakhs for the Visva-Bharati in memory of the late Dinabhandu Andrews. I sincerely hope his noble example will be emulated by all his countrymen. For the Visva-Bharati is a priceless legacy which Rabindranath has left to the nation and it may one day be the radiating centre of that spirit of international fellowship, based on a true appreciation of each other's culture, which he sought to realise through this institution. This inheritance we should therefore in our own interest carefully foster and improve and it is here to this university that we should invite all men, Aryans or non-Aryans, Hindus or Muslims, Buddhists, Christians or Sikhs to assemble and to unite in the furtherance of that larger humanism which recognises no divisions of caste, creed, religion, race or community."

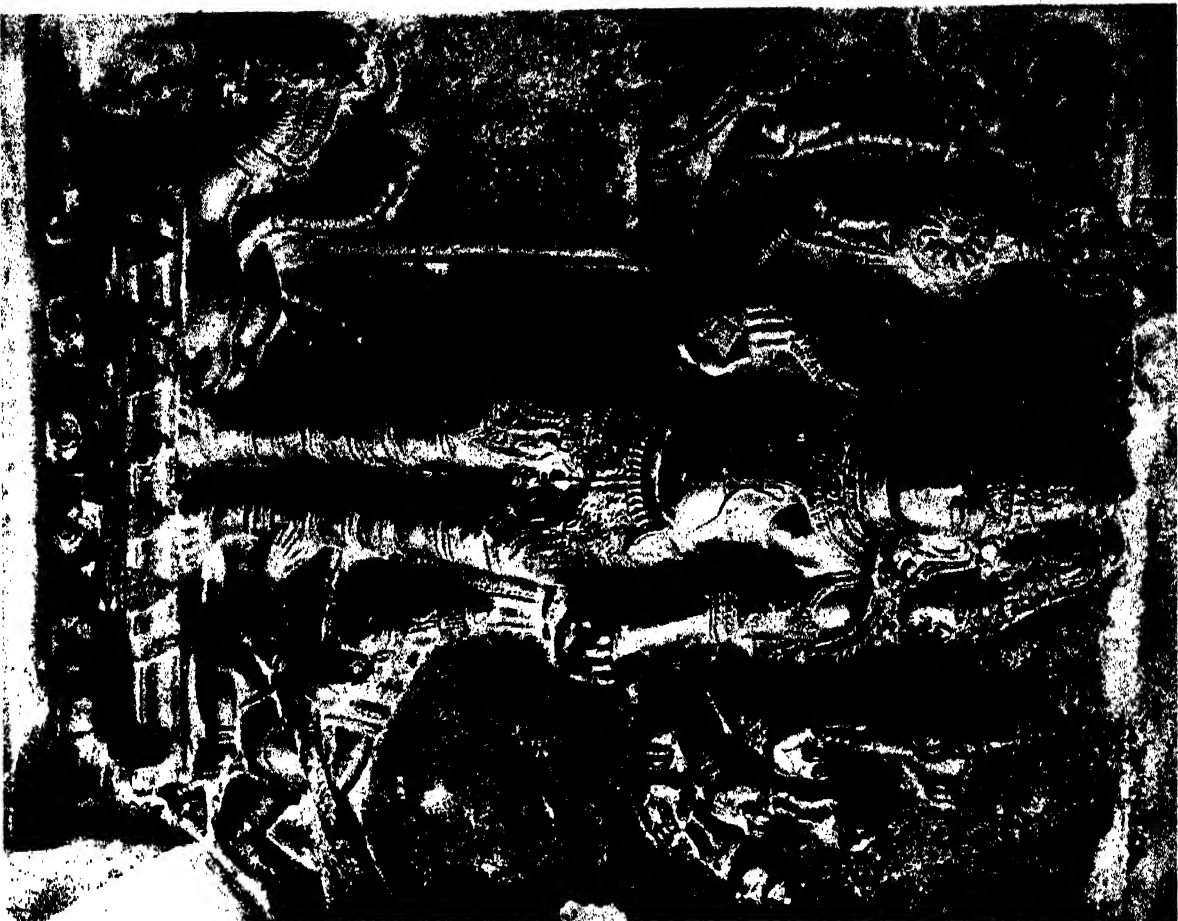
THE SUCHINDRAM TEMPLE



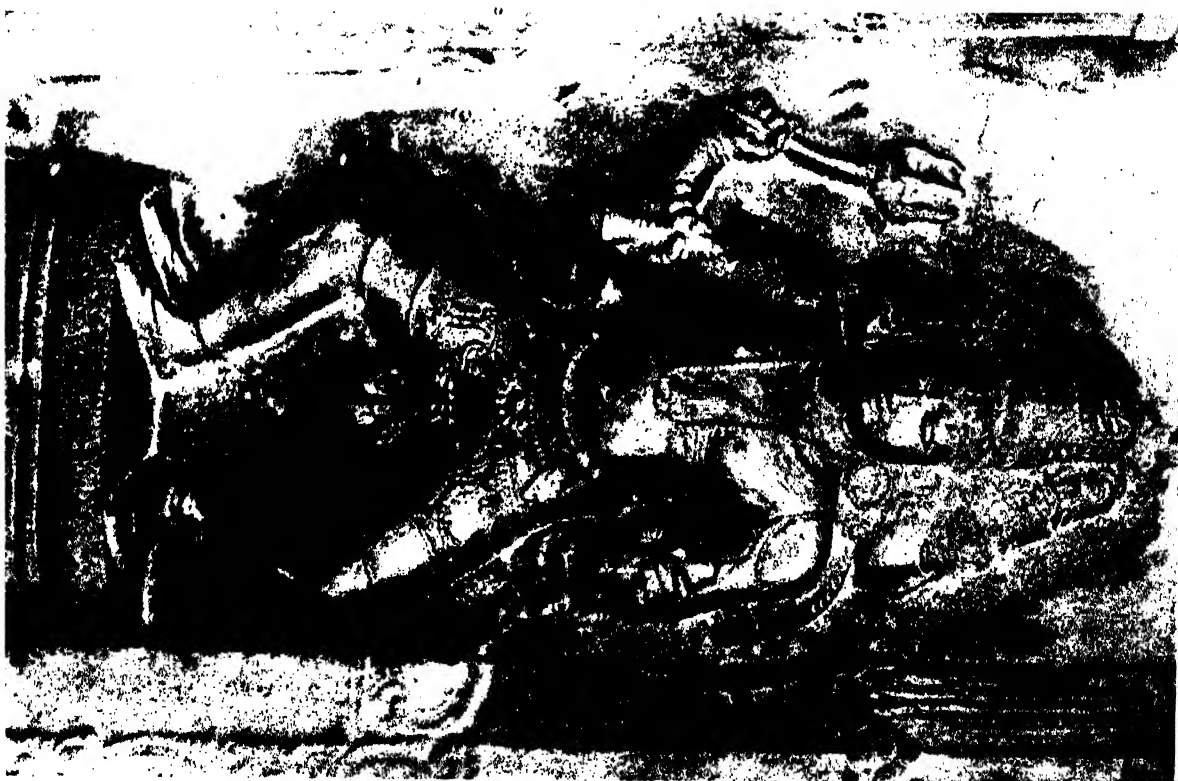
A close-up view of the seven-storied Gopuram in the Suchindram temple



An exquisite Dravidian sculptural masterpiece in the Suchindram temple



Visvarupam of God Vishnu : A rare piece of sculpture in the
Suchindram temple



The three-headed God :
Stone sculpture in the Suchindram temple

THE SUCHINDRAM TEMPLE

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

At Suchindram, forty-five miles to the south-east of Trivandrum and eight miles to the north of the Land's End of India, there is a hoary temple which has earned an enduring reputation among the great shrines of India for its high sanctity, distinctive architecture and annual Car Festival. Tourists who travel from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin through India's longest concrete road cannot fail to notice the unique in its Murty Vishesh (the great powers of the Deity consecrated in the shrine). Legend and tradition aver that this shrine was in existence even in the Krita Yuga but there is historical evidence to show that the temple is at least twelve centuries old. The Suchindram temple was the favourite place of worship of the Chera, Chola, Pandya, Vijayanagar and Venad kings of old.



Bronze image of one of the sixty-four Nayanars in the Suchindram temple



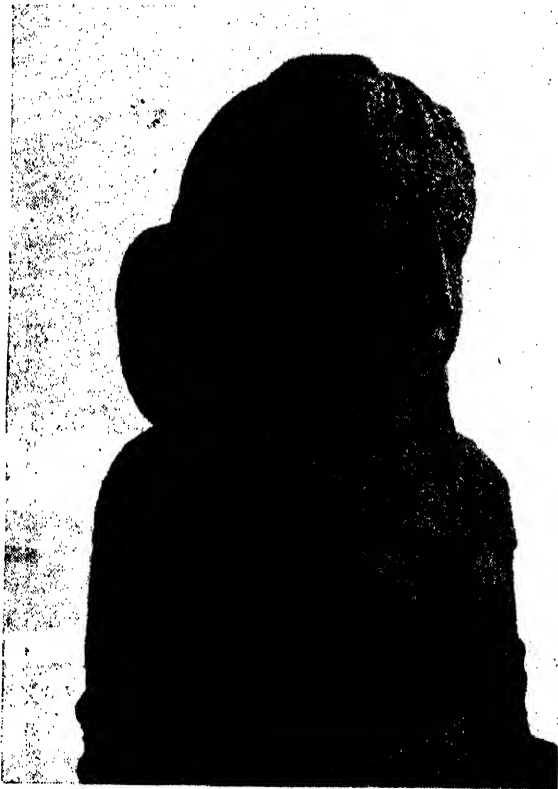
Stone image of Bhikshatana Murty in the Suchindram temple

towering Gopuram of the Suchindram Temple which dominates the landscape for miles and miles around. In this age-old Temple of unique architectural beauty, are enshrined the Trimurties (the Hindu Trinity)—Brahma the creator, Vishnu the protector and Siva the destroyer. Rich in colourful tradition and inspiring Puranic lore, the Suchindram temple is

Suchindram is named after god Indra, the chief of the Devas, for according to a legend it was here that Indra was purified and he obtained release from a curse. Suchindram literally means the site at which Indra was absolved of his sins and attained purity. The inner walls of the gigantic seven-storeyed Gopuram of the shrine contains an exquisite and vivid pictorial

representation of the entire legend of Indra's purification.

Legend says that Indra who was cursed by Gautama for having misbehaved towards Ahalya, was advised by Brihaspati, the Guru of the Devas, to worship Sthanumalayaperumal, and obtain release from the curse. Accordingly, Indra hastened to the Sthanumalaya temple in his chariot. To the west of the Agastyakudam, a peak in South Travancore sacred to Rishi Agastya, Indra was stopped by Nandikeswara the chief of the retinue of Siva, and asked to



Bust of a stone image in the Suchindram temple—one of the many exquisite images in the Chitra Sabha

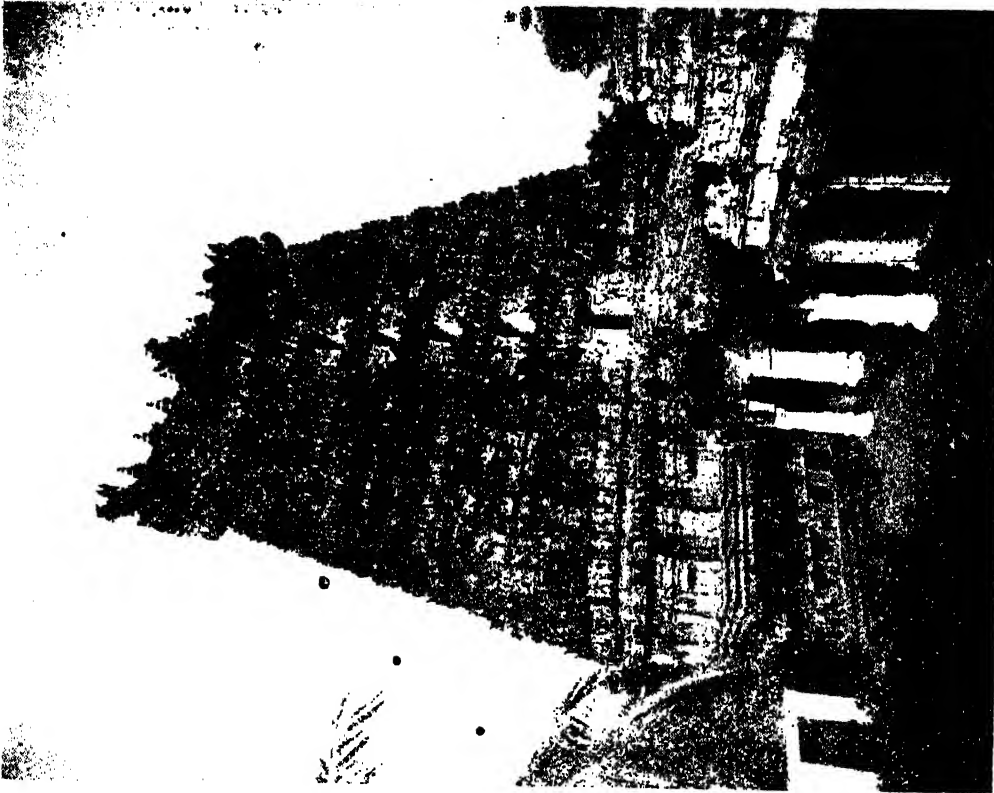
proceed to the temple on foot. The place at which Indra is believed to have alighted from his chariot is now known as Theroor. Indra did penance and Sthanumalayaperumal appeared before him. In the presence of a large gathering of Rishis, Indra dipped his body into boiling ghee and was purified. Until a century ago the ordeal of dipping the right hand in a small cauldron of boiling ghee was performed in the Suchindram temple; as it was popularly believed that if a person accused of adultery or murder plunged his right hand into boiling ghee, and if the hand was not burned, his innocence

was proved. There are some old records in the Suchindram temple relating to this ordeal.

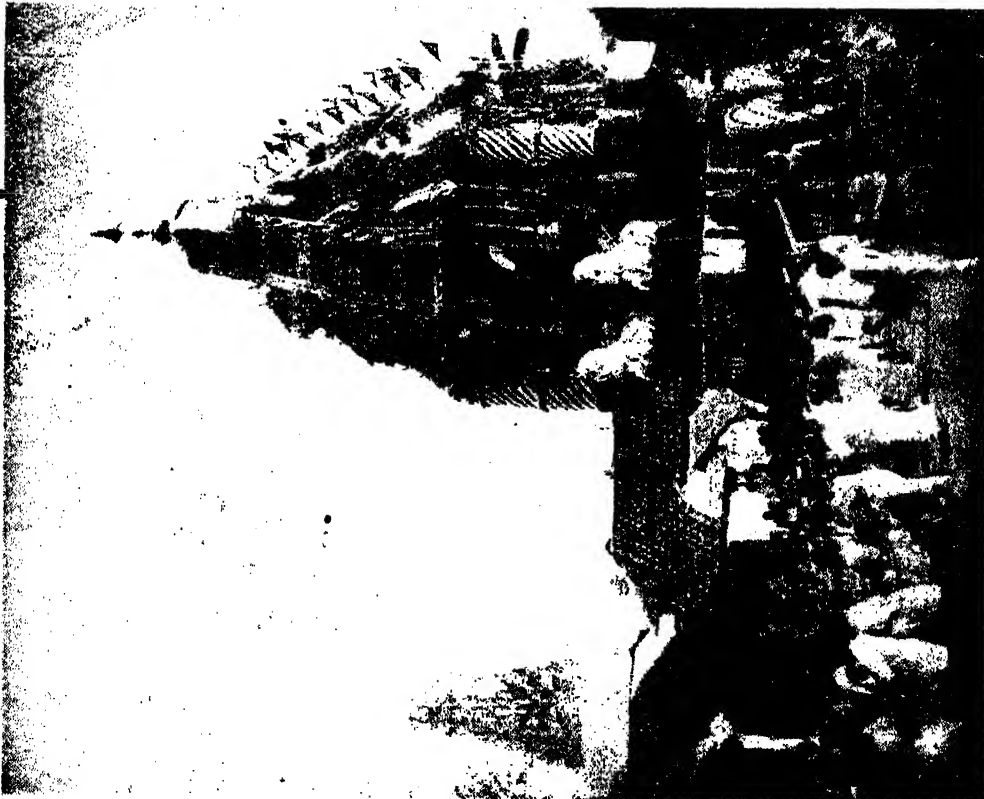
Orthodox people believe that the image of the Trimurties in the Suchindram temple was consecrated by Indra himself, and that the last Pooja late every night is performed by him in grateful memory of his absolution from the curse. Pious Hindus believe that at dead of night god Indra visits the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Suchindram shrine and worships Sthanumalaya perumal and that the tinkling of silver bells could be heard if any devotee keeps vigil in faith and adoration unsullied. It is noteworthy that the same Santikkaran (priest) is not allowed to perform Pooja on consecutive days in this shrine lest he might notice the alterations effected in the arrangements of the garments, jewels and utensils of the Deity from the condition in which they were left the previous night, and the impressions left behind by Lord Indra in the course of his performing the last Pooja in the night. Priests who conduct Poojas in this Temple have to take a solemn oath before they are ordained, that on no account will they divulge to anybody what they might happen to see or hear inside the holy of holies. The principal images consecrated in the Suchindram temple are that of Sthanumalaya perumal (Siva) in the north and Thiruvengkita Vinnavar perumal (Vishnu) in the east.

The Gopuram of the Suchindram temple, a gigantic solid, tapering structure, stirs up the imagination of the tourist, and connoisseur of art. This seven-storeyed Gopuram which is of the Tamil type contains a superabundance of sculpture of interesting Puranic and legendary figures. Colossal in size, intricate in design and extravagant in decoration, this Gopuram which is a unique structural entity exhibits a riotous exuberance of human fancy excelling every mechanical restraint. Sjt. Mahadeva Desai, in his well-known book, *The Epic of Travancore*, says that "the gopuram over the gate of the Suchindram Temple is the biggest and the most elaborately constructed in the whole of India." Local tradition avers that the imposing eastern Gopuram in the temple was originally constructed by a king of the Vijayanagar dynasty in 1545.

The Suchindram temple is one of the finest examples of Dravidian architecture. The shrine is remarkable for its Gopurams (gate pyramids) Mandapams (porches) and pillared halls, all of which are massive and magnificent. The Suchindram shrine is a world in itself with its many secondary sanctuaries clustered round the central pile. The first impression of the



The eastern Gopuram of the Suchindram temple



A view of the Therottam (Car Festival) at Suchindram



An interior view of the Arat Mandapam in the Suchindram temple
note the stone pillars

shrine is bewildering, for the sightseer or pilgrim is obsessed with a feeling of confusing superabundance. Stone pillars and statues, richly decorated heavy columns in granite with protruding brackets, fantastical forms of huge monsters, strange uncanny dragons, beautiful flowers, statuesque groups of deific subjects, mythological heroes all wrought in stone—these great and spectacular attractions of the temple keep the visitor spell-bound and lost in admiration of the amazing achievements of Hindu art and architecture.

The Suchindram temple is famous for its exquisite stone carvings. It is believed that Parasurama, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, constructed the towers, mandapams and corridors in this shrine. The Oonjal Mandapam, Thirukonayadi, Chempakaraman Mandapam, Alamkara Mandapam and Udayamartanda Mandapam are some of the elaborately and exquisitely sculptured porches in the Suchindram temple. These mandapams are marvels of art and monuments of historical importance. The Chempakaraman Mandapam, the largest porch

in the temple, was constructed by Chempakaraman one of the renowned Chera kings of old. The Veerapandyamani Mandapam is considered to be the gift of one of the early Pandya kings. The Alamkara Mandapam, constructed out of a single stone, supported by four massive pillars and twelve smaller pillars is a unique specimen of the sculptor's art. Composite pillars consisting of twenty-four to thirty-two pilasters, all elaborately decorated, are witnessed in these mandapams. Sculptures assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries are noticed here. Life-like statues chiselled in granite of Thirumal Naick and kings of Venad are identified in the Suchindram shrine.

Some of the stone pillars in the shrine are decorated with figures of pretty damsels bearing a lamp in the jointed palms of their hands. The lamp-bearers in granite and the pillars are carved from single pieces. The figures of lamp-bearers



The main street, Suchindram, as seen from the top of the Gopuram

among some of the images have been mutilated by vandals who were unable to tolerate the works of art of an alien religion. An object of wonder in the Suchindram temple is the group of

twenty-five small pillars carved on the sides of a single huge pillar. All these pillars have been carved on a single stone. These slender pillars when struck with the hand give out different musical sounds which produce a weird effect on the stillness of the temple. These music-producing pillars eloquently testify to the marvellous craftsmanship of the sculptors. The images of Veerabhadra, Dakshinamurti, Brahma and Subramonia carved on a single panel in granite are some of the finest specimens of the inspired art of the sculptor. In the words of a well-known critic of art

"So admirably did the builders cut their architectural coat to their granite cloth that they created by subtle proportion a sense of largeness that seems like a tangible presence. To physical space they added a superphysical spaciousness by carving on the pillars deific figures and symbolical ornament that stretch the imagination through heavy material to cosmic distances and supernatural degrees of consciousness."

In the aesthetic matter of composition, execution and arrangement the massive carved granite pillars are imposing.

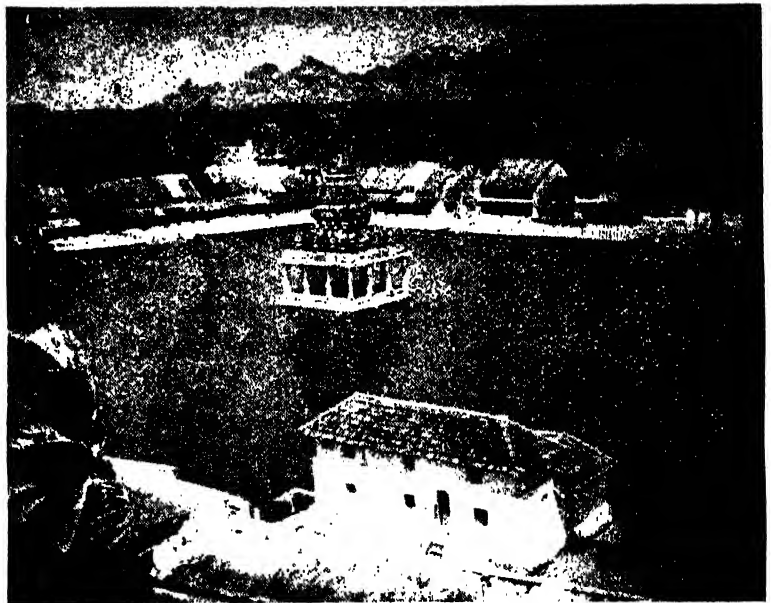
Exquisite bronze images of Siva, Parvati, Cheramanperumal and Saivite saints are seen in the Suchindram temple. The collection of jewels and images in the shrine is of great antiquity and value. The gigantic and awe-inspiring image of Anjaneya (Monkey-god), over ten feet high, is one of the many imposing attractions of the temple which is the repository of some of the best specimens of sculpture.

The Suchindram temple is rich in its inscriptions in Vettezhuttu alphabet and Tamil language. The rock to the south-western corner near the Kailasa shrine is believed to be the oldest portion of the temple. These inscriptions which are of considerable historical importance contain authentic information about the various gifts made to the temple by rulers and important personages in South India. The *Travancore Archaeological Series* contain the full texts and reproductions of the famous Suchindram Inscriptions.

The Teppakulam (temple tank) with its elaborately sculptured mandapam in the centre is a great attraction. It is believed that on the Thiruvathira Day in the month of Dhanu the

celestial beings meet at the banks of this tank to commemorate the first appearance of the Trimurties at Suchindram. The imposing mandapam in the middle of the tank is used for the performance of religious rites during the festival season in the shrine. On the western side of the temple tank is a round rock close to which is a sacred peepul tree. Legend says that this rock is Indra's elephant which was petrified as the result of the wrath of a Rishi who was observing penance at the foot of the tree. The rock resembles the curved back of an elephant.

In the precincts of the Suchindram temple is an old Konna tree which is worshipped by pilgrims who ascribe supernatural powers to it. It is estimated that this tree is more than 2000 years old. According to legend, this Konna tree was originally a peepul tree and that there was a Siva Lingam (Phallus) at its foot and great Rishis, Agastya, Vamadevan, Vyasan and the



The sacred temple tank at Suchindram with dwelling houses on the banks

great philosopher Adi Sankaracharyar had come to Suchindram to worship this Sivalingam.

A great relic of the past in the temple around which many legends have gathered, is the huge Vrishabha (bull) made of white stone. Of imposing proportions, this image of god Siva's bull is regarded as sacred by worshippers. Legend enlightens us that many years ago when South Travancore was invaded by a Muslim chieftain the Suchindram temple was saved from his vandalism and iconoclastic fury due to a miracle attributed to this image of

Siva's bull. The story avers that the soldiers of the Muslim invader jeeringly asked the Hindus whether the stone-bull would eat grass. The pious Hindus answered in the positive. Thereupon a bundle of grass was dropped before the bull and lo! it consumed the grass. This was viewed with consternation by the Muslim soldiers who left the shrine immediately.

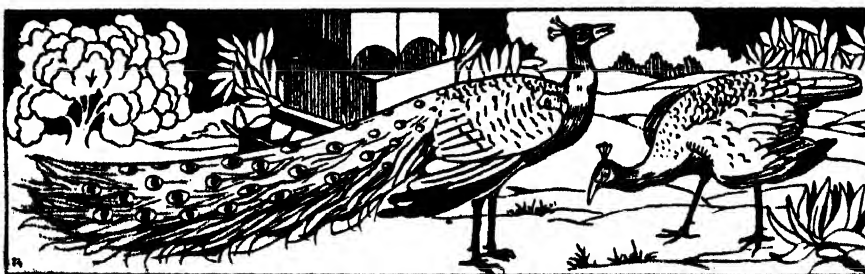


Interior view of the Vasanta Mandapam, one of the exquisitely sculptured porches in the Suchindram temple.

The largest of the scheduled Devaswoms and the biggest ancient monument in Travancore, the Suchindram temple attracts many thousands of pilgrims and sight-seers during the Therottam festival which lasts for ten days. On the fifth, seventh and ninth days of this festival large crowds of people from far and near flock to Suchindram, when her streets are transformed into a living kaleidoscope of colour and humanity. On the ninth day is the famous Therottam or car festival when the temple cars, some of

the largest and most imposing in South India, are drawn in procession by devotees through the principal streets around the shrine. Decorated with silver tinsel and festooned with flowers, the festival cars look gorgeous and picturesque. The cars which are built of wood and covered with gaudy cloths are round at the base and rise in tapering tiers. The wheels of these huge chariots are of solid wood. The cars named after gods Ganesa, Amman and Swami begin their run from the eastern gate of the temple. The image of the deity, profusely decorated, is placed inside a platform in the biggest car after due ceremony. The musicians attached to the temple walk ahead of the cars playing melodiously on various musical instruments. Ropes as thick as a man's thighs are securely fastened to the cars. The Therottam usually begins at 7-30 A.M., and closes by 9-30 A.M. Pious Hindus believe that drawing the car is a meritorious service rendered to the god and that it will absolve one of one's sins. Elephants push the car from behind when they come to a stand-still. The exuberance and devotional ecstasy of the worshippers wax great and cool down only after the Therottam is over. Until the procession of the god's cars complete a full round and the cars return to the place from which they began their run, the Maharaja of Travancore does not break his fast. The auspicious news of the successful culmination of the Therottam is intimated by the firing of relays of petards stationed at regular intervals from Suchindram to Trivandrum, a distance of 45 miles.

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AN ENGLISH HILL FARMER IN THE VINDHYA MOUNTAINS

By JAMES WALTON, B.Sc. (Lond.), Dip. Ed. (Leeds)

White fleecy clouds scudded before the gloriously fresh breeze which fanned the Vindhya foothills above Manglia as I lingered to watch one of the interesting hill-folk winnowing his crop of barley. My thoughts were instantly taken back to the small farmstead on the Pennine slopes of northern England where my father and his father before him had winnowed their oats in exactly the same manner. English visitors to India are apt to regard the local agricultural methods as primitive and slow but, until the outbreak of the present world war, identical processes were in general use in the hilly regions of England where agrarian craftsmanship had not yet been ousted by modern mechanisation.

The small Pennine hill farms were won from the heather-covered moor by dint of hard labour, every square yard had to be dug by the graving spade, far more laborious than the Indian wooden plough, and a constant struggle is still maintained to prevent the moor plants from regaining their domain in much the same manner as the Vindhya farmer has to fight against drought and encroaching weeds. After the spring ploughing the Pennine farmer sows his seeds as his Saxon forefathers did before him; he carries a wicker seed box in front and, walking with an even gait, scatters the grain alternately to right and left. When the crop reaches maturity it is cut with a sickle or a scythe although the day has gone when parties of Irish labourers came over to England and swept across the fields with rhythmical swinging strokes to the musical accompaniment of the steel blade against crisp straw. I can well remember my grandmother and the rest of the household, armed with sickles, going out into the fields to reap the golden grain just as the natives of the Vindhyas do today and when it was cut it was tied into sheaves with straw ropes and piled in "stooks" to dry. In the early part of this year I, too, went out with a sickle into the fields of my new-found friends in Manglia to cut the dwarf stalked barley which the womenfolk tied into sheaves. No doubt my grandfather would have been reduced almost to tears at the sight of such a poor crop but in the adjoining fields the stalks were so short that it was found more expedient to pull the whole plant up by the roots.

In the more level areas of England the harvest wagon adds its picturesque contribution to the harvest scene but on the steeper hillsides, which are totally unsuited to wheeled vehicles, the crop is carried to the stackyard on sleds or on the backs of the farmers. There it is stacked on stone supports and thatched to prevent the ravages of rats and rain until threshing time arrives and, although the Vindhya farmer does not take such pride in his thatching, his stack



Winnowing with Nature's aid

is built in much the same way. Only in threshing are there any marked differences between the two agricultural systems; the Pennine farmer still adheres to his flail with its long shaft and short, stout, swivelled head with which the grain is beaten from the ears whilst his Vindhya counterpart relies on his pair of oxen to plod round in a circle and trample out the grain; both methods are equally primitive and almost as old as the hills themselves.

The separation of the grain from the chaff, known as winnowing, is an identical process in both regions; the Vindhya farmer chooses a day when a stiff breeze is blowing; he fills his shallow



Making the gram basket for storing the crop

wicker basket with the mixture of grain and chaff and, standing on a three-legged stool, he agitates the basket to allow small quantities of the mixture to creep over the edge. The breeze carries away the light chaff and allow the grain to fall almost vertically downwards, forming two clearly defined heaps. On our small Pennine farmstead the barn doors are arranged in opposite walls facing each other so that on a suitable day a strong breeze blows through the barn and on the intervening threshing stead my grandfather and his sons winnowed their grain in shallow baskets. The oats were ground and the meal was stored in a fine oaken chest, or "kist," just as in the Vindhya the barley is placed in a large woven basket sealed with clay.

Throughout the ages agriculture in these two remote hill regions, separated by thousands of miles, has been carried on in a similar manner. Traditional methods have been handed down from father to son and the farmer has taken considerable pride in his craftsmanship. This

still remains true in the Vindhya but in the hill regions of Britain there has been a considerable change within the past two or three years. Craftsmanship and pride in traditional methods have been sacrificed for the "Grow More Food" campaign. With great misgiving the hill farmer witnessed the entry of the tractor and the small power threshing machine through his gates only to welcome them later with open arms when his sons and labourers were taken to fight for the soil they loved so well. In a day the tractor ploughed up rough land which would have taken weeks with a graving spade or horse plough, in a similar time the crop was cut and in half a day the tiny threshing machine threshed and winnowed the grain. Although the farmer compares the two methods to the detriment of new yet the amount of home-grown food has increased enormously during that period.

How has this apparent miracle been achieved when most of the small hillside farmers are too poor to purchase their own equipment? England has been divided into a number of districts, each controlled by an Agricultural Committee which has provided the necessary mechanised equipment on loan at an almost nominal rate. Production has thereby been considerably increased with a marked reduction in labour. It



Cutting barley in the Vindhya

is difficult to estimate how far such a method would be useful or practicable in India where labour is plentiful and cheap, but this state of affairs may not be allowed to continue when

that labour is required for military and allied purposes and in order to increase home food production some modification of the English system may prove helpful. Possibly in the future my Manglia friends will look with the same trepidation as their English cousins on the introduction of mechanical cultivation.

No doubt the use of power has given us more food during a period when our need is great but it is killing all the skill and pride

which meant so much to the farmer and the country in general. As I worked side by side with the farmers of the Vindhya whilst they reaped, threshed and winnowed I realised how closely they were connected with the land they tilled and I saw happiness born of long contact with Nature. Maybe mechanisation would bring more plentiful crops and greater riches but I have a feeling that still greater riches would be lost,—riches measured in pride and content and happiness.

THE TERRACOTTA PLAQUES OF KHALIA (FARIDPUR) AND THE TERRACOTTA ART OF BENGAL

By S. P. ROY CHOUDHURY

BENGAL is the land of clay, of alluvium deposited by the innumerable riverine channels forming almost a network, especially in the lowermost districts abutting on the sea. Stone is very rare in the province and whatever was used in the province for plastic purposes had been imported from outside, no doubt a troublesome and costly affair; hence clay formed the chief medium for the artistic expression of the people from very early times. It was brick, made of clay and burnt hard, that was used as the building material from time immemorial. Clay, modelled or moulded into shape, was the chief element to satisfy the religious as well as decorative instinct of the people. However baked and burnt it was certainly a much less durable material than stone, especially in the damp and relaxing climate of Bengal and it is for this that very few of the early artistic works have been left to us. From this it should not be inferred that artistic activities were less known or pursued in Bengal in days gone by. There is enough evidence, both literary and epigraphic, to suggest that even from very early times art was a favourite pursuit of the people and temples for the installation of images and sculptures for their proper decoration had been in existence. For reasons already mentioned, the examples that remain are very few. Paharpur is a standing example of what could be achieved in brick and terracotta. It is a credit to the Bengali artists and to their genius in working in clay that a monument of such a colossal magnitude and beautiful ornamentation

could be reared up that has withstood the ravages of so many centuries.

The sweeping conquest of Bakhtiyar Khilji dealt the deathblow to the early artistic tradition of Bengal, tradition that had been the synthesis of many trends and styles, indigenous and extraneous. But the pure indigenous and local trend that manifested itself in the magni-



Matsya

ficent terracotta plaques of Paharpur, gradually recovered from the setback which it suffered as a result of the assertion of the classical and hierarchical tradition in the Pala period. In the centuries following the turmoil of the Islamic occupation of the land, Bengal enjoyed again the blessings of established Government and with

settled conditions there revived also the artistic traditions of the people, which manifested themselves not only in the simple but beautifully decorated brick temples with their series of

Ram Roy (*The Modern Review* for November 1940, pp. 558-62). A set of panels containing the Avatāra series usually decorated the front facade of the Vishnuite temples, but as such



Kurma

terracotta reliefs, in pata and scroll paintings and in clay, wooden and metal figures serving as cult objects in private as well as public temples. The study of the medieval arts of Bengal is as yet a neglected branch, but if one cares to examine the numerous and often tiny brick temples scattered throughout the length and breadth of the province one is sure to be struck not only by the variety of architectural forms presented, but also by the varied and well-executed terracotta figures that give an idea of the ideals that dominated the artists and people of the land.



Baraha

A series of terracotta panels depicting the ten incarnations of Vishnu have recently been recovered from a dilapidated building at Khalia, situated half a mile off from the temple of Raja



Narasinha

temples are very rarely in preservation it is rather difficult to get a complete set. The Khalia temple presents us with a complete series of the Avatāras in terracotta, which, as such, is worth mentioning in detail.

"... These plaques are certainly very interesting and show a highly developed form of art of Medieval age. As these are comparatively rare in Bengal, their



Vamana

historical importance, in my opinion, is very high, as they throw considerable light on a forgotten aspect of the culture of Medieval Bengal."—Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca.

The idea of Avatārvāda is a very old concept in Hinduism, which may also be found reflected in Buddhism and Jainism. Indian literature is rather prolific on the subject and there have been so many legends and stories underlying the conceptions of different Avatāras



Parasurama

that without going into details it is worthwhile to remember the remarkable statement of Krishna in the Bhagavat Geeta.

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सज्जाम्यहम् ॥
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे ॥

"Whenever righteousness decays and wrong flourishes, to destroy the wicked for the protection of the righteous and to re-establish religion, I appear on the earth from age to age."

It should be remembered also that the number of Avatāras varied in different texts and different times. But ten came ultimately to be regarded as the stereotyped number and the Mahābhārata gives us the conventional list of ten in the following couplet.

मत्स्यः कूर्म वराहश्च नरसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्कीति ते दशाः ॥

The Khalia set closely corresponds to this list given in the Mahābhārata. On account of style it may be ascribed to the latter part of the 18th century A.D.

Fish or Matsya.—To kill Hayagriva the chief of the Danabas and to rescue the lost Vedas from the ocean, the Lord Vishnu assumed the form of Fish.

The panel measures $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ " and depicts the god in a figure in which the upper portion is that of a man with four hands and the lower portion that of a fish. The person of the god is decked with bracelets, armlets, a short necklet, a string of pearls and Vanamāla. The hair is tied up in knot on the top of the head. The upper two hands are in Abhaya pose and the lower right hand is in Jnana mudra and the lower left hand shows something which is mutilated.

Kurma or Tortoise ($4 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ").—The divine Lord Vishnu assumed the form of a tortoise for supporting on its back the mountain Mandara for the churning of the ocean, for the nectar which was taken away by the gods. The upper portion of the figure is wanting, the lower portion is shown in the shape of a tortoise in which legs and tail can be seen clearly.

Varāha or Boar ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ ").—Vishnu assumed the form of a Boar for the uplifting of the earth with his great tusk when it was submerged under water. The figure stands in the Alidhar pose. The head, including the neck, is that of a Boar and the rest being that of a man. The two hands are in Gajahasta pose and it holds Gadā in the right hand. It wears the same ornaments as in the case of Matsya with the additional ornaments of anklets and a pair of wire rings fitting tightly to the legs. The piece of cloth worn by the figure reaches below the knee and it is richly embroidered.



Rama

Narasimha or Man-lion (9×7 ").—The divine Lord Vishnu appeared in the world as a man-lion or Narasimha to kill Hiranyakasipu, whose behaviour was haughty and overbearing towards the gods and to rescue Prahlada from the oppression of his demon father. The figure

is four-handed with human body and lion's head. The god is seen tearing open the entrails of Hiranyakasipu. It is decked with the usual ornaments (of Matsyavantara). The hair of Hiranyakasipu is tied up in a top knot and decorated with engraved ornaments.



Balarama

Vāmana (12×10½").—Indra, the sovereign of the heaven, was dethroned by Bali, the emperor of the Asuras, who was very powerful on account of a boon conferred as a reward for his religious deeds. Aditi, the mother of Indra, felt much aggrieved, and bent on the destruction of Bali with the help of the other gods sought the help of Vishnu. Once when Bali was celebrating a Yajñā and was avowed to fulfil the prayers of anyone whoever will come to him for anything, Lord Vishnu came to him as a Dwarf and asked for three steps of land as a sacrificial gift. This being promised by Bali, the lord covered the Bhūloka or the earth with his one step and the Antariksha-loka or the mid-world with another step and as there was no more space for the third step he placed it on Bali's head and sent him to Patala-loka, or nether world. Indra thus regained his position and reigned over the celestial kingdom. The incarnation of Vāmana is generally represented as a Dwarf with umbrella in his left hand and water-pot in his right hand, but here the later episode of the legend, showing the Lord Vishnu as Trivikrama (i.e., the god in his three strides) is given here. The arrangement of the three legs is noteworthy. The right leg rests on Bali's head, the left on earth and the

middle one has gone upward reaching the left shoulder. The figure is dressed in a short tight-fitting trousers and the hair is tied up in knot on the top of the head. The image is decked with the usual ornaments and shows additionally a Katibandha or waistgirdle.

Parasurāma (12×10½").—It is said that Lord Vishnu appeared as Parasurāma to save the world from the arrogant and unruly Kshatriyas. The image is much mutilated particularly in its left portion including the head and the left hand. It has on its person the usual ornaments including the wire-made ornament and wears a short tight-fitting trousers; when minutely examined the handle of the axe can be seen on its right hand.

Rāma (12×11").—Rāma appeared as the son of Dasaratha by his first wife Kausalyā; on the eve of his coronation, he was exiled by his father at the instance of his stepmother Kaikeyee. During his exile, Sītā, the wife of Rāma, was carried away by Rāvana, the Rākshasa king of Lanka* (Ceylon). Rāma with the help of his army of monkeys killed Rāvana and rescued Sītā. The figure is shown, standing on a chariot



Buddha

with a Makara head, as an archer in the act of shooting an arrow with a bow in his left hand and arrow in his right hand and is crowned with Kirītamukuta. Rāma wears a tight-fitting trousers held fast by a Katibandha and the usual ornaments.

Balarāma ($11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$).—"Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna, is the eighth Avatāra. He appears to have little claim to divinity. Nothing appears to be recorded to his credit except some eccentric and drunken feats. His special symbol is the plough with which he appears to have opened a canal from the Jamuna river"—*Iconography*, p. 103 by Dr. Bhattasali.

Balarāma is standing in tribhanga pose with a plough in his right hand and a horn in his left. The hair is tied up in a top knot and he is dressed with a short tight-fitting trousers and decked with the usual ornaments.

Buddha ($10' \times 7''$).—Lord Buddha appeared in the world to save it from the horrors of sacrificial rites of the Brahmanas. The face of the image is mutilated and the whole body is covered with a gown, which reaches up to the knee and the border of which is richly embroidered. Except this, no other ornament bedecks his person. The hands are concealed inside the gown and the legs are firmly placed on the pedestal with the toes pointing the opposite direction, perhaps for want of depth in the low relief.

Kalkī ($11\frac{1}{2} \times 10''$).—The last of the Avatāras of Vishnu is named Kalkī and he is predicted to manifest himself towards the end of the Kali Yuga, when there will be no institution of learning, no caste system and no religion. The barbarians will control the earth in the disguise

of pious men, and will do much harm to mankind. Then the Lord Vishnu will appear as Kalkī and destroy the barbarians for the purpose of restoring the supremacy of the right moral principles and for the betterment of the world and mankind.



Kalki

Kalkī is shown riding on a horse with a naked sword in his right hand and Dhanus in his left. The horse is well caparisoned. The figure is dressed with short tight-fitting trousers and has on its person the usual ornaments, the head showing a turban.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Mrs. Deviyani Desai

Mrs. DEVIYANI DESAI graduated this year from the Karve University. It is a typical illustration of how the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thakersey Indian Women's University can help women of advanced age to prosecute their studies. Mrs. Desai is a prominent Congress worker and a member of the Ville-Parle Municipality. She courted jail twice in C. D. Movement. She started studies late in life in 1934 again, ceased them for a while and joined and regularly attended college in Bombay and graduated this year. She is a mother of a boy who passed his Matriculation this year. Mrs. Deviyani Desai is a great social worker.

Mrs. MANIBEN DESAI, G.A., is just another illustration of how the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thakersey Indian Women's University can help housewives of advanced age to study. Mrs. Desai is 30 years of age at present, and is a mother of two boys. After cessation of studies

for 12 years, she read her seven years' course for Karve's entrance in a year, privately appeared at the examination and managing the household she managed to attend college for all the three

KUMARI NILIMA MAZUMDAR has secured the third place in the Intermediate in Arts Examination of the Calcutta University this year. As a student of the Brahmo Girls' School she obtained



Mrs. Maniben Desai (on the right)



Kumari Nilima Mazumdar

years and graduated. She was one of the students who obtained their degrees at the recent Convocation.

a Government scholarship in her Matriculation Examination in the year 1940. This year Kumari Nilima appeared from the Bethune College, Calcutta.



Group of the new graduates of the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thakersey Indian Women's University who were awarded various degrees at the recent Convocation

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE position in Russia has become even more critical during the month that has elapsed since these columns were published last. Russian resistance is still as determined as ever but the disparity in equipment and the breaking up of the lines of communication has progressively affected the striking power of the Soviets' forces. The battle that is raging near the approaches to Stalingrad and the struggle that is going on on a wide front along the Caucasus have been slowly rising to a crescendo over a period of weeks. As yet the tale has been uniformly one of disasters narrowly avoided by retreat, a retreat that has been forced on to the defenders by the tremendous mass of armour and artillery flung against the Soviet lines of defence. The second front has not materialized at the time of writing (25. 8. 42) and it is evident beyond all doubt that the supply of vital arms and equipment to the Soviets has not been sufficient to restore the balance.

Stalingrad is not the only great armament centre left in the hands of the Soviets, nor are the Caucasian oilfields the sole resources of petroleum in Russia. But the fall of the steel city and the destruction of the Caucasian oilfields would be disasters of the first magnitude, not for the Soviets alone but for the United Nations as a whole. Russia will remain as unconquerable as ever so long as the determination of the men at the helm does not waver, there can be no question about that. The united will of a nation to resist enslavement is a power before which arms and weapons forged by the hands of man cannot prevail in the end though defeats may follow disasters for any length of time. And Russia is very far from being broken or defeated as yet. All the same if the basins of the Don and the Volga are overrun by the Axis and the Caucasus barrier fails to halt the Germanic fighting machine, then the odds will be lengthened against the chances of an early recovery by the Soviets with increasing danger to the cause of the democracies as a consequence. The battles in progress now might end in a Pyrric victory for the Axis but even then the job of rolling the Nazi hordes back over a million square miles of occupied territory will have to be faced. And if the Russian

forces are further depleted of strength, then that job will have to be done by her allies.

Time is not on the side of the Allies as yet, despite all glib talk about tremendous production of war equipment. It will be a helpful factor to the Allies if and when all that mass of armament can be put in the field, against the Axis forces, in the hands of men trained to perfection in the use of highly complicated war-machinery. These men in their turn must be handled by a supreme command that has a mastery of the strategy involved in the employment of men and mechanised weapons on a titanic scale. Russia has the men and the commanders—all experienced men trained by the bitterest process of trial and error that any army had to undergo—and to a certain extent China has them. If these two be weakened beyond the limits permitting early recovery, then the chances for the rest of the allies become distant indeed.

The colossal magnitude of the grim task facing the United Nations is well illustrated by the battle now in progress on and around the Solomon islands. The American and allied forces have brought the Japanese advance to a halt beyond doubt and there has been some advance in the counter offensive. But the progress has been slow due to fierce resistance by the Japanese.

* * *

In China the Japanese are meeting with fierce resistance everywhere and at the moment the situation seems to be fairly under control. Indeed the counter-attacks of the forces of Free China seem to be making fair progress in the Canton-Hankow railway zone though the lack of equipment is plainly a handicap to the Generalissimo's forces. Here the activities of the "Flying Tigers" of the American Air-force have definitely put brakes on the movements of the Japanese forces whose bombers and fighters no longer have everything their own way.

Without heavy artillery or any appreciable weight of armour Chungking seems to be able to fight to a standstill any aggressive move by the Japanese, once they are away from the bases of supply and refitting. There can be no doubt therefore, that a flow of arms and equipment into China on a major scale

would not only heavily tilt the balance in the favour of the United Nations in that part of the world but would in all probability enable Russia to release part of the forces now standing to arms on the Manchurian and Mongolian border. But the flow of munitions into China means the re-opening of the Burma road or else the full equipment of the Assam road with telefericas and other means of mechanical transport on a large scale.

In the Pacific battle zone the American Command has passed into the offensive, though necessarily on a limited scale. The naval actions of the Coral Sea and Midway island seemed to have marked the period when the Japanese Navy was at its zenith in its command over the Pacific Ocean. Now the position is one of flux, and it is evident that the task of keeping a firm hold over the far-flung sea zones stretching from the Aleutians to the Andamans is proving a strain to the fighting ships of Nippon.

Japan's war resources of basic raw-materials was limited by the stocks she had accumulated prior to the Pearl Harbour incident. They were very considerable, thanks to the greed of the bag-barons of the democracies. But the Japanese have prosecuted their campaigns on a major scale and these stocks must be running low by now, unless they have been replenished by the booty gathered from the conquered areas. Normally consolidation and organisation of supply and transport should take about a year, specially if the oil-fields were "scorched" with any degree of efficiency. But very large stocks were probably left only partially destroyed and some oil areas in the Java area were demolished in a hurry, and so the Japanese may have been able to replenish their stocks to some extent by now. It must not be forgotten however, that in this matter of basic raw-materials, the time-factor is now slowly swinging over to the advantage of the Japanese, as their consolidation proceeds and their organisation of the supply routes advances. If the Allied counter-offensive fails to make sufficient advance soon, it will be a case of a slow-recovery, by sheer weight of men and metal, against a determined and highly organised opponent, firmly entrenched along the inner lines of communication, over extremely difficult terrain. The question of long hauls of warlike supplies will not obtain, once the Dutch East Indies is converted into a major base of operations by the Japanese and Singapore is re-equipped as a Naval base of the Nipponese fleets.

We are again having long broadcasts about the production-campaign in the U. S. A. This time they are about 60,000 tanks, 75,000 airplanes and 16 (or is it 18) millions of tons of shipping in 1943. It is to be hoped for the sake of the democracies, that this does not mean that the year 1942 is to be "written-off" as was 1941 in last year's broadcasts. With Russia bleeding at every pore and China nearing exhaustion, even that amount of production of armament will not suffice against the Axis, when the United Nations are at the disadvantageous position of having to open new fronts against opponents of the calibre of Germany and Japan *once they have their hands free*. All this boils down to the fact that the limitless resources of the democracies have to be mustered to the fullest extent within the shortest period of time possible, and the Axis must be kept fully involved in every zone of conflict where their forces are now engaged in fighting.

Brazil has entered the war. In this case a belligerent has come into the struggle purely because of the Battle of the Atlantic, a war-front where the deadliest of wars is being waged in silence.

In India the question before every sane man is, does India count in this struggle? The British people—and by them we certainly do not mean their elected representatives in the Parliaments—have not behaved as if it really mattered one way or the other, and of late the United Nations have not shown any signs of interest. If the British people did think India's war-effort would count, then an all-party Parliamentary commission would have come out to India before the retrograde moves on the August 1940 offers were tabled. Even if in 1942 they thought that our weight would be of any consequence then the Cripps' proposal would have been of a different nature and a different attitude would have been forced on to the Parliaments by popular demand. If the United Nations—with the sole exception of China—had any interest in the matter, then this unholy mess in the political situation of the country would not have resulted. There is no use in indulging in Jeremiads at the present moment, but we do hope that sanity will dawn on all concerned before matters are allowed to drift much further. There will be disastrous consequences on the morale of the people unless better counsels prevail before long.

MELANESIAN CUSTOMS

BY PRINCIPAL A. C. PANDEYA

In this article I shall attempt to explain some of the queer customs of the Melanesian tribes whom I met in my tour. Melanesia is situated in the east of Fiji. It is the name of a group of islands in the South Pacific. Though apparently Fiji is adjacent to Polynesia, yet its customs are more influenced by the Melanesian traditions.

Melanesians, strictly speaking, are not black, but the colour of their skin is of varying degrees of dark or chocolate-brown. They are of an average height of about five feet four inches with black frizzly hair. The characteristic feature of a somewhat convex nose is found among Papuans who live especially in the extreme western portion of the Melanesian series of islands, New Guinea and Admiralty Islands; but Melanesian strain seems to have much been introduced in the blood of these people, except among Papuans of the west New Guinea.

It is a surprise that the mode of dress of Melanesians differs from place to place. I saw men in many places all naked, but where they get some covering, it is usually a loin cloth, like the Mois of Indo-China. It is tied round the waist. The dress of women, too, is almost the same, but in some places it consists of a cloth or petticoat of leaves. Only in a few places I saw women wandering all naked, and it is their custom, they say, to attend in this fashion all functions when they have attained the marriageable age.

There are innumerable local and tribal customs. Women wear feather ornaments on the head, necklaces and pendants of shells, beads, dried fruits, dogs' teeth, etc., hung round the neck. Ear-rings, nose ornaments, and belts, armlets, leg-bands, anklets and wrist-bands are made of plaited fibre, some of bark, and others of shells. In some places these are made by some textile process. They also use various kinds of flowers and bright leaves for the brightness of their attire.

The art-standard differs among the different tribes. He who produces some elaborate design, wears it himself. Various designs are seen in carvings and decorations of their memorial buildings, canoes, implements and utensils. These include realistic and conventional representations of human beings, birds, animals

and plants; and considerable artistic power is sometimes met with among tribes, who, in other respects, are almost the most primitive.

Tattooing is most common among them. In some places both men and women are tattooed; and it is frequently practised among marriageable females. This kind of decoration usually indicates the age of puberty, but in many places tattooing is essential for both the sexes for marriage. Among Koita (New Guinea) girls the decoration usually begins when they attain the age of five years. Tattooing is done year after year as one gets older and older. Something like a V-shaped mark is tattooed on the breast with certain other designs to indicate the marriageable age. Thus "V" is the symbol of marriage!

In some areas special tattoo patterns are adopted as "clan marks." In many parts distinctive designs are seen on men as honourable marks, but these commonly indicate that they have "taken life." Cutting of flesh, so as to leave permanent scars, is also a kind of decoration, indicating a person's clan.

Nose-boring and ear-piercing are extensively practised by both males and females. Both the septa and the wings of the nose are bored, but the boring of the septa is essential. In the holes thus bored pencils of shell or bone are inserted. The ear-hole is sufficiently big for the accommodation of a pendant ornament. Usually these holes are big enough to hold a large ring or an ornament of disc shape. When an ear-hole hangs down without an ornament it seems as though a long pendant loop of flesh is hanging.

Certain ceremonial observances of the Melanesians are peculiar and interesting. Special kinds of ceremonies are performed on the birth of a child. *La Couvade* and customs like it are found in most parts of Melanesia. In Solomon Islands, New Hebrides and Banks Islands both before and after a child's birth, the parents refrain from eating certain types of food and from doing certain works, for some time, which if otherwise done, they believe, would be harmful to the baby. The father is forbidden from climbing trees, lifting heavy weights, working on laborious tasks or leaving the house for a certain period of time,

but if he does so, the penalty, it is strongly believed, falls on the infant. In the Banks Island the father is not allowed to go out for a month to any sacred place where the child could not go without risk.

In New Guinea among the Koitas the food restriction to the parents is subject to the belief that if there would be any break the baby will fall seriously ill.

Various kinds of sacrifices are practised in one of the New Hebrides Islands for protecting infants against misfortunes. These are usually made when a child is eight to ten days old. In another island the tradition is that the father goes down a beach to wash his child's clothes. All along the path, as he goes, he scatters toy-bows, if the child is a boy; or fragments of the pandanus fibre out of which "mats" are made, if the child is a girl. This custom they explain by saying that the boy is expected to be a brave and a skilled bow-man, and the girl a skilled mat-maker. (The "mat" is a kind of their currency.)

If after eating a particular kind of food the child dies, the parents are restrained from taking that food throughout their lives. In another island of the same group, there is a peculiar custom (which is a kind of bond to the father's kinsmen) wherein the first-born son is kept for ten days in the house of these kinsmen, and the mother gets her food from them. On the tenth day food and mats are given to the hosts by the father. The hosts lay, thereupon, on the child's head mats and strings with which pigs are tied. This practice leads the father to believe that his kinsmen will feed and help his son if necessity arises. Just contrary to this another custom is found in one of the Banks group where a noisy and playful fight with pigs is conducted by the kinsmen of the mother on the birth of a first-born son. These pigs are later purchased by the father.

Among the Gazellians of the Gazelle Peninsula (Bismarck Archipelago) there is a ceremony on the birth of a first-born son of their prominent leader. The presence of a sorcerer on the occasion is necessary. Before him the tribal men perform charms over the mother's food, and blow coral lime in different directions to scare away the evil spirits, and rub it into the body of the mother.

After the birth of a baby a fire is made which is passed through the smoke by a woman with the words :

(a) if it is a male child :

"Become strong, acquire much *tabu* (money); throw the spear and sling the stone"; and

(b) if the baby is a female child :

"Grow big, acquire strength, so that you may work in the fields."

The sorcerer is also present on this occasion. He stands by the side of the baby holding a little ash between his fingers. While one of his hands remains in the smoke, the other is moved touching the temple, ears, eyes, nose and mouth of the baby. This practice wards off evil habits.

In the central part of New Britain (Bismarck Archipelago), on the birth of a child the inhabitants of the village assemble together, each holding a tree with branches full of leaves. They break off some of those twigs which have young shoots upon them and hold them in their hands. When they begin to break twigs one of them utters a charm over a piece of ginger, and then divides the ginger among the others; the men chew the ginger and spit it out upon the twigs, which they then hold in the smoke. Though this practice does not benefit the child, it is the conviction that if it is not performed, their weapons will lose power in war and they will act in a cowardly manner.

Quite a strange custom is seen on the birth of a first-born child in New Ireland (Bismarck Archipelago) where men and women of the village have a sham fight between themselves. Men are armed with sticks, women with stones, and other missiles. After this rough fight a feast of pigs and vegetables is given to them by the father of the baby.

Solomon Islands bear the record for another strange custom. Here the woman who is about to give birth to a child is taken to a small leaf-hut built by the women of her village. She is kept here in the damp and the dirt until she gives birth to a child. She is not taken out of the hut even if there is rain. Except females no one else (not even her husband) is permitted to take part in building the hut or approaching her at any time. The convention does not even permit the husband to see the infant for at least the first fifteen days. The birth of the child is followed by a blood-sprinkling ceremony performed by the women.

In one of the districts of South-east New Guinea a child is always lifted upwards or is presented by its mother to the first full-moon which occurs after its birth. Their belief is, by this practice the child grows fast and begins to talk soon. Among the Koitas of New Guinea, the child after three or four weeks is decked out in much finery and carried by the mother (who is also adorned with several ornaments)

to her mother's house. Her sister-in-law accompanies her behind, carrying an empty pot, a spear, a petticoat and a fire stick. Then they sit together, smoking and chewing betel. They are soon interrupted by another woman who is generally the wife of the mother's brother. She strips the ornaments of both the mother and the child and these together with the pot, spear and petticoat, go as a present to the child's relations on his mother's side. Subsequently a similar present is made to the mother before she leaves the house.

Among the Mekeos of Mekeo district of New Guinea there is another ceremony on the birth of a first-born child. People of the village club near the house and sing all through the night. The next day the father goes out for hunting a pig or a dog which is roasted for a feast to all the villagers. The items of dance and the feast are postponed if any death occurs by that time in the village.

In several mountainous parts in the interior of New Guinea a kind of "rough" day is celebrated on the birth of a child. There is a mock hostile attack by women. Such a kind of attack differs among the Kuni people and the Mafulu. A number of Kuni women assemble in the village when a Kuni woman gives birth to a first-born child, and attack her house and the village club-house with darts. Among the Mafulus such an attack on the birth of the first-born child of their chief indicates that it (the child) has "appeared into life." Women, adorned with dance costumes, holding spears and clubs in both their hands, attack the chief's house and the village club-house hurling their spears at the buildings with such force that they sometimes penetrate the roofs. This ceremony is followed by pigkilling and feasting.

Among the inhabitants of the Torres Straits Islands quite a different custom is seen on the birth of a child. When the mother is in travail and great pains, the husband goes to the sea and for hours together dives into it until the child is born. They believe that through this process the pain of the mother is alleviated. The husband keeps his legs in the sea until they are cold, in case the birth is delayed, or a sorcerer is called to take some object and put it in the sea, which, it is their conviction, accelerates the birth.

In some of the islands near the eastern end of New Guinea, on the birth of a first child a token is taken to a garden and placed in the sheath of a base leaf of a banana-tree—a tree which is likely to bear fruits in about a month.

Afterwards, a feast is given to the child's maternal uncles (the fruits of this banana-tree being specially included in it). Three or four similar feasts are also given at intervals of about a month. Restrictions on the mother's diet are reduced at each of these subsequent feasts. The father goes to the club-house for about six months. In the first month he is also under the diet restrictions, the violation of which would, it is believed, result in the illness of the child. He is not permitted to see the child during the first month, and for some time after that he avoids going near his wife if the child is with her. He will, however, on no account touch the latter until it has attained the age of five months, but if he does so the child would have a stunted growth and it may become seriously ill. After this "restrictive" period when the father can safely touch the child, the mother ties strings of shell-beads round its wrists and above its elbows.

Infanticide is widely practised almost everywhere in Melanesia. An unmarried girl who has a child will generally kill it, for, though sexual morality is but loose throughout most of the islands, and in many cases does not exist, it is usually considered undesirable for an unmarried girl to give birth to a child, and in many districts it is a disgrace and an offence, for which heavy punishment, in some places death, is meted out to her.

But there are many reasons for killing babies born in lawful wedlock. Sometimes parents do not want more children, or it may be that the baby is not of the desired sex; in either case it will be killed. The sex preference may be one of the father and the mother, based, perhaps, on the sex composition of their existing children; but there are islands where boys are generally preserved and girls killed, and *vice versa*.

The birth of twins is not disliked everywhere, and in some places it is a matter of pride. There are many districts where the prejudice against it is very strong, and, indeed, the birth will be contemptuously likened by the women-neighbours to the litter of a pig or a dog; and in some places the suspicion actually arises that the twins have separate fathers. Wherever twins are disliked, it is customary to kill one of them. Deformed babies are often killed, but among some of the tribes of Dutch New Guinea they are preserved, in order that they may, when they grow up, become magicians or witches.

In some parts of the interior of New Guinea peculiar reasons are attributed for infanticide by a married woman. A Kuni woman has been

actually known to kill her baby, in order that she might be free to suckle a pig; and a Mafulu woman is sometimes constrained to do so, because it is a disgrace to have a child before she has provided a pig for a village feast; and, if, when the child is expected, there is no feast in which a pig can be served, she must conceal the birth and kill the child. These Mafulu women also kill their babies as the result of a sort of superstitious ceremony. The child being born, the mother goes to a river from which she takes a little water and gives it to the babe. If it seems to accept and takes it into its mouth, it is a sign that it is to live; if not, it is a sign that it is to die, and she, therefore, throws it into the river. This practice is certainly superstitious in origin, and is practised to a large extent. A woman who is childless and wants a child generally accompanies the mother (with her consent) to the river and takes it (the child) for adoption.

These customs are so common, traditional and extensive that it is difficult to put a check

on them. All governments have so far failed in their attempts to infuse modern culture in them. Any violation of these customs breaks the ring of truth of their social organization and the person guilty of such an act is liable to capital punishment. Though according to the canons of modern civilization the Melanesians are uncivilized, they have that developed sense of adherence to duty which is not commonly found in the civilized world of today.

In the development of art, especially dance, I see that a marvellous Bharata influence is exerted. The rhythm of the dance-movement may well be compared with that of the Manipuri hunter-dance. Foot-strokes, though rough and heavy, are accurate and pleasing. "Angavikshepas" (postures) are attributable to the *Tandava* style of Bharata. Music is powerful and trumpet-like.

Hospitable, brave, warrior-like, keen and correct-sighted, accurate and well-balanced in judgment, as these Melanesians are, they are an asset to humanity.

OBJECTIONS TO HINDU CODE BILLS

By SANAT KUMAR RAY CHAUDHURY

Ex-Mayor, Calcutta

PREAMBLE

To amend and codify :—It is not at all expedient either to amend or codify the Hindu Law, all at once or in successive stages :—

Reasons :—The Hindu Laws of succession are to be found in the Smritis. They are a part of our *Sashtras* and the sanction at the present moment is one of religion.

To amend such laws by votes taken in the Legislature is an act sacrilegious in itself and the laws will not command that respect and obedience which alone can make it endure the test of time.

Moreover, if we take to amending *Sashtric* laws, those portions which we seek to retain, will gradually lose their sanctity and will be disobeyed with a lighter heart.

According to Hindus the moral codes of conduct are obeyed and respected more because there are *Sashtric* Injunctions to that effect than because an infringement of those rules has been made punishable under the Indian Penal Code.

It may be argued that with material progress and change of circumstances a change in the laws is called for. This may be conceded. But the change should come gradually, imperceptibly, by the growth of healthy and reasonable customs modifying the law where it has become archaic, or by judicial interpretation of old texts. The Hindu Law allows the growth of usages and customs to suit the altered conditions, and when proved such usage and customs will outweigh the written text of law.

The general mass of the Hindus most of whom though illiterate are not uneducated have never been asked to send representatives to the Central Assembly for the purpose of altering, amending or codifying their personal laws. If they had been so directed they would certainly have chosen quite a different class of representatives—people on whom they could rely as persons conversant with the Smritis, the difficulties if any which they were feeling regarding the application of *Sashtric* rules, people who are

learned in the Sashttras and able to reconcile conflicting texts and to indicate the course to be adopted if any change was desired. Instead, they have sent to the Legislatures those whom they thought fit to fight the British Bureaucracy and wrest political, economic and material advantages for themselves. It would almost be a breach of trust for these Legislators to attempt tampering with the Hindu Laws based on Smritis and Sashttric sanction.

Regarding codification, it presupposes knowledge of the entire body of laws which is sought to be codified. Now the Hindu Law of which there are many schools with subschools, and which also comprise the special rules of succession, marriage, transfer, etc., sanctioned by usage and custom of particular localities, sects, subjects and families is so vast a subject that it is no disparagement to admit want of knowledge of the entire Law.

Then again the only benefit of codification is the easy reference to particular rules. But being vast and varied the codification of the Hindu Law can never be perfect, and will leave some rules or usages uncoded which will have to be proved otherwise than by reference to the proposed Codes.

The codification will therefore be of doubtful benefit. In fact, it will not serve the purpose better than the text-books on Hindu Law now in use.

There is another serious objection to the amendment and codification of the Hindu Law by these Bills. As section 1 of the Bill provides the Hindu Code with its amendments, etc., will apply to those living in British India. Under the Government of India Act the authority of the Legislature does not extend beyond British India. But there is a very large population of Hindus living outside British India. It not unfrequently happens that members of the same family father, son, or brother are living under different sovereigns, but they are all Hindus and previous to the Code the same personal law used to govern them all. Now after the Code instead of there being simplicity, there will be confusion. The father will be governed by one law, the son by another; lands and properties within British India by one law and those within the states or

elsewhere by another law. This result is to be avoided at all costs.

Coming to the question of the object of Laws according to the Hindu Law (Dharma) is that which holds (Dharyate) the society. Looked at from that angle it is evident that the proposed laws far from holding together the Hindu society and benefiting it, it will within 50 years completely disrupt the same, by dividing and subdividing laws and introducing incompatible and very often unsympathetic if not actually hostile co-sharers. We have the object-lesson of the Mahomedan society before our eyes. That they still have property is due to special features of the personal Law—which by the way they are determined to protect from legislative attacks—viz., the right of making wakf for the benefit of children, which by making the properties inalienable, keep their properties intact. The Hindu Law has no such safeguard, even if it had, it surrendered the same when the Transfer of Property and Succession Acts were passed. So the Code is objectionable as being positively harmful to Hindu Society.

In our opinion Amendments and changes in the law are neither desirable nor have they the desired effect unless those for whom such changes are intended feel that they are necessary. The zeal of Reformers often leads them to make changes without reference to the actualities of the situation. They should take a lesson from the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act which although placed on the statute book in the fifties of the last century is not even now widely availed of. We would earnestly request the Government of India and the Law Member to cry halt and try to ascertain from the published judgments, proceedings of caste meetings, Hindu Sabhas, and other public bodies, whether there is any real demand on the part of the Hindus for a change in their personal laws of inheritance and marriage, before circulating the Bill or setting the Legislative machinery in motion. We can assure them that the Hindu population is not feeling any such difficulty and there is no general demand for any change in their laws.

We, therefore, oppose this attempt to amend and codify the Hindu Law.



GANDHIAN SOCIALISM

BY PRINCIPAL SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A., F.R. ECON. S.

THE Russian experiment in Socialism is, undoubtedly, a landmark in the history of social and economic evolution, and it will be sheer folly to underrate its great value and significance. It is, nevertheless, unfortunate that the well-wishers and admirers of the Soviet experiment tend to run in the stereotyped grooves of Marxist thought and are reluctant to get out of the rut. I have deep regard and admiration for Karl Marx and his original thought; but I refuse to concede that he uttered the last word on socio-economic trend of human evolution. His materialistic conception of history and the theory of "Surplus Value" are, indeed, remarkable and have revolutionized world thought. But we should not rule out the possibility of an equally consistent but different ideal of social reconstruction.

Apropos my article on Gandhian Economics, Mr. Taranath Lahiri in the course of an article in the May issue of *The Modern Review* has pointed out the inconsistencies and flaws of Gandhian economic thought. This is nothing unusual with both the learned professors of orthodox economics and zealous socialists steeped in Marxian philosophy. While I do not profess to be a votary of any cult—Gandhian or otherwise—I do wish to attract the attention of the country towards some of the salient features of Gandhiji's social philosophy and show that it is as logical and scientific as any other theory.

It is now patent that the capitalistic system of world economy is the root-cause of most of our ills and has culminated in the present globe-shaking holocaust of blood and tears. It is incompatible with true freedom and democracy, and inevitably tends to create a gaping gulf between the rich and the poor, through subtle but constant exploitation. Everybody admits that a radical change in our economic system is a dire necessity if the world is to be made safe for peace, freedom or democracy. If the capitalist structure is allowed to remain intact even after this war, life will not be worth living, and the world will be again overwhelmed by a greater tragedy before long. The orthodox economists, however, cannot think in terms of anything save a modified system of

capitalism. They wish to pacify the revolting masses by using fine and suave phrases and throwing a few crumbs of rights and privileges here and there. The well-known Atlantic Charter is, more or less, an attempt in this direction. All such efforts are wholly futile and will lead us nowhere.

The imperative need of adopting some kind of socialism and ending the present system of vested interests and the consequent exploitation is very obvious. The days of patchwork in the form of controlling prices, raising wages and taxing profits are dead and gone; demand for a more equitable and reasonable distribution of wealth can no longer be resisted. The main problem is about the process of introducing socialism, the means that should be employed to level down the rich and level up the poor. The great Russian experiment has now been before the world for nearly two decades. The violent revolution has resulted in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Communist Party reigns supreme. The poor people are, certainly, better off, and Russia today is much stronger, and, perhaps, happier. But is there no alternative to violence and dictatorship in establishing a juster and happier society? There is a possibility and the Gandhian philosophy points out the way.

The thesis of what may be termed Gandhian Socialism is quite plain and consistent. The first fundamental premise of the theory is that violence cannot lead to any kind of lasting peace and socio-economic reconstruction. Violence breeds greater violence and whatever is gained by force needs to be preserved by greater force. Violence is inconsistent with true freedom, and liberty gained through it is tainted with human blood. Gandhiji will, therefore, have nothing to do with it because, to him Socialism is only a means and not an end in itself. Even if it were the end, he does not subscribe to the theory that the end justifies the means. In order to conserve the purity of the end, the means employed towards its attainment must be equally pure. That is why Gandhiji maintains that a socialist society should be established through non-violence and not through a sanguinary revolution.

I submit that this idea of non-violence is no religious sentimentalism, nor is Gandhiji alone in stressing its need and importance. Prof. Laski, after closely analysing the trend of social and political development, has also frankly recognised the futility of active hatred and violence and advocates a 'revolution by consent':

"For hate is of all qualities the most cancer-like to its possessor. It leads us to develop in ourselves the character we condemn in others..... Might in the modern world needs to be clothed with right if it is to be sure that it will achieve permanence. The spiritual life of Europe belongs not to Cæsar and Napoleon, but to Christ; the civilization of the East has been more influenced by Buddha than by Ghengis Khan or Akbar. It is that truth we have to learn, if we are to survive. We overcome hate by love, and evil by good; baseness begets only a progeny like to itself."—*Grammar of Politics*.

Surely, Harold Laski cannot be dismissed as a sentimental thinker.

The last world war was fought to make the world safe for democracy and to establish lasting peace. But the violent suppression of Germany gave birth to Hitler and if Hitler is overwhelmed by force, a Super-Hitler is sure to be born in the wake of violent peace. It is no use remarking that violence has been the way of the world and it cannot be changed by Buddhas and Gandhis. The biological theory of human society has long been exploded and to aver still that the world must continue to be 'red in tooth and claw' is vain intellectualism. True peace, happiness and equality cannot be achieved by traversing the beaten track of blood and force; it is sure to lead us to the deep abyss of death. The trend of world events bears ample testimony to this view. To me, therefore, Gandhian Non-violence is not a 'futile sentiment' but the frank recognition of hard realities and a way out of the present slough of despondency.

The second fundamental premise of Gandhian Socialism is that centralization of any kind is inconsistent with true freedom and equality. He has, therefore, a real horror for any centralized control whether in a Capitalist State or a Socialist regime. That is why Gandhiji, though he admires the ultimate ideal of Soviet Communism, is against the concentration of power in one individual, however great he may be. He is against the centralization of both political and economic power. That is why he pleads for decentralized industries and village communities.

Gandhiji is again not alone in his denunciation of centralization and concentration of power. Although the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat is supposed to be necessary only during the period of transition it is quite doubtful whether the power once attained will be voluntarily relinquished. Mr. Joad, writing in his *Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics*, observes:

"The study of history suggests that dictatorships from their very nature become, as they grow older, not less, but more extreme; not less, but more sensitive to and impatient of criticism. Developments in the contemporary world support this view. Yet the theory of Communism postulates precisely the reverse of what history teaches, and maintains that at a given moment a dictatorial government will be willing to reverse the engines, to relinquish power, and, having denied liberty, to concede it. Neither history nor psychology affords any warrant for this conclusion."

Mr. Cole has also pointed out that since Communism is regarded as a world movement, the present centralized control will be needed as long as the existence of capitalism outside Russia still faces the U. S. S. R. with the risk of counter-revolution. Thus the 'withering away' of the State, with its paraphernalia of dictatorship, violence and rigid control of public life, is postponed to an indefinite future.

Prof. Ginsberg in his *Psychology of Society* also lends support to Gandhiji's fear of centralization:

"The Syndicalists and Marxians seem to think that genuine self-government will be possible after the 'revolution.' It is difficult to see any real justification for this belief. Any centralized form of government is bound to be oligarchical in tendency. We are told that the State will wither away. . . . But in that case there is certain to arise a new dominant minority."

Prof. Ginsberg concludes that 'any policy of reconstruction that is to be of real value must aim at decentralization.'

The third important premise of Gandhiji's Socialism is the dignity of labour and its influence on our intellectual and moral development. Gandhiji's enunciation of the Basic Education popularly known as the Wardha Scheme is based on the same principle. He maintains that intelligent manual labour is conducive to the natural development of the mind; it is even essential for healthy intellectual growth. The intimate relation of mind-culture with hand-culture has been emphasized by all the modern psychologists, and education through handiwork is now recognised as a sound psychological proposition. Gandhiji believes that an empty mind is the devil's workshop, and, to him, the lure of leisure is a dangerous moral trap. The problem of utilising leisure will be even more difficult than the problem of finding leisure, and want of sufficient work will generally lead to physical, intellectual and moral dissipation.

It is on these three main pillars of Non-violence, Decentralization and Dignity of Labour that Gandhiji builds up his Socialism of rural economy. To destroy the capitalists' vested interests, he will not resort to violent revolution. Instead, he advises the masses to give up the use of mill-products and patronize cottage industries. If the articles produced by the capitalists are boycotted, most of the "big business" will collapse automatically without the necessity of any violence. The technique of strikes alone cannot succeed so long as the general public continues to co-operate with capitalism. If we begin to use only products of cottage or small-scale industries, Khadi and *gur*, for example, the big textile and sugar factories will gradually close down, and the national wealth that bloated the pockets of a few capitalists will be distributed among the proletariat. At present the direction of economic drain is from the villages to the towns but with the general use of cottage products the direction will be reversed and wealth will begin to flow from the cities to the villages. We need not wait for the capture of political power to implement this programme; we can begin the process at once depending on our own strength. What we wear and eat lie in the domain of our personal liberty, and nobody can interfere with our choice. Thus, by exercising our personal rights intelligently we can alter the present capitalistic structure of society a great deal. The capitalist will be levelled down and the proletariat will be pulled up without any spectacular political convulsion.

The cottage industries will provide employment to a growing number of people, and the evils of large-scale factory system will gradually disappear. The worker will be his own master, and he will have living interest in his work. The village will be almost self-sufficient, and production will tend to be simultaneous with distribution. The middle-men will have hardly any place in such a self-sufficient society and consequently exploitation will gradually disappear root and branch. Centralization and large-scale planning will then be unnecessary and the villages will develop into self-governing republics federated into a nation. With the growing economic power of the masses, their political power will also increase, and in the federal legislature the capitalist will cease to

be the 'villain' behind the curtain. The key or basic industries like Iron and Steel, and Transport may then be organised on a national basis, excluding the possibility of capitalistic profiteering.

Besides a non-violent bloodless revolution, this civilization of rural economy will be a proof against foreign exploitation leading to imperial domination, because empires rest on capitalism and a country in which there is no possibility of large-scale exploitation will be no attraction for any empire. This is how Gandhiji dreams of real and lasting independence for India through the message of his spinning wheel which to him is the symbol of non-violence, decentralized industry and dignity of labour.

Gandhiji is a man of vision. He gives us his outline of a new picture, and leaves the details to be painted in course of the experiment. He does not wish to be dogmatic regarding the contours and shades of the picture. For example, he does not exclude the modern conveniences from his village communities. They may have electricity, radio-sets, telephones and the water-closets. The houses may be quite artistic, with lawns and flower-gardens. There may be printing presses, dairies, bakeries and other modern facilities. Gandhiji will not like to impose any undue asceticism on the people. His main conditions are that there should be sufficient work for all, and the possibility of exploitation should be excluded. There should be no unnecessary infringement of civil liberties owing to excessive centralization. In such a country there will be real non-violent Socialism with true liberty, equality and fraternity. To achieve such social organisation, the people have to be educated along right lines. They must be made to understand the basic principles of Rural Socialism. National-spirited young men should establish living contacts with the masses and silently, slowly but steadily change the whole economic structure of the country. This is Gandhiji's dream; this is his constructive programme. It may be idyllic, and remain a mere dream. But only such dreams ultimately change social values and re-orient civilizations. What is needed is a living faith that moves mountains and an unbending will before which nothing is impossible.

THE DIAMOND IN ANDHRA DESA

By PARASURAMAYYA PINGALY

MINERALOGICALLY, Andhra Desa is one of the richest units of India. What little mineral wealth there is in the province of Madras is mainly in the Andhra Desa. The possibilities of this territory are great, but they have to be brought to light through the work of enthusiastic geologists and mineral prospectors with as little delay as possible. Taking a regional view of the geology of the Andhra country, it is noted that it consists of formations yielding or capable of yielding valuable minerals of economic value.

"Except for the exploitation of some of the manganese in the Vizagapatam District and the half-hearted mining of mica by admittedly crude methods in Nellore District, it may be safely said that the resources are practically untouched."

Out of the minerals found in the Andhra area, diamond is of immense value, importance and interest especially from an industrial standpoint.

The earliest account of the diamond fields of Andhra Desa was given by Tavernier, the French traveller in the middle of the seventeenth century. Another account, in which several localities not mentioned by Tavernier are included, was submitted to the Royal Society of England in 1677 by Earl Marshal Howard of England. Information of a general character, dealing especially with the distribution of the diamond in this area, has also been given by H. W. Voysey, B. Heyne and Dr. V. Ball.

Most of the historical diamonds are of Andhra origin, only two or three coming from Brazil. The richest mines, where the large stones were found are in the South, mostly near the Krishna river. The diamonds were discovered in sand-stones or conglomerates, or the sands and gravels of river-beds. Andhra Desa, "the Kimberley of South India," enjoyed the monopoly of supplying the world's demand for diamonds up to the discovery in 1725 of the precious stone in Brazil. If we except the Cullinan stone which weighed 3025½ carats or about 1/3rd lb., the mines of South Africa and Brazil cannot compare with the old mines of Andhra Desa, the birth-place of large, perfect diamonds of international reputation and great fame.

The following are the important localities where there are immense possibilities for the renovation of this mineral industry.

1. *Anantapur District* :—Wajra Karur.—Considerable interest was aroused about the year 1880 by

the discovery near this place of a volcanic 'neck' filled with decomposed rock bearing a striking resemblance to the matrix of the diamond 'Blue Ground' at Kimberley in South Africa. This 'neck' was fully examined by Foote and Lake and found that it is quite different from the 'Blue Ground' of Kimberley. Round about this village in Anantapur District, diamonds are picked up on the surface of the ground to the East of the village after a fall of rain. It is mentioned that a diamond from this locality, valued at £10,000, was in the possession of Mr. R. S. Orr of Madras. According to the report submitted by Howard in 1677 on the mines then working here, stones weighing from 4 to 8 seers were taken out from this locality of world-fame.

2. *Cuddapa District* :—Chennur—Kanunparti or Kondapeta and Woblapalli mentioned by Newbold, Voysey and Heyne, are known to have produced good diamond crystals. An account of these mines is given by Gribble in the Cuddapah Manual.

3. *Godavari District* :—Bhadrachalam.—Here diamonds are sometimes found in the bed of the Godavari river near the town.

4. *Guntur District* :—Kollur (Sattenapalli Taluq).—When visited by Tavernier in 1645, the mines were very productive, when 60,000 persons are said to have been engaged in the mining operations. It was in this mine that the famous "Koh-i-Noor" was found.

Madagula and Malavaram are two other important localities in this district; the mines in the former locality were very productive but unhealthy as stated by Howard.

5. *Krishna District* :—The diamondiferous areas are on the left bank of the river Krishna between Bezwada and the District boundary with the Nizam's dominions.

Golapalli, Malavilli, Kodavatakallu and Partala are the important localities in this district where mining operations were carried on. Heyne mentioned that the mines in Kodavatakallu area produced several bullock-loads of diamonds, though obviously this is improbable. An account of these mines can be read in the District Manual compiled by Mackenzie.

6. *Kurnool District* :—Banaganapalli, Guttimani-konda, Kannamadakalu, Munimadagu and Ramulkota are the most important localities where numerous ancient workings are found.

So far I have given the readers a list of important diamond-bearing localities, where great productive mines were worked and where there are still several possibilities to renovate this mineral industry. Now it will not be out of place to give hereunder short historical sketches of some of the most important diamonds produced by some of the aforementioned mines.

THE REGENT OR PITT DIAMOND

This historic gem was found at Paritala—a village about 20 miles from Bezwada on the road to Hyderabad. The present estimated value of this stone is Rs. 65,00,000. It weighs about 400 carats. The story connected with this diamond is very interesting. A poor cooly working in the mines concealed this gem in a big sore in his leg before he presented himself for the scrutiny of the watchman in the evening.

The practice in those good old days was to search all mine labourers in a completely naked condition. All the parts of the body where a gem can be secreted, were all carefully searched before the labourers were let off in the evening.

As romance would have it, fortunately the poor cooly's ulcer was not examined by any one and the labourer could therefore bring the historic gem out of the mine unobserved. As purchasers of stolen property were always present near the mines even during those despotic days, the cooly sold the gem to a Gujarati merchant for a few rupees sufficient to purchase salt and rice to keep his body and soul together for a couple of weeks. The Gujarati merchant in turn took this historic gem to Masulipatam which was in those days the greatest sea port on the Coromandal coast. Here he sold it to the captain of the ship lying at anchor. The Commander of the vessel took this stone to Madras and sold it to the then Governor of Madras, Mr. Pitt. His Excellency had to spend sleepless days as long as the gem was in his possession; and finally after a long and tedious negotiation sold it to the Regent of France for the paltry sum of three and three-quarter million francs. The history of the French nation has a para referring to this immortal Andhra gem. The Great Napoleon Bonaparte, when the representation assembly of his country refused to vote for the necessary money to prosecute some of his ambitious wars had, it is said, mortgaged this gem and raised the needed money to maintain a part of his army in the field.

KOH-I-NOOR

When children residing in any part of the civilized world are questioned to state the seven wonders of the world, you will hear from their lips that *Koh-i-Noor* is one of them. Tradition has it that this noble gem was worn by Karna of the Mahabharata war more than 5000 years ago. When Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739, this gem fell into the hands of the invader. After a long history it went into the hands of the Lion of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh. When this great warrior was once questioned by his friend to state the price of the gem, Ranjit Singh in a joking mood had estimated its price to be two good kicks. By this he meant that Kings would surely invade the dominions of any man owning *Koh-i-Noor*, as it is a pride to own this gem. When the British had finally invaded Punjab in 1805 this historic gem went into the hands of the East India Company, which by

right of conquest considered this as the property of the British Crown and presented it to Queen Victoria through Lord Dalhousie. After this date the gem was recut and therefore lost some of its weight. Its present value can be safely estimated at rupees fifteen lakhs. The late lamented V. Ball, M.A., F.G.C., has expressed his opinion that *Koh-i-Noor* was discovered in the famous diamond mine then existing on the banks of the river Kristna, in the present Sattenapalli Taluq of Guntur District.

ORLOFF

The reader has seen how the gems of Andhra Desa were connected with the histories of France and England. Now this gem *Orloff* is going to carry the fragrance of Andhra Desa to the throne of Russia. In those early days of the European struggle for supremacy in South India, when the French and the English were fighting hard to gain a foothold in the neighbourhood of the rock fortress of Trichinopoly, when the boom of the big guns of both France and England was sending a thrill into the hearts of the innocent population in the surroundings of Sriangam, many villages and temples were evacuated by the poor inhabitants. An enterprising soldier in the service of the French, probably out of curiosity, stepped into an evacuated temple dedicated to Brahma. In the darkness of the interior the inquisitive soldier saw something throwing out rays of light. With bayonet fixed, he had advanced into the solemn darkness of the interior of the temple where stood the idol of Brahma. Knowing that the Hindus lavish wealth on the idols of the temples, he at once suspected that one of the eyes of Brahma that radiated light must have been set of a costly diamond. Applying the point of bayonet to the eye of the idol, he succeeded in taking out the diamond and sold it for about £2000 to the skipper of an English vessel. After a good deal of changing of hands it was finally sold to Prince Orloff of Russia for the small sum of about fifteen lakhs of rupees.

GREAT MOGUL

This is considered to be the largest of the Indian diamonds. When Tavernier, the great French traveller, visited India in the 17th century, he saw this gem. The original weight of the gem is said to be 787 carats and its birth-place was decided to be the Kollur mine on the banks of the river Kristna. This great gem has mysteriously disappeared from the world and nothing is known of it after Tavernier's return to Europe.

HOPE

Among the diamonds, those that have a violet tint about them are always sold for a higher price. One of the largest of the violet-tinted diamonds is the Hope which weighs 45 carats. This gem which is considered to be one of the most beautiful gems in the world, was also discovered at the famous Kollur mine in the Guntur District. Tavernier first purchased it from the Indian mines in 1642 and sold it to King Louis XIV. In course of time by right of purchase the gem went to America. Its price is estimated to be about nine lakhs of rupees.

AKBAR-SHAH

This gem which is now valued at nearly four lakhs of rupees is the property of His Highness the Gackwad of Baroda. This gem was originally owned by the great Moghul Emperor Akbar and must have been discovered in one of the mines on the banks of the river Kristna.

DARYA-INOR

This gem weighing 186 carats can still be seen in the diamond collection of the King of Persia. It is needless to say that it was produced in one of the Andhra mines. Its price can be safely estimated at rupees five lakhs.

NIZAM

This large gem is now considered to be the property of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. Its approximate weight is estimated at 340 carats and may be valued at rupees six lakhs.

MOON OF THE MOUNTAINS

This is another historic gem won by Nadir Shah at Delhi and after his murder went into the hands of an American trader. This is now among the jewels of the Russian crown.

GREAT TABLE

Tavernier saw this stone at Golkonda in 1642. It then weighed about 245 carats. Its price can safely be estimated at six lakhs of rupees.

SANCY

This is another gem that is associated with so many historic persons. Some consider that this was one of the gems worn by Charles the Bold. In course of time it went into the hands of Queen Elizabeth of England. After a century King Louis XIV of France purchased it from James II. Its weight was then believed to be about 55 carats. It also came from one of the great Indian diamond mines. Apart from its weight and purity of water, the gem, if it is brought to market, can fetch as a historic relic some millions of pounds sterling.

NASSAK

When the Deccan was finally subdued by the triumph of the armies of Britain, the East India Company sent to England some valuable jewels and gems captured in this country, and when this Deccan booty was put to auction in London in the year 1837 one of the gems which went by the name of *Nassak* was sold to a London jeweller for a sum of £7200. Its weight is believed to be about 79 carats.

Thus you have seen how our gems—gems of Andhra Desa—had the honour to find a place in the histories of European countries. In conclusion, I appeal to all my Andhra brethren, especially the unemployed, to evince interest in this important mineral industry and commence prospecting work at the above-mentioned localities backed up by financiers, without further delay. I would like to emphasise again that within the boundary of Andhra Desa, there is an abundance of mineral wealth, far in excess of what you see in any comparable area in the Madras Presidency and it is nothing but blindness on the part of Andhras if they do not make use of it.

I am confident that if we are so fortunate as to have a separate province of our own, our trials for renovating our old mineral industries are sure to be crowned with success.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Life Insurance in India

By S. SEN, B.A. (Cal.), B.Sc. (Lond.)

In the May issue of *The Modern Review*, the President of the Indian Insurance Companies' Field-workers' Association contributed an interesting article on "Life Insurance in India." But he apparently speaks and thinks mostly from the standpoint of the field-worker. An article with such a caption should refer to certain other problems as well.

It is true that life insurance business in India has

grown without any Government aid or protection. But this is only a part of the truth. A considerable portion of the business which was secured by the Indian Companies—and this was the bulk of the total—was secured in competition with well-entrenched non-Indian rivals, who, until the Insurance Act of 1938 came into force, enjoyed a measure of freedom, thanks to the Government's inaction, that virtually amounted to a preference.

They were not required to submit any separate returns to the Government of India in respect of their Indian business; and since, unlike the Indian Companies, they were operating on a large scale in various countries outside India also, they could afford to be a little extravagant on their Indian business, if they chose, in an attempt to capture the field and yet on their total world business remain within economic expense limits. This unequal competition as well as, not infrequently, an unhealthy rivalry among Indian life offices themselves gave rise to certain features inimical to sound working. To quote from an article contributed by the writer to *The Review* of London some time ago*: "The Indian Companies have till recently shown a craze for a tall new business figure and along with it also a craze for maintaining high bonus rates, probably at times even at some sacrifice of valuation strength. There is always a pressure on the field force for a big output and the field force inevitably reacts by resorting to any methods expedient for the moment. An agent, fairly successful with one company, is at once 'seduced' by others; and as soon as an agent changes over, a large part of the business he had introduced to his former company also migrates with him to his new company. A business thus often attains a surprisingly high 'velocity of circulation' and travels from the books of one company to those of several others in quick succession."

"It is often claimed that the race for new business and big bonus is due to the fact that the Indian insuring public is impressed by big figures in respect of both. There is probably truth in the argument. But even companies with low bonus have been known to do good business in India simply because they had an effective organisation. It is perhaps, the policy of the management of the companies which is more to blame; it is they who too often evaluate companies by bonus and new business figures, or, at any rate, they are afraid of any unfavourable comparisons with others in respect of these."

The general return on investments is now very low. Super-added to this, insurance managements in India are confronted with a special difficulty in securing a good yield on their investments, since they are compelled under the Insurance Act of 1938 to invest a sum equivalent to as much as 55 per cent. of their liabilities under life insurance policies in certain types of securities with a low interest yield. The unwisdom of this provision of the Act, at least in its present form, and its unfavourable repercussions on insurance business and on the policy-holders' interests as well are now practically admitted on all hands. Demands for amendment of this Section have been insistent. It is to be hoped that the Commerce Member-designate, who has a thorough and intimate knowledge and understanding of the problems and difficulties of Insurance companies as much as of finance and investment, will do something for an early rectification of the position. Be that as it may, since the surplus at valuations comes mostly from interest-earnings, big surpluses and high rates of bonus are unlikely in the near future. Bonus as a selling point and as a getter of large new business is therefore not likely to figure in the insurance market now. These are factors which call for a revision of policy and attitude on the part of our life insurance companies. A long view of their problems and of their responsibilities must be taken by insurance managements. They must realise that the large measure of standardisation which the Insurance Act has introduced will apparently serve to narrow down the differences between companies in

the matter of returns on investments, in bonus rates and probably in premium rates as well. The strength of the financial position of a company and the element of service and privileges given to policy-holders are therefore likely to be the deciding factors in the insuring public's choice of companies. It is to the improvement of these that insurance companies should now turn and it is on these that they should try to focus public attention. Unfortunately, it appears that not all insurance executives have been quick to recognize the inevitability of some of the features of the present situation, or else we would not have had requests to Government from insurance men for legislation to prohibit declaration of bonus by life offices at valuations falling due during the war. It is true that in critical times like the present life insurance companies must conserve all the resources they can. Valuations should, therefore, be stringent and bonuses should not be declared and paid on the basis of a weak valuation; the Superintendent of Insurance, however, has powers under the Act to check weak valuations. Why then invite Government interference? Let the insuring public instead know and be educated to appreciate that in the present circumstances life offices cannot be expected to continue paying high bonus or probably any bonus at all. Government action in such a matter is likely to put the public off the track as to the real facts and may even help to cover up the inefficiency of a company in some cases. The problem of the future for life insurance companies is essentially a problem of sounder administration, of approaching questions in the proper perspective with a long view and a closer adherence to the tenets and requirements of actuarial science.

Of course, there is also the field-workers' problem. Their difficulty, however, is not so much the restriction of first year's commission to 40 per cent. of the premium. In fact, the real point of criticism against this restriction is not that field-workers have been given too little but that if the expenses of life offices are to be restricted or controlled, why single out only one item of the expenses, namely, the commission paid to agents? To be scientific and to be consistent, all the items, that is, the total expenses, should be controlled; of course, whether such Governmental control is on principle good or bad is a different question. However, that may be, the real difficulty of field-workers arises not because new commission higher than 40 per cent. is not allowed by the Act, but because, to judge by reports, in far too many cases they do not have the entire 40 per cent. all to themselves. The evil of rebating, if reports are to be believed, still continues on a considerable scale, even though the 1938 Act prohibits both the giving and taking of rebates. This evil is not easy to eradicate and even countries of the West, where the value of life insurance as well as the service rendered by insurance underwriters is appreciated much more than in India, have not been able to root out this evil: nevertheless, to the extent that field-workers by their organised efforts and with the help of other agencies are able to reduce this evil, pro tanto would their hardships be reduced. One other thing that would make the job of field-workers easier is to impart them proper scientific training: what they may lose in commission margins in individual cases, they would then be able to make up in bulk. It is an undoubted fact that for want of training an average insurance agent now loses business every time he books a case. He does not know the technique of scientific canvassing and is often satisfied with an insurance proposal for a much smaller amount than what the proposer can and should insure for.

* *The Review*, June 7, 1940.

GAMES AND PASTIMES OF KERALA

By L. K. BALARATNAM

GRADUAL degeneration is the keynote of the history of national games in Kerala today. Many of the old village games are now being completely forgotten and are now replaced by foot-ball and cricket matches. It is necessary that we know what relics are left of the ancient glory of our national games, the true foundation upon which the national character is built. The comparative study of games is one which promises an important and extremely interesting contribution to the study of culture. The several questions involved in their diffusion over the world are the essential ones that can be found and pondered over by students of Ethnology.

The late Dr. L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, in his interesting volumes on the Ethnology of Cochin and Mysore States, points out that games have also a magico-religious origin and significance. He continues :

“The origins are lost in the unwritten history of the childhood of man and when the games of children and grown-up are studied or examined with a view to gain some ethnological lessons from them, it will be seen that many of them are sportive lessons which are nothing more than the imitations of serious business of life.”

An attempt is made in the following pages to give a brief description of some of these games which make their fitful appearance in festival days mainly during Onam and make a sudden blushing exit.

(a) *Kuzhi-Pandu* (Pit-ball) :—Of the various games which are played with much zest, the one with the ball is the most important and highly interesting. Any number of boys may take part in this exciting game. An open ground with plenty of running space for the players is chosen. Pits are dug. These are small and round about 4 or 5 inches in diameter and of the same depth. They are in several rows so as to form a square or an oblong. Each boy has a pit assigned to him. In front of these pits, at a pretty good distance, say 4 or 5 feet, sits the umpire whose pleasurable and onerous duty it is to set the ball in motion. He must be impartial in his work and leave to chance into what pit the ball falls. Each player should stand near his pit before the ball is rolled. When the ball falls into one pit, all save the boy to whom it belongs run away quickly within the specified area. The owner of the pit throws the ball from the place against any one of the rest. Should the ball hit any one the latter gets a black mark. This is indicated usually by putting a small stone into his pit. The game is thus repeated. Whoever first gets ten black marks is made the butt

of derision and laughter. He is also punished lightly. He is to place the palm of his right hand on a wall. Each of the players standing at a distance of 15 ft. from him, throws the ball, so as to strike at the back of the hand. The ball gives the poor boy some pain. But should it hit any other part of his body, the one that throws it shall undergo a similar punishment. If a player has no black mark, he can have the ball thrown ten times.

(b) *Kayyankali* :—Kayyankali or boxing is a violent game which possesses all the risks of an ancient duel. The combatants should only use their fists in attack. Players form two equal and opposing parties. One man issues forth from the ranks of one party and advances in measured steps to the middle of the field. Immediately from the opposite party comes out his match with the same measured steps, to meet him. When the opponents meet, they exchange blows. If the match is good, no single blow (however well-aimed) will fall on the opponent. The left elbow supplies the shield and the right arm the weapon of attack.

In the fury of the game the spectators on both sides stand almost dumb in anxious expectation of the final result. Each party shouts at the victory of its champion which is indicated by the falling of the opponent to the ground. The victorious party wins the applause of the spectators.

(c) *Kittiyum Pullum* :—Kittium pullum is perhaps the one national game of Kerala which is even now in vogue and played by young and old. It is usually played by boys whose age ranges between 10 and 15.

A small pit almost 2 inches in depth is made on the ground. It must be such that it can just hold a small wooden piece, 4 or 5 inches in length and half an inch thick tapering at both ends.

The things required are a wooden piece answering to the above measurements and another stick about 1 foot in length.

Players are divided into two groups. Any member of either of the parties commences the game by raising the wooden piece with the stick applying great force. The wooden piece rushes on and the members of the opposite party are expected to catch it. If they succeed in catching it, it is their turn to take the initiative. If they do not catch it, then they must take it from the ground and aim it at the pit where the beginner holds his stick in readiness to ward off the wooden piece and prevent it from falling near the pit. The beginner is expected to try

to keep the wooden piece as far away as possible from the pit. He marks the point where the piece has fallen and measures the distance from the pit to that point, the unit of measurement being the length of the stick. The party which gets the greatest score is the winning party.

This game requires a capacity of correct aiming and wariness. The beginning party must keep the piece as far away as possible from the pit. The opposing party must try to make the piece reach the pit without being struck by the stick.

Kittiyum pullum still commands favour in Kerala, played with delightful dexterity by young and old. But cases there are where the wooden stick in the course of its movement has penetrated into the eyes of the players or the spectators. No wonder therefore that parents have tabooed it to young children.

(d) *Attakalam* (Prize-ring) :—Attakalam is essentially an interesting boyish game, though grown-ups also take part in it occasionally. A large circle is drawn on the ground and 6 or 7 lusty young men are confined in it. An equal number form a tight cordon round them outside. The idea is for the latter to make a rush, and bring outside the former who are within the ring, each by each, with as little harm to themselves as possible. The defenders, who are ever on the look-out, are allowed to inflict blows on the attackers with the open palm of the hand, when they get inside and touch the body of any one amongst the inside group. The attackers, on the other hand, are not entitled to this privilege. They have to succeed by sheer dint of the intensity of their onrush. They can close in and wrestle with the defenders and eject them out of the ring. But the person who is caught is at liberty to struggle hard to prevent his being driven out. If he is necked out, he is no more to remain inside the ring. When the whole lot of the inside party are thus turned out, the first section has finished its turn and is then followed up by the other section. If anybody is left in the ring who cannot be driven out his group is announced successful.

(e) *Kilianthattu* :—This is an interesting and a very exciting game popular amongst boys, though grown-ups also are seen taking an active part in it. Several planes are drawn on the ground. Each one is marked as a fort. It is guarded by a boy though sometimes we see two if the line is long. The idea is for the opposing group to attack the guarding party and pass untouched by them through each fort-wall. Once within the fort-wall, a touch of the guard-

ing party will be of no avail. The opposing group has to get off safely the circumspection of the guard. If passage to the other side is gained by the opposite section, the guarding party loses the game. The attackers take the guard in turn. This game attracts a number of spectators during the mela season.

(f) *Hand-ball Matches* :—A small stick is fixed firmly at a particular place. Healthy and strong young men divide themselves into two rival groups. One party stands at the post, while the other a little away from it. The ball (made of coir rope) is thrown with the hand towards the rival party who try to catch it and stop its onward course. One of the members takes it in hand and, aiming at the post, throws the ball in its direction. If the ball hits the post, or if any one member of the opposing group catches the ball before it has once touched the ground, then that particular player's turn is over. Another man takes his place and so on, until all the individuals of one group have had each his turn. Then the opposing section begins to play in the very same manner and with the same rules in force. The process is continued many a time, and then the whole lot of them proclaim publicly the issue of the match.

(g) *Combats* :—In fete-days, day-long combats are held, either between two doughty champions or between two batches of strong-muscled combatants. Generally, the people of one particular locality resolve themselves into two rival camps under leaders of established reputation. The match is opened by the leader of any group bringing one of his satellites to the space intervening between places where the two parties are ranged. The champion chosen challenges one from the opposing section to meet him in fair fight and defeat him. The gauntlet is immediately taken up and the combat begins between the two formidable champions. The interested spectators watch with eager eyes the issue of the fight, cheering the combatants vociferously. The shouts of the partisans of the champions rend the air. The winner is profusely garlanded and deluged with valuable presents more generally of clothes and money, by the generous and rich amongst the present.

Combats though of less occurrence now than in days gone-by are still to be witnessed during festival days.

(h) *The Archery Contest* :—The most exciting of all the games, perhaps, is the archery contest which is in vogue in certain parts of North Malabar. The stage is set in a rectangular plot of ground (say 40 yds.×30 yds.). At one

end of it is a target of some soft material into which the shaft easily penetrates. Two parties of archers (some 10 in each party), range themselves at the other end. A member of one party lets fly a shaft. It hits the target and he has to run at a quick trot to get possession of it again. But before he can do so, shafts in quick succession are aimed at the target by the opposing party. If any one of them hits the mark, the runner's hands are stayed. He has now to step aside. Immediately, an archer of the second section races to fetch the arrows of his group. If before he can do so a volley of shafts from the other section sinks into the target, he is defeated in his attempt and so he has naturally to come back. At times the shafts of one party fall wide of the mark and do not at all hit the target before the other party succeed in plucking theirs. At such times, the latter are entitled to collect not only their own arrows but those of the other party lying scattered all over the ground. Thus the contest goes on. In the end, the side which gathers the largest number of shafts is declared victorious in the contest.

This game is watched with the greatest interest by hundreds of spectators who come flocking from the neighbouring villages to witness the fun. That archery had an important place during Onam, has been testified to by St. Bartholomew who compares these physical feats to those of the Roman Seralia and Juvanalía. Forbley and Fasset also refer to these. "The custom prevalent in several places in Malabar, of the low caste man bringing to every house a coloured little bow and receiving some small presents, must certainly be a relic of the practice of archery."

(i) *Chess* :—The chess is a masculine intellectual game of very ancient origin. It is claimed that the game became prevalent in Kerala from a very early time. This view is supported by the chess-boards drawn on carved granite slabs either in the Gopuram or in the Balikkalpura of old temples. The game needs no detailed description as it has its counterpart in all lands. Except for some minor variations the chess-play is similar to its English namesake. Although much intellectual acumen is needed in this game, there is always an element of chance, and this really makes it exciting, nay interesting.

In 1630, Brathwait wrote in his *English Gentlemen* "that there is no one game which may seem to represent the state of man's life to the full so well as the chess." The central figure of many romances, Richard Cœur de Lion, is stated to have played it. Hazlitt, in the

last century, knew that it called forth a good capacity to play well at the game. Ruskin's great interest in chess is revealed in his scholarly contributions to the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Westminster Gazette*. There he considers it to be a military game.

The great Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, too, we are told, was an expert in chess-play and the writings of the contemporary Portuguese chroniclers have many a reference to his interest in the game. Thus chess has had a long and honoured history and it is no surprise that it is so popular today.

(j) *Dicing* :—An equally famous pastime during the Onam festival is dicing. A description is not attempted here as it is too well-known a pastime.

Mark Antony wasted his time at Alexandria playing at it; Nero was greatly fond of it and Claudius wrote a book on it. And who does not call to mind the woes of the Pandavas after Yudhistira's discomfiture in dice-play?

(k) *Card-play* :—Card-play is a foreign introduction. It is also equally well-known and so does not need a description here.

(l) *Boating* :—Boating is a favourite sport in many parts of India and perhaps nowhere more ornate than it is in Malabar. From very early times Travancore and Cochin afforded all facilities for boating, studded as they were with a large number of streams and rivers, lagoons and lakes. The long-snake-boats as they race in the water afford a spectacular show, simply grand and picturesque.

(m) *Hide-and-seek* :—The most common feminine indoor game is hide-and-seek not only in Malabar but everywhere. Six or seven girls can take part in this game. One of them is selected for finding out the rest. Her eyes are closed with the hands by another girl. In the meantime, the others hide themselves in suitable places within a specified area. After a few minutes the selected girl is allowed to find out the rest. The first girl found and caught will take her original place. The game is thus continued with great enthusiasm.

(n) *Pallāṅkuzhi* :—This game is played only by girls. The materials required consist of a board with two rows of cup-shaped depressions and a few handfuls of seeds of tamarind (*Terminalia tomentosa*) fruits which are transferred quickly from one depression to another. In the one used commonly by South-Indian girls there are 14 such depressions. Two, three or four girls take part in the game, each taking possession of six, four or three such ones. The

players seat themselves with the board placed between them. The game is begun by one of the two members, who puts twelve seeds in each of the twelve depressions, and only one in each of the two central ones. One of them begins to play taking the seeds from one of them and distributing them among the rest. The operation is continued again by taking the seeds from the next one until there is none to be put in the central one, when her play comes to a close. The other now takes up the game, and repeats the same process. When there are three or four, each of them has the seeds in three or four depressions into which the distribution of the seeds is effected. Neither great skill nor any intelligence whatsoever is necessary for this game, the result being only a mathematical certainty according to the manner in which the distribution takes place. The girls play this game sometimes in holes made in the ground when they have no board. It has now been ascertained that this game originated in Arabia and made its way gradually into diverse parts of the world.

(o) *Kaikottikali* :—Kaikottikali is a time-honoured entertainment for the women-folk of Kerala. Any number of ladies can take part in it. Without touching each other, they dance in a circle singing songs in chorus under the leadership of one of them and keeping time with the hands. Numerous songs based on epic and puranic themes have been written for this purpose and they form one of the lighter branches of Malayalam literature.

Kaikottikali presents a great variety of steps from very simple to very complicated, difficult and strenuous ones. It serves also the double purpose of physical exercise and mental relaxation.

This type of folk-dance used to be common once. But in recent years, our educated young women have come to look down upon it with contempt.

(p) *Oonjal* :—*Oonjal* is a swinging game enjoyed greatly by girls during the Onam festival. During the swinging, songs called *Oonchalpattu* are sung by them in slow measure. The spectacle of young belles and little children rocking in the swings gallantly is indeed an impressive one.

(q) *Kōlāttam* :—In this "picturesque" game, a number of girls gather in a circular row with coloured small sticks in pairs and strike the sticks of the neighbour, according to the time measure of the song which is sung at the time. The game is very pleasing to the looker-on and

is usually enjoyed during the Onam festival and also during marriages.

The *Kōlāttam*, with its own peculiar music and the click-clack of the sticks, is a pastime of considerable vogue in South India and was popular among women in the Vijayanagara Empire as could be judged from details found in the accounts of Pietro della Valle and foreign travellers of that period.

(r) *Ammanakali* (Throwing and Catching Balls) :—*Ammanakali* is a game demanding considerable skill and training on the part of the girls. The balls necessary for the game are sometimes made of bell-metal, though usually they are made of some heavy wood and coloured with dyes. The balls are in size less than our cricket balls. The game consists in throwing not less than three balls to a considerable height and catching them by the right and left hand alternatively.

The gradual but steady incursion of western civilization tends to render these trials of strength and skill obsolete. These games have had a glorious past. Business pre-occupations naturally have made the people of Kerala oblivious of the charm, glory and majesty of these games which were cherished and developed with enthusiasm by their forefathers. The games, it must have been noticed by the reader, require great muscular strength and tenacity of the sinews. They make their fitful appearance in festival days mainly during the Onam and make a sudden blushing exist.

"British rule," wrote an author in the *Sunday Times*, "is responsible for considerably cooling down the military ardour of the people, and these moribund fights are but weak expressions of the once dominant characteristic of a martial race."

The responsibility must not entirely be apportioned to the British regime in India. The people of Kerala have begun to realise with regret the decline of their hoary culture and the advent of occidental fashions. They realise that they ought to devise measures for the restoration of the games of the past and that the influence of games on their social, religious and economic status is immense.

At a time, therefore, when there is a revival of interest in indigenous culture which is the soul of a nation, it is surely a privilege and a duty to remind ourselves of our heritage in regard to physical fitness and recreations. The survival of some centuries-old pastimes and exercises suited to the genius of the nation is guaranteed enough that the utilisation of leisure, on which depends righteous social and cultural development, will proceed on healthy and proper lines.



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION HANDBOOK :
Edited by Ernest Champness and H. B. Richardson. With a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by the National Adult School Union of Great Britain and the Indian Adult Education Conference Committee. Price Re. 1.

This is one of the happy results of Anglo-Indian Co-operation to the working out of the programme of adult education. The volume consists of more than 30 contributions connected with education from distinguished writers. There are several studies of leaders and thinkers which may be expected to inspire workers for the cause. Village education problems, educational movements, adult education work in India, China, Japan and West Africa fill up the remaining portion. The volume is fittingly concluded by an article from the pen of Mr. J. B. Raju who has identified himself with the work of Indian Adult Education Society. India may well join hands with the British in this noble endeavour and Mrs. Porteous's appeal is specially welcome on this account. Some of the views explained or merely stated are well worth remembering. The movement is not to be restricted to India only. In words which ring true even apart from the context and which, applied to contemporary politics, meet with no dissentient voice on this side of the world, we are told by a great son of India, the Hon. Justice Sir Shah Mohd. Sukhman (now, alas ! a departed spirit) in his capacity of the President, Provisional Committee of the Indian Adult Education Conference : "No part of India can be left alone, because of the close geographical, economic and cultural relations among all the parts."

In course of the Introduction, Sir Radhakrishnan thus emphasises the humanism which is ingrained in his interpretation of religion : "There is a unity of feelings and ideas, a common sensitiveness to life's troubles, a common yearning which cludes thoughts and words, for that mysterious something which we tremblingly call God, who is working in us, who shines with increasing radiance, if only we seek for Him, who impels our wills to create temples and churches, pictures and poems." At the same time in his words, there is no denial of cultural peculiarities nor any quixotic attempt to effect any fusion of all cultures—but the right approach, the recognition of the fact that "the spiritual history of the world is not unitary but federal. It is formed of a number of diverse streams each carrying something of the colour of the soil through which it has run."

The volume will be perused with considerable interest, and it will inspire workers to the lofty mission of educating the people of India.

P. R. SEN

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 1800-1850 : *By Dr. A. Sarada Raju, B.A. (Hons.), Ph.D. Published by the Madras University. 1941. Pp. 322. Price Rs. 10.*

This is a thesis approved by the Madras University for the degree of Ph.D., later published as No. 5 of the publications by Department of Economics of the University of Madras. A work on economic history, this publication entirely draws on official records and reports and chronicles of contemporary writers mostly English. This work reminds one of *India under Early British Rule* by R. C. Dutt, but is confined to one province of the country. There are 19 chapters and 12 appendices and there is every evidence of industry on the part of the writer. As Dr. Lokanathan writes in his Editor's Note : "A full and detailed economic history of India of the nineteenth century embracing all aspects of the economic life of the people is yet to be written." But one wonders if that history could be written at all scientifically. For one thing, data available are very poor and unreliable : even data being collected and published today (like crop forecasts) are unreliable. Secondly, the views of European writers in those days are mostly based on imperfect knowledge and prejudice : Dr. Sarada herself refers to Munro's view that "a plough hardly costs a six pence." (page 293) Dr. Lokanathan has very rightly and appropriately remarked in his Note : "Government by a trading company was hardly suited to bring about the economic amelioration of the people so much needed at the time." Even so late as 1937, the same Dr. Lokanathan had the unpleasant task of pointing out several serious mistakes in Dr. Gilbert Slater's book *Southern India : Its political and economic problems* : to quote only a few lines : "The Moplahs of Malabar are not toddy drinkers and their religion forbids drinking. Syrian Christians do not have the custom of inheritance in the female line: only the Nairs have it. Nataraja is a Sivite deity..." (*British Economic Journal*, 1937: page 146). Thirdly, with regard to many institutions and customs, the research student will inevitably have to depend on hearsay and perhaps to some extent on religious and social literature of the period. For instance, the discussion on credit on page 141 has nothing particular about it relating to the period under review : what the then Governor said, almost the same thing the present Adviser says on the fundamental virtues of a *laissez-faire* policy.

Dr. Sarada has not been an exception to the general worship of the whiteman's burden in India. In her concluding chapter she sings the glories of *pax Britannica* in her period of study. As a compliment it might be all right, but as coming from the University study it is bathos : she says : "There was an efficient system of

control from the centre, and the door to oppression was by no means so wide as before." The matter of fact is that the efficient system of control from the centre deprived this nation of all power of defence—even against internal disturbances, and the Indian nation today is at the very anti-climax—with communal riots, with *hurs*, with helpless evacuees and with the official and non-official leaders worrying their brains as to how to hell the cat. To say that but for the British this country should have had no security of person and property might be passed in England as a viewpoint, but no one in India would take such a view seriously. Dr. Sarada has also referred to the progress in agriculture and in trade: here also, it is rather too rosy a picture. It is very doubtful if agriculture really improved in that period: if it did, it must have been in spite of, not on account of, the enlightened policy of the Company Government. But the author has clearly pointed at the root evil of those days: "We have the breakup of the village community, the weakening of village solidarity and co-operation, and above all the decline of the handicrafts which is the most significant feature of this period." In his editorial Note Dr. Lokanathan stresses the same feature: "The vicious fiscal policy by which raw materials were taxed while foreign goods were given free entry, could not be justified in any circumstances."

Research is its own reward, and in spite of the stupendous difficulties Dr. Sarada has had in her study, the volume is a creditable addition to the literature on the subject.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

RELIGION IN THE U. S. S. R.: *By Wilfred C. Smith. Published by J. P. Chander, Lake Road, Lahore. Pp. 36. Price annas two only.*

This is an objective survey devided into four sections, *viz.*, religion *before* the revolution, religion *and* the revolution, religion *since* the revolution, and anti-religious propaganda. References are given to more elaborate studies by friends and critics of the Soviet on the subject, at the end of the booklet. The pamphlet will be of great help in clearing much of the prejudice due to misrepresentation on the subject of religion, religious practices, and the position of the religious denominations existing in the vast land of the Soviets.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

IN QUEST OF BLISS: *By a Wanderer. Being "a translation of a bunch of poems by the late Shishir Kumar Ghosh." Published by Rai Bahadur N. Dey, Morning Side, Namkum P. O., (Dist. Ranchi). Pp. 132. Price Rs. 2 only.*

The subject-matter of the book is the realisation of God. The author's view is the general *Vaisnava* view, *viz.*, that God cannot be truly seen and realised by means of mere austerities practised away from the world and actual life; but He can be best known in life through its various relations and responsibilities—its sorrows and sufferings as well as its joys and happinesses; and He can be best seen in the world that He has created with its manifold sights and sounds and glorious experiences. The presentation of the theme is allegorical throughout.

The book is replete with spiritual fervour as well as poetical urge.

In the foreword which Prof. Radhakrishnan has written for the book, he refrains from expressing any opinion "about the merits of the English translation," on the ground that he is not acquainted with the original. But even without a comparison with the original, the translator's style cannot fail to strike the reader as supremely poetic. In fact, as one goes through the

book, one feels that one is reading poetry, sometimes with, sometimes without rhyme and rhythm. Sometimes the sentences read like lines of blank verse: *E.g.*, "Sweet as the moon thy face when I see, on a sea of bliss I float" (p. 3). "With the babe in her arms homeward her steps she turned" (p. 4), etc. Sometimes the sentences rhyme also: *E.g.*, "Say, my Lord, say Thy say. Too blind am I to see my way" (p. 131).

The teaching of the book is unassailable. But with its simple logic, as the Translator himself has pointed out (p. vii), "many of the present day thinkers will be inclined to quarrel." But we have this consolation that the word of the present-day thinkers is not the last word on every subject.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE MAHARAJAH RANJIT SINGH CENTENARY VOLUME: *Centenary Celebrations Committee, Cawnpore. The City Book House, Meston Road, Cawnpore. 1940. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*

The centenary of Maharajah Ranjit Singh was celebrated under the Presidentship of Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and the volume under review is released to the public as a fitting tribute to the memory of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. It contains seventeen papers on various phases of the life of Maharajah Ranjit Singh and the Sikh polity. It is rather disappointing that Prof. Sita Ram Kohli who first started a systematic study of the administration of Maharajah Ranjit Singh or Dr. Narendra Nath Sinha has not contributed anything in this Fiftst Centenary Volume in commemoration of the greatness of the one-eyed Lion of the Punjab. However, Dr. Hari Ram Gupta has made a scholarly survey of the Sikh history down to the birth of Ranjit Singh. Rao Bahadur Sardesai's appreciation is also well-written. The wide political vision of Ranjit Singh peeps through the letter written to Maharajah Man Singh of Marwar (translated by Pandit Bishewar Nath Keu). Though it is hard to believe the story that Maharajah Ranjit Singh like a second Moses parted the waves of the Indus for a safe passage of his army on one occasion, the Hon'ble Sir Sundar Singh Majithia has given us a lesson in the form of an anecdote. Fanaticism and intolerance everywhere burst forth in the average man suddenly springing to power. So some Sikhs complained to the Maharajah that "they were disturbed in the morning by the *Azan* of the Muhammadans. The old Chief replied that if the Sikhs undertook to awake the Muhammadans at the time of call to prayers, he would stop the Muhammadans from calling *Azan*" (p. 147). Here is a genuine flash of the unlettered genius of Ranjit Singh. How many of us realise the homely truth that those who really switch on their hearts to the Word of God and of the Saints are not disturbed by the *Azan* or music, but only those who make a pretence of prayer keeping their ears alert on the roadside and waiting for an opportunity to pick up a quarrel. A great man and ruler is he who knows how to lead his people without being led by them even under democratic urge. Under normal conditions we see the sheep guiding the footsteps of the shepherd—who how ever would not deserve better regard than a sheep if the flock refuse to obey his call at any time.

It is said that one English gentleman in the Court of Maharajah Ranjit could not discover for six months that the Punjabi Lion was blind of one eye, the other being sufficiently fiery to dazzle others! So we think, it would require more than one Centenary celebration to appreciate Ranjit's greatness and measure his success.

K. R. QUANUNGO

A. B. C. OF ECONOMICS (PART I) : *By Jaya Raj. Yeshanand Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 169 with an appendix of 65 pages. Price Rs. 2.*

The author of this monograph desires to present a study of the economic problems in four parts. In the first part, now under review, only the definitions of the various economic terms are set forth with general observations thereon. Although, it is not possible to assess the merit of the study as a whole before the other three parts are available, it nevertheless, gives an idea of the author's views on the economic problems in general. Mr. Jaya Raj is not a reputed economist, but his treatment of the economic theories gives ample evidence of his clear thinking and lucidity in expression. The book is intended to provide a rudimentary knowledge on the general economic laws and theories, and the author deserves praise for his labours.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

TEN UPANISHADS : *By Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Published by the Sivananda Publication League, Calcutta. Pp. 277. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Swami Sivanandaji has picked out ten Upanishads which mostly deal with the theory and practice of the Raja Yoga. The English translation of the aphorisms is followed by annotations which are very lucid. The author is a Yogi himself and therefore the notes and the commentaries are very illuminating and appealing. No neophyte should be without a copy of this beautiful book to keep him steady in his practices. The ordinary reader too will profit a good deal by its perusal. The inclusion of original Sanskrit text would have enhanced the beauty and usefulness of this book for the Indian reader.

SUHIRID KRISHNA BASU

SANSKRIT

HAMSAVILASA OF SRI HAMSAMITTHU— GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES No. LXXXI: *Edited by Swami Trivikrama Tirtha and Mahamahopadhyaya Hathibhai Shastri of Jamnagar, Oriental Institute, Baroda.*

This is an eighteenth-century Tantric treatise dealing principally with the details of the Tantra form of worship and incidentally with the main principles of the different systems of Brahmanic philosophy as well as of metrics, rhetoric, music and erotics. A knowledge of the last four subjects is supposed to be necessary in the worship of which music and sexual intercourse form a part. It appears, however, to be quite reasonable and proper that these almost irrelevant topics do not find place in any other book on Tantric rituals.

The book, which is in the form of a dialogue between the author and his wife, an active companion in his religious practices, strongly advocates the cause of erotic performances for ritualistic purposes (named *Rasa*, a term well-known to the Vaisnavas) in a manner scarcely met with in any other known Tantric digest. We miss here the solemn restraining tone of the *Nityotsava* (No. 23 of the Series) and the spiritual background suggested by the General Editor in the Introduction of the *Saktisamgamatantra*, Vol. II (No. 91 of the series). It is a strange irony of fate that the present book is followed by the *Saktisamgama* in which erotic passages have been omitted by the learned General Editor lest they should be misinterpreted. It is difficult to say if the book represents the traditional doctrines of a particular school or the personal views of the author, which he seeks to substantiate by stray

quotations from the vast field of Tantric literature, abounding with much that is heterodox and trash.

The editorial technique followed in the work is not up to the mark. There is no description of the critical apparatus and the introduction is quite scrappy. The list, appended at the end of works referred to in the volume does not mention the places where the name of a particular book occurs. No variants are recorded and the editorial emendations are nowhere distinguished by any mark. Occasional printing mistakes and clear instances of solecism, not unlikely due to scribes' error, left uncorrected as well as the not quite happy arrangement of the matter, make the reading of the work far from pleasant.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

YOGASADHANAR BHITTI : *By Sri Aurobindo. Translated by Sri Nalini Kanta Gupta. Published by the Culture Publishers, 25A, Bakulbagan Row, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8 only.*

This is the Bengali translation of Sri Aurobindo's *Bases of Yoga*. The original book contained Sri Aurobindo's answers to the questions relating to the difficulties in the path of Yoga. Though principally intended for Sri Aurobindo's disciples, the book has a wider appeal, inasmuch as it attempts to remove the doubts and difficulties of every one, to whatever system of Sadhana, one may be attached. The translator therefore deserves our thanks for making such a book available for those who are unable to use the English edition. The translation is faithful; the beauty of the style as well as the rhythm of it will remind the reader, at times, of the original.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

HINDI

CHAWAL. Price annas twelve, and HINDUS-TANI KHADYA PADARTHONKA AHARTATTWA AWR UNSE PRAPT JEEWANTATTWA. Price annas two. Issued by the All-India Village Industries Association, Maganvadi, Wardha.

These two booklets on diet are based on English publications on the same subject issued by the All-India Village Industries Association from Wardha. Both are well-written and contain much useful information on the subject of diet. The pamphlet on rice carries a lot of new information, amidst which we may mention the fact that parboiled rice has now been found to contain more Vitamin B per unit than sun-dried rice. This book also describes in detail improved methods of the production of rice from paddy.

We are sure pamphlets like this are very much needed for disseminating useful scientific information in our land of poverty and ignorance.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ARYAON KA ADI DESH : *By Shri Sampurnanda. Published by the Leader Press, Allahabad. Pp. 266. Price Rs. 3.*

Here is a challenging book on the thorny question: What was the original home of the Aryans? Since Lokamanya Tilak's book on the subject, published many years ago, 'placing' the first domicile of our forefathers far beyond the Frontiers of India, no other publication has been brought out with such a wealth of argument.

Shri Sampurnanda's thesis is that the Aryans lived, millenia ago, in the Sapta-Sindhwa region (i.e., the

Punjab and Frontier) from where they radiated their culture to the distant ends of the earth. The basis for such an assumption is the work of the late Shri Abinash Chunder Das who, among other 'proofs,' advanced also geographical considerations to support his conclusion that the Aryans have, from the very beginning, belonged to this country, thus pulling down the theory commonly held by western scholars that our ancestors migrated from Central Asia.

Of course, the precious mine of information and inference on the point is to be found in the Vedas. But so diverse have been the interpretations of their verses by scholars, that one is tempted to take all interpretations and inferences with a pinch of salt. Further, for aught one knows the *motif* of theories like those of the author of the book under review and his predecessor, Shri Abinash Chunder Das, might be their intense nationalism. Incidentally one may ask if the claim of Herr Hitler to call his fellow-countrymen Aryans and the Iranian addressing the Indian as his brother born of the selfsame mother, might not have in them the unconscious acknowledgment of the truth that they are all derived from the same stock. But whether in the dim past, they resided in the same place or they were spread over several places is a problem which will ever remain intriguing.

Be that as it may, Shri Sampurnandaji's scholarly book will make our scholars, who had been obsessed with the theory advanced by westerners, sit up and scrutinize the new theory in every respect. And to rescue the stream of reason from under the sands of tradition or dogma, is no small service. We would suggest that an English translation of the publication would before long be made available so that western scholars, too, may throw the searchlight of their criticism on Sampurnandaji's theory, thereby giving a further impetus to seekers of truth in the field.

G. M.

TAMIL

WHO IS KAMBAR? : By T. K. Chidambaramanatha Mudaliar, B.A., B.L. Published by Puthumai Pathippagam, 3, Govindappa Naicken Street, Madras. Pp 124. Price Re. 1.

The author does not himself answer the question; but takes at random some stanzas from Kambaramayana, reads them bit by bit, makes the readers form an impression of the scene the poet creates and leaves them there. He thus deals in the first chapter of the book with two stanzas—the first describing the eyes of women and the places wherefrom they see Rama going in a chariot to the Durbar, soon after the decision of his coronation and the second describing the setting of the sun and the return home of cattle when Rama was marching into the forest soon after his banishment. The two stanzas in the second chapter portray the high culture of women and the war mentality of the times. Two other stanzas in the third chapter vividly display the dramatic nature of his poem, while the two stanzas in the next chapter, describe the beauty of Rama and Sita. The fifth and sixth chapters describe respectively the profound conception of Truth and Justice by Dasaratha and Bharata, and of the divinity and its incarnation. The seventh and eighth chapters deal with lesser poets and their mean imitation of Kambar.

Readers will surely rank Kambar with the first-rate poets of the world. They will further feel highly gratified when they see abundant evidence in the poem for the author's statement that though the outline is that of Valmiki, the entire form and conception is Tamilian.

Kambar did not attempt Uttarakanda. Rama was not only a hero, but he was the very incarnation of God to Kambar.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

ASRU-GEETA : By Panyala Ranganadha Rao, Journalist, Anakapalle. Published by Sri Sarada & Co., Anakapalle. Pp. 42. Price annas four only.

The present booklet is a collection of elegiac war poems in *vers libre*. The dominant emotion of the poems is bitter indignation towards the grim realities of war. The utter futility of war and the colossal waste of precious human lives under the spell of uncontrollable world forces, deeply animates the poet.

Mr. Ranganadha Rao gives a pathetic picture of mankind involved in a world-wide conflagration. He is original in his ideas and his poems are typical war poems.

VELUGU : By T. Kameswar Rao. Published by Navyasahitya Parishad, Guntur. Printed at Lazmi Power Press, Tenali. Pp. 123. Price annas eight only.

This booklet consists of a series of short poems in easy verse, intended for the enlightenment of Andhras. The poet is moved by a high sense of patriotic fervour and aims at reviving the ennobling qualities of an Andhra. Culturally, spiritually and morally the Andhras are proud of a heritage peculiarly their own and the poet gives an impetus to their patriotic feeling, so that they may once again share equal honours with their fellow-countrymen.

We hope it will interest the present generation of the Andhras.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

SAMAJNAN MOOL : By the late Vyomesh Chandra Pathakji, M.A., LL.B. Published by his widow Shrimati Jayaman. Gavri Pathakji, Surat. Printed at the Khadaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1.

The late Mr. Pathakji was interested in social reform, and this book contains a number of addresses delivered by him, on such subjects as the caste-system and its reform, the institution and varieties of marriage, Holika-utsav, etc. There is a short story also ridiculing the desire of half-educated ladies married to rich husbands for writing and publishing novels. The language used throughout is simple, and the subject well elucidated.

BARODA SAHITYA SABHA RAJAT MAHOTSAVA SMARAK GRANTH : Published by the Society and Printed at the Sadhana Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 223.

Amongst the very few Sahitya Sabhas which function actively in the districts of Gujarat, the Baroda Sahitya Sabha is one, and the very fact that it has functioned for twenty-five years and been able to celebrate its Silver Jubilee speaks volumes in favour of those who have during this long period guided its activities. *The Smarak Granth* (Memorial Volume) bears out entirely the favourable opinion expressed above. It contained contribution from some of the well-known writers and research workers of Gujarat, and in about twenty-six articles wholly devoted to Baroda, its antiquity, the encouragement given by its enlightened rulers to education, culture, fine arts and reform, the whole field of its individuality is covered. We congratulate the Editorial Committee in its work.

K. M. J.

EARLY EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS IN KASHMIR

By B. P. SHARMA

TODAY Kashmir has become a favourite holiday resort of the Europeans. The number of European visitors to Kashmir during the year 1941 was 29,320. Looking back to the record it can be traced that till the year 1663 Kashmir remained a country quite unknown to the Europeans. Though its geographical position was known to them, no European had set his foot on the soil of Kashmir till that year.

The first authentic record of European travellers in Kashmir is available from the following :

"Three travellers, Baron Carl von Hugel from Jamu; John Henderson from Ladakh; Godfrey Thomas Vigne from Iskardu, who met at Srinagar on the 18th November, 1835, have caused the names of those European travellers who had previously visited Kashmir to be hereunder engraved—

BERNIER 1663
FORSTER 1786

MOORCROFT, TREBECK and GUTHRIES 1823
JAQUEMONT 1831
WOLF 1832

of these, three only lived to return to their native country."

LADAKH

Ladakh, till 1857 remained truly a part "where mortal foot hath ne'er or rarely been." In the year 1857 Adolphe Schlaginweit went from the Changchenmo valley across to Yarkand. Thence he went to Kashghar where he was killed in the month of August of the same year.

The next European who crossed it was Mr. W. H. Johnson of the G. T. Survey. In the year 1865 he went as far as Khutan. Mr. Polnson was afterwards appointed Governor of Ladakh by Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

A few years afterwards Mr. Hayward, Mr. Shaw and Dr. Cayley went separately over the plateaus, the last to explore a trade route, the other two for their adventurous journey to Yarkand. In 1869 Frederic Drew went across the plateaus of the eastern branch of Karakash river.

In the year 1869 Lieut. George W. Hayward came to Gilgit. He had been sent out by the Royal Geographical Society of London with the object of exploring the Pamir steppe. With an enthusiasm of his purpose, that was characteristic of him, he determined to run the risk of a journey through Yasin and Badakshan. Mir Wali, the Ruler of Yasin, pretended to be on friendly terms with Mr. Hayward and wanted him to represent his claims to the Government of India against the Maharaja of Kashmir for

the possession of a part of the frontier. In 1870, when Hayward returned to Yasin, Mir Wali treacherously arranged the murder of the enterprising officer. At a place known as Darkut, Hayward was overtaken by about 50 men sent by Mir Wali and was killed. His body was afterwards removed by the Kashmir authorities to Gilgit where a monument was erected to his memory.

Previous to this in or about the year 1850, Lieutenants Vans Agnew and Young who attempted to go through Hunza were refused permission by the Hunza Ruler.

After about nine years of Kashmir's war with Hunza and Nagar, Dr. G. W. Leitner visited Dardistan (countries round Gilgit) and for the first time published an account of the country in his famous book *Results of a Tour in Dardistan*.

From a letter dated Kashmir, 4th June 1870 (*Letters from India and Kashmir*), by a European whose name remains unknown, it appears that no foreigner was allowed to remain in Kashmir after 15th of October.

The same writer in a letter dated Kashmir, 2nd August, 1870, describes the visit to Kashmir of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Henry Durand, "whose arrival was looked for with much interest, not only by Europeans, who expected he would put an end to the exclusion of foreigners from the Valley during winter months. . . ."

He further describes that no invitation cards were issued by the Maharaja for the dinner, but the "invitation was written on a large sheet of paper, addressed generally to the residents of Srinagar, to most of whom it was presented, and those who accepted it signed their names below."

The first official mission to Eastern Turkestan through Kashmir was sent by Lord Mayo. He sent Mr. Douglas Forsyth to Yarkand, the southern capital of Eastern Turkestan, on a friendly visit, at the invitation of Ataligh Ghazi. Mr. Douglas Forsyth was to obtain information regarding the country and remove the obstacles in the way of India's trade with Central Asia. Mr. Forsyth's report holds an honourable place in the illustrious *catena* of State papers in the Indian Foreign Office and marks him out for the important part which he played in Central Asian Diplomacy. His visit resulted in the Trade Treaty between the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Government of India, a treaty which besides having much economic importance has had a desirable political effect also.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Poem

Mickiewicz (1798-1855) has been described as the philosopher, prophet, seer and the spiritual leader of Poland, and as the greatest poet of all Slavonic nations. Here is a poem by Mickiewicz (from *The Forefathers' Eve*) as translated from the Polish by Dorothea Prall Radin and published in the Poland number of *The Theosophist* :

Alone ! Ah, men ! And who of you, divining
My spirit, grasps the meaning of its song ?
Whose eye will see the radiance of its shining ?
Alas, who toils to sing for men, toils long !
What need hast thou, my song, of human ears ?
Flow in the secret recesses of my heart,
Gleam on its heights, inviolate, apart,
Like sunken streams, like stars beyond the spheres.
Then heed me, God and nature, for my song
Is worthy you, worthy to echo long—

A master I !

I stretch my hands on high
And touch the stars, Ah, see !
Now forth there peals,
As from the illimitable crystal wheels
Of some harmonica, a melody ;
And as the circles roll
I tune the turning planets to my soul.
A million notes stream on ;
I catch each one,

I braid them into rainbow-coloured chords,
And out they flow and flash like lightning swords.
I take my hands away: each starry circle
Of that harmonica its turning stays ;
Through spaces far beyond the planets' sparkle,
Beyond all confines now, my arms I raise.
I sing alone; and long
And wailing like the tempest's breath, my song
Searches the ocean of humanity;
It moans with grief, it roars with storm,
And listening centuries transform
The echoes to a vast antiphony.
I hear it as I hear the wind that rocks
The rushing waters, whistling loud;
I see it as I see the wind that walks
Apparelled in a robe of cloud.
My song is worthy of God and nature; great
It is, it also doth create;
Such song is power and deathless energy,
Such song is immortality.
Yes, I have made this immortality I feel—
What greater deed, O God, canst Thou reveal ?

Mahatma Gandhi and Christian Missions

Twenty years ago, Mahatma Gandhi was a very important figure in the campaign of

Christian Missions. Rev. E. C. Dewick writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Many missionaries viewed him with stern disapproval, as a disturber of the peace, and an enemy of the British Empire. Others regarded him with admiration, or even veneration, as one who, albeit a non-Christian, was unquestionably a hero and saint of spiritual power and Christ-like character. Others, again, believed that he was 'almost a Christian,' and might with discretion and sympathy be eventually gathered into the fold of the Church. All alike recognized him as a figure of outstanding significance and influence in the world of these days.

But during the last two decades, the gulf between Gandhiji and the Christian Movement has steadily widened.

And off the Christian side there has been an increasing tendency to regard him, not merely as 'a lost leader,' but as a leader who has lost his power, and need not now be seriously reckoned with.

Quite recently, however, two books have appeared which have again presented to the Christian Church a definite challenge from the person and teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. One is *Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity* by S. K. George, a young Syrian Christian, who has broken away from orthodox Christianity, and adopted a definitely 'left-wing' standpoint, both in politics and religion. The other book is entitled *Christian Missions* by M. K. Gandhi, and is a compilation of Gandhiji's writings and sayings on the subject of the Christian Movement in India, extending over the last twenty years.

The main thesis of S. K. George's book is, that in Gandhiji's life and teaching, we see *real* Christianity, as Jesus meant it to be. He maintains that 'Gandhiji's *Satyagraha* (Non-Violence) is Christianity in action'; and that the spirit of the Cross of Calvary is truly represented to us in Gandhiji's readiness to suffer, and even die, for Truth, Justice and Freedom. It was through Gandhi, the author says, that he himself learnt, for the first time, the real meaning of the Cross and, he maintains, that if the Church were wise, she would recognize in Gandhi her greatest ally. But he recognizes frankly that this would involve for the Church a fundamental doctrinal revolution. She would have to abandon the claim that Christianity is the only Way of Salvation, and that Jesus Christ is the only Incarnation of God in human form.

That Gandhiji does still present to Christianity a challenge which demands attention is surely unquestionable.

He is one of these outstanding figures which no one can regard with mere indifference. Even those who dislike him realize, for the most part, that he is a dynamic personality. Winston Churchill sensed this, when he denounced the folly of allowing the 'Naked Fakir' to stride up the steps of Viceregal Lodge, in the days of

Lord Irwin. He realized that this gaunt figure symbolized a challenge of world-wide significance to the Imperialisms of the World.

Moreover, I am not sure if we in India realize the extraordinary veneration in which Gandhi is held in the world at large. Our political background makes it difficult for us to see him as a purely religious leader. But overseas, it is in this way that he is chiefly seen. Take two examples of this :

(1) In 1926, I was asked to speak to the Negro students at Tuskegee in the Southern States of America. I asked what subject I should speak about; the answer at once came back : 'Tell us about Mr. Gandhi !'—'Why do you want to hear about Gandhi ?'—'Because we know he is the greatest coloured man living in the whole world !'

(2) In 1939, the famous Japanese evangelist and social reformer, Toyohiko Kagawa, visited Gandhi. Gandhi rose, to greet Kagawa with respect; Kagawa knelt, to salute Gandhiji. (*Christian Missions*, p. 263). Would Kagawa, I wonder, have knelt before any other of the world's great men today ?

Why this extraordinary veneration ?

Broadly, I think, because Gandhi's life and character, in spite of certain very obvious defects, seems to the world at large to be the most dramatic example in our day of a life of utter courage, self-sacrifice and service. As S. K. George truly says :

Others have preached the Sermon on the Mount; he has lived it. Others have talked of taking up the Cross; he has done it.

In 1926, John R. Mott said to Gandhi : 'The world looks on you as a front-rank prophet, conscience, initiator and warrior'—a remarkable testimony from one of the greatest Christian evangelists of today.

Now the point of the challenge lies in this : that the man who receives these tributes from believers and unbelievers, Christians as well as non-Christians, is himself not only a non-Christian, outside the Church, but also an avowed opponent of the Christian missionary movement, and a decided disbeliever in orthodox Christian doctrine.

Born an orthodox Hindu, he was attracted as a young man to parts of the New Testament; and as late as 1927, we find him telling the Colombo Y. M. C. A. : 'If I had to face only the Sermon on the Mount and my own interpretation of it, I should not hesitate to say, "O yes, I am a Christian !"'

All the same, his hostility to organized Christianity has become more and more definite. In 1925, addressing the Calcutta Missionary Conference, he said :

'Hinduism entirely satisfies my soul, fills my whole being, and I find a solace in the *Bhagavad-Gita* and *Upanishads* which I do not find even in the Sermon on the Mount.' When asked whether he was not conscious of the presence of the Living Christ within him, his answer was quite uncompromising—'If it is the historical Jesus surnamed Christ that you refer to, I must say I do not !' He adds :

'I do feel the presence of God—call Him Christ, call Him Krishna, call Him Rama.'

In 1937, he tells a sympathetic American missionary bluntly that while he is willing to find a place for Jesus in Hinduism, as one of the many incarnations of God, he is not prepared to give him a supreme, or even a unique, position :

'God cannot be the exclusive Father; and I cannot ascribe exclusive divinity to Jesus. He is as divine as Krishna or Rama or Mahomed or Zoroaster.'

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**CALCUTTA
CHEMICAL**

From this, he has naturally come to disapprove of the whole Christian missionary movement in India.

In 1925, he had been willing to speak appreciatively of the 'noble' lives of Christian missionaries; but in 1935, in answer to the question, 'Would you prevent missionaries coming to India in order to baptize?' he answers: 'If I had power and could legislate, I should certainly stop all proselytizing.' A year later, he says frankly that he has come to regard missionaries as persons who 'do harm to the whole of India.'

Such is the challenge to Christianity presented by this man, whom a large part of the world holds in such singular veneration.

The Nazi Offensive in Russia

The New Review observes :

The Nazi offensive in Russia ended the tense expectations of spring: both sides viewed it as all important. The Nazis, though balked in their effort at reaching a decision last year, had advanced their front close to many strategic points which were vital to Russian defence; they profited by the winter to restart conquered factories, like the hundred sugar mills they built up in the Kiev district, but more especially to improve their communications, as the system they established to link up Kiev with Upper Silesia in the west, with the Donetz basin in the east and with Crimea in the south. On the other hand, the army felt exhausted after last year's exertions and the winter rigours, and had grown nervous about achieving a quick victory.

On the Russian side, the feeling was equally tense; the winter offensive had proved costly and had encroached on precious army reserves, yet it had failed to regain important positions; in particular the failure to relieve the siege of Leningrad and Sebastopol was a great disappointment. Communications had not shown great improvement; feeding the civilian population remained a grave problem made more acute by epidemics which mass evacuations had spread over the country. The army had kept its spirit of resistance; it was even strengthened by the 'State Security Force' (which is different from the OGPU and civilian police and is directly responsible to Stalin) with the privilege of quick trial, final verdict and a power including capital punishment.

On both sides, preparations had been completed as far as possible for a supreme attempt at reaching a decision in the near future.

Marshal Timoshenko's forestalling offensive was soon brought to a standstill by General von Bock who resumed the general initiative of operations. After a few days, von Bock had achieved a great strategic success. Once more the secret of his success lay in the greater mobility of his troops, thanks particularly to his new tank (ovoid shape, high axle, provision for fire power and transport of troops); his greater mobility allowed him to secure superiority in numbers and fire-power at the points at which he chose to attack the slow moving Timoshenko.

The Nazi advance during July marked a serious defeat and a grievous peril for the Soviet. Before the onslaught, the Soviet armies had a railway line running parallel to their rear from Rostov to Moscow and to the Leningrad front; the southern portion from Rostov to Gryazi has been captured or put out of use

and the communications between the Southern and Northern armies must go along the devious route passing through Stalingrad on the Volga which the Nazis are rapidly approaching.

The Soviet front is gravely compromised.

The Nazi wedge has gone deep into a vital fissure of the Soviet economy; it has not only crushed the Donetz industries but has cut the main artery linking the oil fields of the south with the arsenals of the north.

The disaster does not spell an immediate collapse of the Soviet armies; oil reserves have been accumulated in the north and could be increased from Siberian sources; guns, tanks and equipment have been similarly provided in the south and could be obtained from the British and American depots in the Near East; immediate shortage is not probable but with the transport difficulties peculiar to the country, shortage of oil and equipment and also of reinforcements is bound to be felt at nevralgic points of the gigantic battle.

A New Kind of Man

Whitman is an exceptionally difficult subject to get right. For he is not a straight case. So many questions arise—the democrat, the poet, the prophet, the seer, the philosopher—was he all of these things or any of them? In the course of his review of Hugh I'Anson Fausset's new book *Walt Whitman in The Aryan Path* John Stewart Collis observes :

Was Whitman a poet? Of course. Was he a good poet? No, he was second-rate. He found it extremely hard to express himself, and though occasionally his *Leaves* are really great, more often they only get across owing to the sheer *elan* behind them—yet so powerful is that *elan* that even when he gives us capitulation in place of description, he makes his point. But that's not poetry. He mistook art for artificiality, and was afraid that if he took real trouble he would be paralysed. Nevertheless, if *Leaves of Grass* is seldom great literature, it is a great book, one of the greatest. The force of Affirmation so pervades it that it has often been found sufficient to change a reader's view of life for ever. It can best be regarded as Scripture.

Was he a prophet? He professed to be, both as seer and as prophet of America. In the second he is now seen to have been a hopeless optimist without a notion of the effect which machines and money were to have upon his country. As regards his claim to be a seer with a message, it is true he had a message and a good one, but since he couldn't think clearly, since he was arrogantly ignorant of better minds than his own, since he just doesn't exist as a thinker or philosopher, he only made a muddle of his message.

According to the writer :

Whitman was a new kind of man, the fulfilment of a New Idea evolved by mankind—a democrat. He was the first to embody that idea completely and he may have been the last, but that is what he was. To have been that, to have shown what a democrat is, cannot be described as an achievement, he did not have to achieve it, but rather as a revelation never to be forgotten.

The Food Problem with Reference to Calcutta and Bengal

The importance of regional economic studies in a vast country like India is admitted on all hands. But the paucity of reliable statistical data on regional production and inter-regional exchange of goods at present renders such investigations extremely difficult. In the course of an article under the above caption in *Science and Culture* Sudhir Sen observes :

In Table B figures have been provided to show the imports of certain articles, mainly of food, into Calcutta together with the respective shares of Bengal and other parts of India. To arrive at the figures for actual consumption in Calcutta, we should subtract from the first row of figures the quantities exported to various parts of Bengal and add the imports into Calcutta by coastal steamers, country boats, bullock carts and motor lorries. This naturally involves a good deal of difficulty as separate figures are not available to show the actual volume of imports into Calcutta by different means of transport.

B. IMPORTS BY RAIL AND RIVER INTO CALCUTTA (1939-40)

	Imports into Calcutta (In 1,000 mds.)	Share of Bengal (In 1,000 mds.)	Share of other Provinces (In 1,000 mds.)
Commodities			
Grain ..	996	479	517
Wheat ..	3,463	8	3,455
Wheat flour ..	62	2	60
Ground nuts ..	1,000	--	1,000
Linseed ..	3,083	271	2,812
Rape and mustard ..	2,618	18	2,600
Til or jinjili ..	26	12	14
Ghee ..	240	2	238
Salt ..	110	10	100
Sugar ..	1,056	324	732
Gur, molasses, rab, jaggery, etc. ..	1,145	50	995
Fruits, dried ..	157	7	150
Tobacco, raw ..	430	205	225
Coffee ..	3	--	3
Tea ..	2,785	1,162	1,623
Vegetable oils ..	755	7	748
Oil cakes ..	145	3	142
	(No. in 1,000)	(No. in 1,000)	(No. in 1,000)
Cattle (excluding sheep and goats) ..	97	22	75
Sheep and goats ..	487	251	236

What strikes one at once is the overwhelming preponderance of outside sources in meeting the demand for Calcutta and the very low share of this province.

(a) We have already seen that a salt and a coconut oil industry might be developed in Bengal.

(b) The low lands of East Bengal may not be suitable for growing ground-nuts and linseed on a large scale, but there are possibilities for both crops in West and North Bengal where they can be grown on a commercial scale and meet at least a part of the Calcutta demand.

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(c) Imports of rape and mustard seeds into Calcutta in 1939-40 amounted to 2,618,000 maunds. In addition, there were considerable imports into other parts of Bengal. The United Provinces, Bihar and the Punjab were the main sources of supply.

It is strange that while Bengalees, unlike the people in most parts of India, should use mustard oil instead of ghee as the main fat ingredient in cooking, they should be overwhelmingly dependent on others for the supply of mustard seed. Yet this dependence can be considerably reduced provided action is taken along two lines. There are reasons to believe that the cultivation of mustard seeds has gone down in this province in recent years. With proper investigation it should be possible to find out regions where mustard seeds can be grown as a profitable *rabi* crop. It has also been suggested by some that a substitute can be found in coconut oil. Habits, however, die hard and it may be over-optimistic to think that the tastes of our people could be influenced to such an extent by economic considerations. Yet we should do well to bear in mind that in recent years European nations have, on economic grounds, successfully experimented with substitutes and have brought about more profound changes in national taste than would be involved in a replacement of mustard oil by coconut oil.

(d) The dependence of Calcutta on outside sources for such an essential article of food as ghee is no less startling. 238,000 maunds were imported into Calcutta in 1939-40. We should recall in this context that, in addition to the peace-time supply from overseas countries, butter comes from Aligarh, Allahabad and other places.

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The large import of ghee and butter is no less regrettable as an index to the utter neglect in this province of animal husbandry which, apart from crop-raising, is perhaps the most important source of occupation in agriculture.

(e) Calcutta as well as Bengal is at present largely dependent on other provinces, particularly Bihar and the U. P., for the supply of sugar and *gur*, molasses, *rab*, jaggery, etc.

The sugar industry is at present mainly concentrated in two provinces. In a vast country like India it is economically wasteful to centralise an industry to such an extent, particularly when it produces an article of mass consumption, for the costs of distribution become relatively heavy. Other things remaining equal, it is wiser to set up factories as near the centres of consumption as possible.

(f) Visits to various markets in Calcutta have brought to our notice certain interesting facts. We may mention in passing that for nine months in a year Calcutta depends on certain districts of Madras for its lemon supply. Onions are drawn in large quantities from Patna, Nasik, Panipat and certain parts of Madras, while only small quantities are imported from Faridpur district. For potatoes again, in addition to the supply from Burma which has already been considered, Calcutta depends on Mysore, Assam, and partly also on Nainital side, as local or Bengal production falls far short of the total demand. It is interesting to note in this connection that certain wholesale dealers in potatoes complained that Shillong potatoes could meet a greater part of Calcutta demand and compete with Mysore potatoes but for the arbitrary way in

which transport charges are put up by the company plying buses between Shillong and Gauhati, whenever heavy orders are placed for Shillong potatoes.

Science and Culture

The following excerpt is taken from an article under the above caption in *Science and Culture* :

During the last one hundred and eighty years, India has again come into contact with another culture, *viz.*, that of Western Europe which dominates the world today. This civilisation differs from the earlier ones in the enormous increase of scientific knowledge, in the increase of power of man over the forces of nature and in the intensive application of scientific discoveries to all branches of human activity. This has revolutionised man's way of living, having brought different groups of men formerly living in complete isolation into almost daily contact, and tending to make the whole human society into one economic and cultural unit. India has not escaped the effects of the contact, but it has always taken a long time for a country with a distinct tradition of its own to assimilate an alien culture, particularly when forced upon it by its conquerors.

In the case of India, the period of contact has not been long enough and the clash is not yet over. It is true that the West-European culture has gained very considerable ground and has succeeded in shaking our ancient social structure and our belief in time-honoured religious dogmas and practices, in disturbing the economic life of the country, and in modifying the very ways of our thought. But though the two cultures stand face to face as thesis and antithesis, the synthesis is not yet in sight.

There still remains a large section of the population not much touched by the changes, and even the literate and urban classes cannot wholly reconcile themselves to the idea of the subjugation of their old system by the new conditions which are being created by modern science.

We find, therefore, amongst our leaders a considerable number, who are incapable of seeing the great and inevitable part which the new age of technic will play in India's destiny and the lasting contribution that it is likely to make to the future of Indian civilisation. In the vernacular literature particularly, one very frequently comes across overdrawn pictures of imaginary good old days when nobody is supposed to have had anything to complain of, and a tendency to attribute all present troubles to the evil effects of science. One of the solutions usually offered is the total rejection of all modern technic for manufacture of the necessities of life, based upon the applications of scientific knowledge. It is a fact that large sections of the masses have suffered terribly from the effect of industrialism as practised in India today, which amounts to an exploitation of the masses for the benefit of a few. The great success of Gandhism is due to the fact that it expresses genuine sympathy with the victims of an aggressive and selfish industrialism, but we do not for a moment subscribe that better and happier conditions of life can be created by discarding modern scientific technic and reverting back to the spinning wheel, the loin cloth and the bullock cart. On the contrary, we hold that if the discoveries of science are properly and intensively applied, they will offer far better solutions to our bewildering economic, social and even political problems.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

European Black-out

Thomas Corbishley begins his article in the *Month* with the following words :

"The lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our life-time." Spoken on the eve of the last World War, these sombre words of an English Foreign Secretary have not been belied by the event. The darkness has not merely deepened; it has spread further afield. The European black-out has become world-wide. And the rekindling of the lamps seems further off than ever.

But we need to remind ourselves that happenings in the material world are, as a general rule, little more than visible manifestations of invisible forces at work at a level beyond man's perception. Even in the sphere of Nature, the blossoming of spring is the outward sign of a renewal of life within. In man's case, his material actions do but manifest what he himself is. It is said that, before the first gift which the lover makes, he has already made the gift of his love. The murderer who drives a knife into his victim has already slain him in will and intention. And, on the larger scale, the butchery of 1914-1918, the treachery and violence and ruthless self-seeking of the present war, are but the logical and inevitable outcome of man's revolt from God and God's law, a revolt which took place long before the Kaiser tore up a scrap of paper or Hitler's patience was exhausted. The lamps had been going out over Europe for decades, even for centuries before Sir Edward Grey's words were spoken.

The writer concludes with the following words :

And, just as we have been glad to ally ourselves in the military sphere with the armed might of Russia against a common foe, so, whilst abating no jot of our Catholic beliefs, we may surely be happy to co-operate against godlessness with men of goodwill wherever they may be found.

Keeping Democracy Alive

Walton E. Cole remarks in the *Christian Register* that, to keep democracy alive in their country, the Americans should devise measures to counteract the evil effects of anti-Semitism promoted by Nazi propaganda :

It will not suffice to deplore this all too apparent relishing of savage denunciation and vituperation. We are dealing with a very real human characteristic—the love of hate. It is time that we engaged seriously in a co-operative effort to appeal to another human characteristic—compassion for the hated, and justice for the oppressed. A program of constructive action to offset the consequences of destructive intolerance is imperative.

But before any such program can hope for success, there must be a greater awareness of the need for defense against the national disintegration which would be the inevitable result of any continued campaign of

racial, religious, or social prejudice. There is just enough truth in the boast which Goebbels made to Hermann Rauschning to occasion grave concern. Said Hitler's propaganda chief: "Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody revolution in North America. No other country has so many social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many strings there."

No page in contemporary history is darker than the one which chronicles the Nazi-promoted pestilence of anti-Semitism.

Hitler found that the two most deadly anti-Semitic poisonous elements were the lie, "Nur die Juden wollen den Krieg" (only the Jews want war), and the mythical legend of Jewish "control of the world."

In recent months these vicious legends have been circulated in America. The Lindbergh speech at Des Moines is a glaring example. It is not the purpose of this article to connect Lindbergh with Hitler nor to impugn the former air-hero's motives. To call Lindbergh, the "loony eagle" only serves to increase the intolerance in America. The problem created by certain portions of that address will not be solved by an anti-Lindbergh campaign. The real question which


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presents itself to us is this : what can we do now as an antidote to the poison which entered the body of America as the result of Lindbergh's un-warranted assertion that the Jews were a "danger to this country?"

The almost universal protest throughout America against that portion of Lindbergh's Des Moines address served one useful purpose. It was a warning to others who aspire to national leadership that to appeal to unjust racial or religious prejudice is to forfeit any claim for such leadership.

The effective antidote to Lindbergh's unjust charge that "Their [the Jews'] greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our Government," is to point out the mythical character of such a sweeping statement.

An editorial in the October 1 issue of *Advance* presents an admirable factual answer to Lindbergh's false charges : "The only Jew in the cabinet is Secretary Morgenthau. In a list of 29 of the most prominent interventionists . . . only two are Jewish, the others being racially of Dutch, British, Irish, and German extraction or descendants of the oldest American families. The largest newspaper chains (Hearst and Scripps-Howard) and the big news services (A. P., U. P. and I. N. S.) are not Jewish. The *New York Times* is Jewish-owned (one might wish for more Jewish-ownership if it made all papers as good), but its editorial board is predominantly Gentile; and of outstanding interventionist papers (a formidable list) only one, the *Washington Post*, is of Jewish management. Of the big radio networks, N. B. C. has a non-Jewish President and only two of the 26 directors and members of its advisory council are Jewish. C. B. S. has a Jewish President but a minority of Jews on its board, and Mutual, a co-operative system, has as one of its stock-holders, the isolationist *Chicago Tribune*. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the so-called 'Jewish-controlled' movies are actually controlled by banks which are not Jewish-controlled."

We of the liberal churches dare not content ourselves with the condemnation of the pollution of the river of American democracy. We must act to prevent the poisoning of the stream of our national life.

The Jewish Army

At last a mixed corps of Jewish and Arab battalions has been formed in Palestine to fight the Axis forces in the Middle East. It is interesting to read the following remarks made in a previous number of the *Jewish Frontier* about how the question of the Jewish Army had fared in the hands of British Imperialism before it could be fully recognized as an equal ally of the United Nations.

Since the outbreak of the war in September, 1939, the Jewish Agency has pleaded with the British Government to establish a Jewish army for which loyal

and capable manpower could be recruited in Palestine as well as from Jewish refugees and from Jewish citizens of neutral countries. Several divisions could have been raised easily had England granted this request. Instead the British temporized and "diplomatically" played with the offer. At times, it was seriously considered in London and it seemed as if definite steps would be taken to put it into effect. But in the end nothing was done. All kinds of lame alibis were offered in excuse and a Jewish army was not organized to this date, two and a half years since the offer was first made.

Behind this refusal there lurked the remnants of the old Chamberlain policies of appeasement—in this case it was an attempt to appease Axis inspired Arabs circles who were opposed to a Jewish army and Jewish efforts in Palestine.

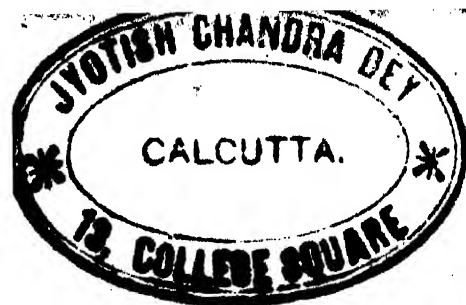
The price England, the United Nations and the cause of anti-fascism are paying for this short-sighted and discredited appeasement policy is now unfortunately all too evident. Determined to cut off its nose to spite its face, British authorities "consistently" turned down the offer of a Jewish army and at great cost brought soldiers from Australia and New Zealand to man the anti-Axis ramparts in Egypt and Lybia. Ignoring the potential Jewish manpower of nearby Palestine, men were ferried thousands of miles from the antipodes. When Malaya was attacked, there were not enough soldiers, native or Australian, to stem the tide of the Japanese. The Australians were busy half way across the globe in Lybia, because the British had insisted that there should be no Jewish army.

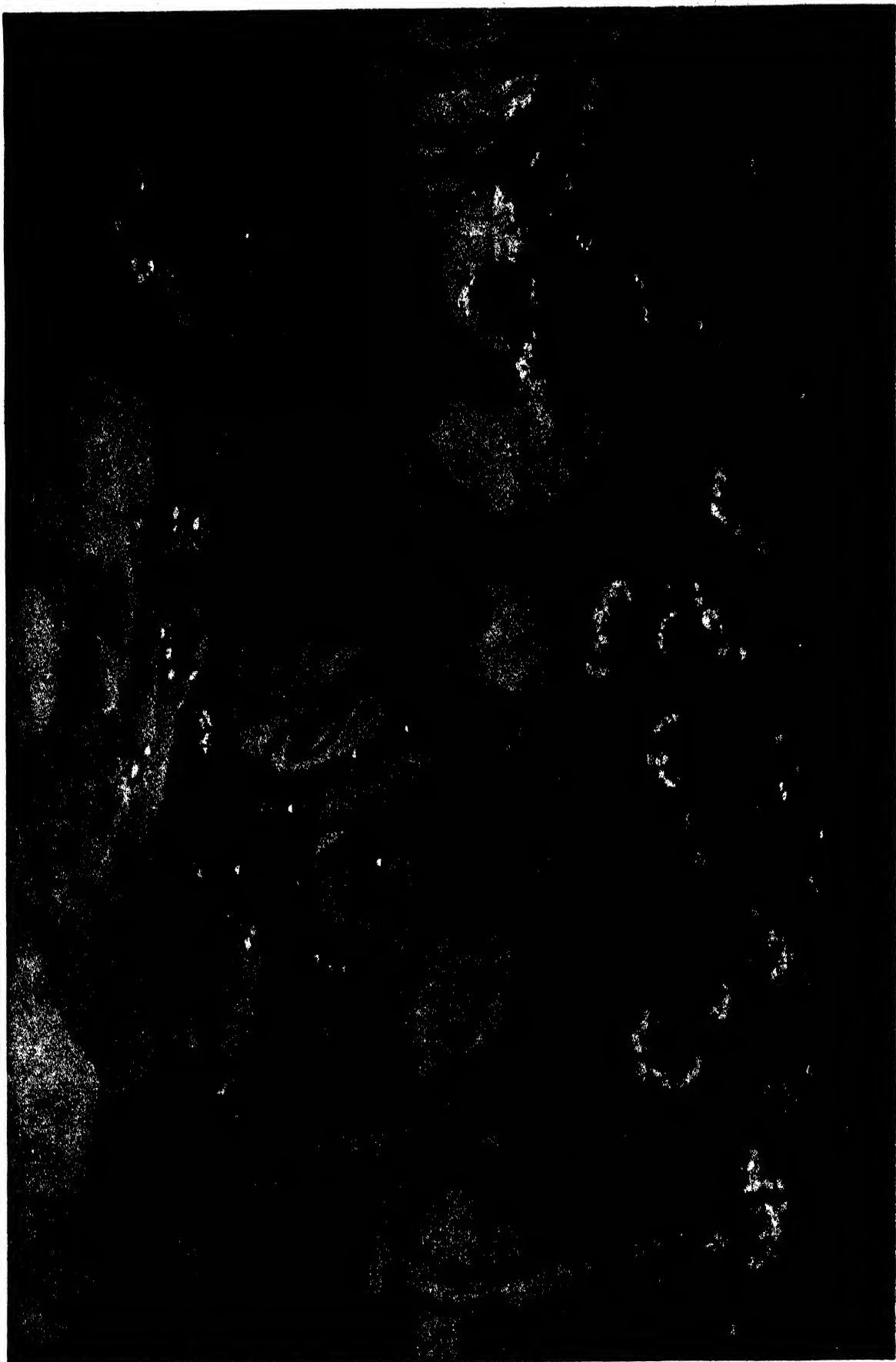
At last the British Government could hardly resist this claim. And it was decided to form Jewish fighting units in Palestine.

But the appeasers qualified this decision by introducing the principle of "parity" which meant that only as many Jewish fighting units could be formed as there may be Arab units. As the Palestine Arabs showed no greater eagerness to fight on the side of the democracies than the Arabs in Egypt and Iraq, the decision to have Jewish fighting units could net amount to very much. And, again, military necessity proved stronger than political prejudices. As the need for man-power grew greater, the principle of parity had to be "relaxed" in practice. Jewish infantry companies were formed although no corresponding Arab companies could be recruited.

More than ten thousand Jewish soldiers from Palestine fought in Lybia, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Greece, Crete and Syria. While all the British commanders under whom they served acknowledged that they were second to none in courage, devotion and ability, their name was never officially mentioned in any military despatch. Their Jewish identity was hidden and they were denied the status and rights of all other military allies of Great Britain in this war.

Recently military needs required that women too should enlist for service in Palestine. Again, the only women to enlist were the Jewish women in Palestine.





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By Manik Lal Banerjee

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NOTES

"At All Stages Of Civilization From The Rolls Royce To The Bullock Cart"

In the course of a speech at Aberdeen on the 6th September last the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Attlee said :

"We had made many mistakes in our treatment of the Indian problem, but we had given India more than a century of internal peace and good government and had in the last 25 years made immense progress towards Indian self-government. Further progress was held back by disagreement among Indians and by difficulties of introducing democracy into a country of 300 million people 'at all stages of civilisation from the Rolls Royce to the bullock cart'."—*Reuter*.

If by "internal peace" Mr. Attlee meant absence of regular warfare, it is true there has not been any war within the boundaries of India proper during some generations. But the duration of such peace is not a century long, for the Sepoy Rebellion which ended in 1858 involved much fighting. Moreover, a country cannot be said to enjoy internal peace if it be free only from regular warfare within its borders. Communal and other riots have broken the peace of the country again and again during Mr. Attlee's century of peace, e.g., in Malabar, Sind, Mymensingh, Dacca, Chittagong, the Panjab, etc. Kidnapping, plunder and murder by transfrontier raiders in the North-Western Frontier Province should also be borne in mind in this connection.

Mr. Attlee claims that Britain has given good government to India. But among countries ruled by civilized men India's *per capita* income

is the lowest, its death-rate is the highest, the "expectation of life" is here the lowest, and the percentage of literacy is also the lowest. A government cannot be said to be good if it merely maintains "law and order" and collects and spends taxes regularly without any hitch. To be entitled to be called good it must show that it has promoted the health, prosperity and enlightenment of the people and increased their power of self-rule. Judged by this standard, it cannot be said with truth that Britain has given good government to India. "Good government" must also be "government of the people by the people and for the people," which British rule in India is not.

But Mr. Attlee claims that in the last 25 years Britain has made immense progress towards Indian self-government. Whatever this immense progress may mean, it does not mean ever-increasing approach towards giving the final power to the people. Assuming without admitting that the Government of India Act of 1935 marks a step along the path of constitutional advance, this assumed beneficent character of the Act has been more than destroyed by being based on the sinister Communal Decision of the late Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald—a Decision than which British imperialists had never before made a more effectively harmful anti-India move.

Mr. Attlee says that further progress towards self-government in India was held back by disagreement among Indians. He does not say to what extent the British Government

themselves are responsible for the perpetuation of pre-existing disagreement and for its increase. Nor does he say that, though British imperialists lecture Indians on the need of agreement, and some even say that they would welcome agreement among Indians, the British Government have made even the slightest effort to promote such agreement by direct or indirect means. Supposing a miracle were to happen *under British rule* in the form of agreement among Indians, would Britain transfer power to Indians?

The Deputy Prime Minister has been pleased to refer to the difficulties of introducing democracy into a country of 300 million people at all stages of civilisation from the Rolls Royce to the bullock cart. It would seem that either the teeming millions of India or their being at all stages of civilization, or both, made it difficult for philanthropic Britain to introduce democracy here. Unluckily for Mr. Attlee's implied argument, democracy has been introduced in Soviet Russia and China. Both these countries are vaster in area than India. China is more populous than India. In both there are numerous people who are at the bullock cart stage of civilization. In Soviet Russia in particular there are peoples who, before they had been included in the Soviet Union, were nomads, had even no alphabet of their own, no writings of any kind, no literature. All that is now changed. In the course of a quarter of a century since the revolution in Russia, during which there has not been unbroken peace but much fighting, these alphabetless, literatureless people have been brought up to the Rolls Royce stage of civilization. When Sun Yat-sen and his co-workers brought about the revolution in China *during this century*, vast masses of the people there were in a primitive state of civilization. Since then, though often embroiled in war not of her own seeking, she has made vast strides in literacy and education, co-operation and industrialization and scientific and up-to-date agriculture.

It is a wonder that British statesmen speak of millions in India being at the bullock cart stage of civilization and in the same breath boast of having given good government to India and more than a century long internal peace. When Britishers first established their rule in India—that is, in parts of the country, at that time, too, the bullock cart stage of civilization was much in evidence. Why has British "good government" during the more than a century of "internal peace" in the country failed to

bring the bullock cart stagers up to the level of the Rolls Royce stager? Soviet Russia has done the trick in less than twenty-five years. Why has Britain failed to do it in many times that period?

The British promise of giving India after the war what is called independence, though perhaps only a kind of colonial self-government has been meant, which has been recently so often repeated, has always seemed to us illusory. We are firmly convinced that so long as Britain is able to take advantage of some excuse or other to put off the, to her, evil day of complete Indian self-rule, she will do so, and that freedom and independence will come to India only when Britain is unable to prevent their advent. The two excuses put forward by Mr. Attlee to explain why further progress in self-government has not been made in India are disagreement among Indians, and the co-existence of the Rolls Royce and bullock cart stage of civilization. We assume that the war would be over in a year or two and that the Allies would be victorious. If more than a century's internal peace has not sufficed to make the bullock cart stage in India a thing of the past, will two years suffice for the purpose? And at the end of two years will it be beyond the power of Britain to discover or bring into existence some party or parties in India unwilling to agree with other parties to demand independence and freedom for India?

It does not require any prophetic powers to be able to say that, if there be no circumstance in the meantime or at the cessation of hostilities to force Britain's hands and if Britain continues, humanly speaking, to rule India's "destiny", the two excuses mentioned above will be available to British imperialists at the end of the war as at present.

Mr. Attlee has unwittingly rendered a service to the cause of honest politics by letting the cat out of the bag.

Mr. Churchill on the Indian Situation

Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, made a statement on India in the British House of Commons on the 10th September last. A few members of parliament who occupy the opposition benches used some hard words to describe the tone and substance of his speech. Though it was undoubtedly an arrogant and unwise speech, sure to embitter the feelings of all Indians who love India and likely to provoke some of them and possibly to have the effect of indirectly inciting some of those engaged in acts of lawlessness to intensify their criminal acti-

vities, nothing would be gained by giving the speaker any bad name.

Mr. Churchill is credited with being the coiner of the phrase "terminological inexactitude" to denote a lie or a falsehood. Following his august example we will say that his speech contains too many factual inexactitudes to be worthy of a responsible statesman.

In order to avoid repeating those passages or sentences in his statement on which we wish to make some comments, we have numbered them in the reproduction of Mr. Churchill's speech below :

"The course of events in India has been improving and is on the whole reassuring. (1) The broad principles of the declaration made by the British Government, which formed the basis of the mission of the Lord Privy Seal (Sir Stafford Cripps) to India, must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament. These principles stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add to them and no one can take anything away. (2) The good offices of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian Congress Party. (3) This, however, does not end the matter. The Indian Congress Party does not represent all-India (cheers). It does not represent the majority of the people of India (cheers). It does not even represent the Hindu masses (cheers). It is a political organisation built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests (cheers and laughter). (4).

"MAIN FACTS"

"Fundamentally opposed to it are 90 million Moslems in British India (here a member interjected "nonsense" and there were cries of "order") who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depressed classes or untouchables, as they are called, because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow, and 95 million subjects of the Princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all, there are 235 millions in these three large groupings alone out of 390 millions in all-India. This takes no account of their large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress Party. It is necessary that these main facts should not be overlooked here or abroad, because no appreciation of the Indian problem or of the relations between India and Britain is possible without recognition of these basic data (5).

Mr. Churchill says that "large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians" "deplore the present policy of the Congress Party." Owing either to his extreme ignorance of matters Indian or to a deliberate desire to mislead, he does not say that larger elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians either expressly support the Congress policy or have substantially the same political ideals or press the same political demands as the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha is the largest and most influential Hindu organization. Its demand is substantially the

same as that of the Congress. The most influential and best organized sections of the Sikhs either expressly support the Congress or are pro-Congress. As for the Indian Christians, the following Associated Press item of news will be a sufficient refutation of Mr. Churchill's insinuation :

A meeting of Indian Christians held on Friday evening (11th September last) under the presidency of Mr. S. C. Mukherji, President of the Indian Christian Association, resolved that Britain should recognise and declare the independence of India immediately.

The meeting also disapproved of the repressive policy of the Government and strongly urges that immediate negotiations be opened with the leaders and representatives of the principal political parties of India with a view to end the present deadlock so that the full and spontaneous efforts of the country may be ranged on the side of the United Nations to thwart the enemy. —A. P.

"NON-VIOLENCE ABANDONED"

"The Congress Party has now abandoned the policy, in many respects, of non-violence (6) which Mr. Gandhi has so long inculcated in theory and has come into the open as a revolutionary movement designed to paralyse communications by rail and telegraph, and generally to promote disorder, looting of shops and sporadic attacks upon the Indian Police, accompanied from time to time by revolting atrocities, the whole having the intention, or, at any rate, the effect of hampering the defence of India against the Japanese invader who stands on the frontiers of Assam and also upon the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal.

FIFTH COLUMN WORK ?

"It may well be that these activities by the Congress Party have been aided by Japanese Fifth Column work (7) on a widely extended scale and with special direction to strategic points. It is noteworthy, for instance, that communications of the Indian forces defending Bengal on the Assam frontier have been specially attacked.

"In these circumstances, the Viceroy and the Government of India, with the unanimous support of the Viceroy's Council, the great majority of which are Indian—patriotic and wise men—(8) have felt it necessary to proclaim and suppress the Central and Provincial organs of this Association which has become committed to hostile and criminal courses.

"Mr. Gandhi and other principal leaders have been interned under conditions of the highest comfort and consideration and will be kept out of harm's way until the troubles subside.

"It is fortunate, indeed, that the Congress Party has no influence whatever with the martial races (9) on whom the defence of India, apart from the British forces, largely depends. Many of these races are divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Hindu Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated" (10) (prolonged cheers).

PLETHORA OF RECRUITS

Mr. Churchill resumed : "There is no compulsory service in India but upwards of one million Indians have volunteered to serve the cause of the United Nations in this world struggle. (11) The bravery of Indian troops has been distinguished in many theatres of war and it

is satisfactory to note that in these last two months when the Congress has been measuring its strength against the Government of India, over 140,000 new volunteers for the army have come forward in loyal allegiance to the King-Emperor, thus surpassing all records in order to defend their native land. (12).

"So far as matters have gone up to the present they have revealed the impotence of the Congress Party either to seduce or even sway the Indian Army, (13) to draw from their duty the enormous body of Indian officials, or, still less, to stir the vast Indian masses. India is a continent almost as large and actually more populous than Europe and divided by racial and, above all, by religious differences far deeper than any that have separated the Europeans. (14) The whole administration of the Government of 390 millions who live in India is carried on by Indians, there being under 600 British members of the Indian Civil Service. (15) All public services are working.

500 KILLED

"In five provinces, including two of the greatest and comprising 110 million people Provincial Ministers responsible to their Legislatures stand at their posts. (16) In many places, both in town and country, the population has rallied to the support of the Civil Power.

"The Congress conspiracy against communications is breaking down. Acts of pillage and arson are being repressed and punished with an incredibly small loss of life. (17) Less than 500 persons have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population and it has only been necessary to move a few brigades of British troops here and there in support of the Civil Power.

PRaise FOR POLICE

"In most cases rioters have been successfully dealt with by the Indian Police. I am sure the House would wish me to pay a tribute to the loyalty and steadfastness of the brave Indian Police as well as to the Indian official class generally whose behaviour has been deserving of the highest praise.

"To sum up, the outstanding fact which has so far emerged from the violent action of the Congress Party has been its non-representative character and powerlessness to throw into confusion the normal peaceful life of India. (18).

"It is the intention of Government to give all necessary support to the Viceroy and his Executive in the firm but tempered measures by which they are protecting the life of the Indian communities and leaving the British and Indian armies free to defend the soil of India against the Japanese.

NO OCCASION FOR ALARM

"I may add that large reinforcements have reached India and that the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small compared with its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection. I, therefore, feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm." (19).

Following this the Prime Minister answered many questions.—*Reuter*.

(1) If the course of events in India has been really improving, that is all that should be desired. But even from the news which are allowed to be published, one cannot arrive at the certain conclusion that it is improving; and

it is possible that some of the worst news are not allowed to be published.

(2) If the Cripps' proposals represent "the settled policy" of the British Crown and Parliament, so much the worse for that policy. All violent disturbances in India may be, as they should be, repressed and suppressed, but that will not mean that the Indian situation has improved. For a really satisfactory solution of India's political problem something more than and other than repression is required. That something more must involve the unsettling, at least in part, of what Mr. Churchill calls the settled British policy. The world, and even India, has seen the unsettling of many a settled policy.

(3) It is only a part of the truth to say that the "good offices" of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian National Congress. The fact is, they were not accepted by any Party in India—they were rejected by all Parties.

(4) Mr. Churchill's attempt to belittle the Congress, to prove that it does not count in the least, is very amusing. If it really be wholly unrepresentative and negligible, why did Sir Stafford Cripps devote almost all his energy to convince the Congress leaders above all that his proposals were quite acceptable? The representatives of the Congress engrossed his attention so much that other Party leaders thought that in his opinion they did not count in the least.

In the elections which preceded the formation of the provincial and central legislatures and of the provincial ministries, the Congress captured the vast majority of the seats in all the provinces combined. In seven out of the eleven provinces, it is the Congress which formed the ministries, as in their legislatures the Congress members were in a decisive majority.

These facts do not show that the Congress does not represent anybody. On the contrary, they show that the Congress represents the vast majority of electors.

Both before and after the resignation of the Congress ministries the provincial governors in India and the authorities in Britain spoke in high terms of the efficiency and impartiality of the Congress ministries.

It is, of course, true that neither the Congress nor any other popular representative body, represents the whole of India in the sense of representing all Indians. But the Congress has the distinction to being the best organized, the

biggest and the most influential non-communal representative body in India. Its membership is open to all communities, classes, castes and races in India, and as a matter of fact there are persons of all communities, classes, castes, provinces, etc., among its members.

Is there in any country any Party or representative body which has not got its party machine?

The Congress is sustained by its four-anna members among the peasantry, the factory workers, the middle classes, and traders, merchants and men of business in general.

(5) Moslems in British India certainly have rights of self-expression. But it is absolutely untrue to say that all the 90 millions of Moslems are opposed to the Congress. The President of the Congress is himself a Moslem and the number of Moslem Congressmen is larger than the number of members of the Moslem League. The Momins claim to number 45 millions. They do not follow Mr. Jinnah but support the Congress ideal and the Congress demand of independence for India. Similar support to the Congress ideal is accorded by members of the Ahrar party, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Azad Conference, and the Nationalist Muslim Party. So far as the Independence Demand is concerned, there is no difference of opinion between the Congress and the Muslim League—observed Sir Ziauddin Ahmad in the Central Assembly the other day.

As regards the Depressed Classes, it is to be hoped some one will bring the following message to the notice of Mr. Churchill:

LAHORE, Sept. 18.

Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad, General Secretary, All-India Depressed Classes League, has addressed a circular letter to all the provincial depressed classes leagues to support the demand of All Parties National Government put forward by the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha. He urges the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders.—U. P.

Mr. Churchill has made himself ridiculous by treating the expression "depressed classes" as synonymous with the word "untouchable" and by saying that the depressed classes "are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow." In official parlance the depressed classes are otherwise called the scheduled castes. In the list of these castes, some castes have been included which were never considered "untouchable" by even the most orthodox Brahmins. As regards defiling anybody "by their shadow," it is now a perfect myth. In the past in a narrow tract of country a small number of people were

considered unclean or impure to that extent, but at present nobody in India is considered anywhere to defile anybody else by his shadow.

There are scheduled caste or depressed class members in all legislatures in India. They are not considered to defile their fellow-members, Hindu or non-Hindu, "by their presence." The Congress ministries in some provinces at least, if not in all, contained depressed class ministers.

In recent years it is the Congress under the inspiration and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi which of all bodies and parties has done the most to improve the social and economic position of the depressed classes. Mahatmaji has done great work by bringing about the throwing open of Hindu temples to the depressed classes in some Indian States like Travancore, Indore, etc., and in some parts of British India. The Congress rolls of members include many depressed caste men.

In India persons of the depressed classes travel by the same railway carriages, tram cars and other public conveyances as members of the other castes. Their position in this respect is quite different from that of the Negroes in America and of the Indian settlers in South Africa. Will Mr. Churchill have the courage to denounce the Americans in U. S. A., and the English and Boer citizens of South Africa for their iniquitous treatment of Negroes and Indians?

The British Government in India did practically nothing for the depressed classes prior to the acceptance of office by the Congress party. It is the Congress ministries which took special steps for the amelioration of their condition. Now that Congress has to be damned, the highest functionary in the British Government utters falsehoods relating to the castes even whose existence it did not recognize before but whose interests began to be looked after officially for the first time by the Congress.

Similar has been the treatment of the Indian States' people by the British Government. The Government of India Act of 1935 does not recognize or even mention the Indian States' people at all. According to it, the Princes are all in all. It is Congressmen and other nationalists who have been trying to have their rights as citizens recognized. Numerous States' subjects are members of Congress. There are Congress Committees in many States. The Indian States' People's Conference has been presided over by Congressmen among others. The Indian States' people are supporters of the Congress ideal of independence.

(6) So far as dealing with aggression by the Axis powers is concerned, it is true the Congress Party has abandoned the policy of non-violence. It has declared its readiness to try to repel invasion by armed force. But in its struggle to win freedom from British subjection, there is no judicially tested and proved evidence to show that it has abandoned the policy of non-violence.

Both here and in England the authorities hold the Congress Party responsible for the present disorders, disturbances, sabotage, atrocities, etc. But, as we have said, there is no satisfactory evidence to connect the Congress leaders with these criminal activities. These authorities appear to rely on the instructions to Congressmen alleged to have been issued by the Andhra and Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committees. But were they really issued by these committees? Where were they found and by whom? Have they been pronounced to be genuine by any competent and impartial tribunal? Were they issued after being approved by the Congress Working Committee?

On this subject *The Hindu* of Madras wrote in its leader, entitled "Release Gandhiji," published on Sunday, August 30, 1942 :

The Government of Madras seem to us very little to understand the implications of their reasoning in support of the view that the instructions to Congressmen which they allege were issued by the Andhra and Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committees "originated with the Congress Working Committee." So long as they do not produce the crucial 'information in their possession' by reference to which they seek to clinch the matter, they cannot expect the public to accept the charge against the Committees as proven; especially as the members of the Congress Working Committee are all in jail and cannot speak for themselves. But supposing, for argument's sake, that the 'instructions' to Congressmen that the Madras Government have published were actually issued by the Provincial Congress Committees in question and that they did so at the bidding of the Congress Working Committee, what follows? It may suggest that the Congress Executive had come round to the view that all the methods of obstruction and protest prescribed in the instructions were permissible to a people struggling to be free, though the Committee must have known that some at least of these items were definitely irreconcilable with the doctrine of non-violence which with Gandhiji is a creed and which he had induced the Congress to accept as a policy for the past twenty years. Apart from the question whether in prompting such an inference the Government might not be wholly unjust to the Working Committee—and indeed the inference would find no support whatsoever in the Committee's practice or precept all these years,—there is an even more serious question which the Government should have considered. It is that it would be hardly conducive to the restoration of peace if the impression were to become widespread that the Congress Executive actually favoured the pro-

gramme which the Madras Government seem for some mysterious reason to be so anxious to father upon it.

(7) We are not aware of any proofs or indications of Japanese Fifth Column work in India. All parties here are against the Japanese. Gandhiji's statement addressed to every Japanese was unequivocal and very effective.

(8) We do not call in question the wisdom and patriotism of the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. But are they satisfied with their powers and position? Do they or do they not want complete Indianization of the Council and a real National Government, *not* a Viceroy's Council?

(9) Some of the "martial" people of India dwell in the N.-W. F. Province. If the Congress has no influence with any martial race, how is it that the ministry of the N.-W. F. Province, of which the vast majority of the people are Muslims, was a Congress ministry, *not* a Muslim League ministry?

It may be that the "martial races" do not all expressly acknowledge that they have been influenced by the Congress, but there is no doubt that they, too, want total independence. On the 26th of July last at New Delhi the executive committee of the Union of the Martial Races of India, of which Rao Krishnapal Singh is general secretary, passed a resolution demanding the total independence of India and immediate transfer of power to Indians. This is exactly the demand of the Congress as well as that of the Hindu Mahasabha.

(10) Mr. Churchill calls the Congress the Hindu Congress. Does he not know that there is nothing communal about the Congress and that many Hindu Mahasabhaites complain that the Congress does not pay sufficient attention to Hindu interests?

(11) What are one million soldiers for a country like India inhabited by 390 millions? This is a people's war, and in the present phase alone of the titanic Russo-German conflict the Germans are reported to have lost 13 lakhs of soldiers, excluding those wounded.

It is true there is no compulsory service in India. But it is not correct to call the sipahis volunteers. With them the main consideration for joining the army is the pay and the allowances, etc. On this subject, the reader may read again what Dr. H. C. Mukherji has written in his very able article "Why India Helped Britain in the Last World War," which is concluded in this number of our *Review*.

(12) The praise bestowed on Indian troops is well deserved. It shows that, when India

becomes independent and free, she will have plenty of soldiers to defend her against any possible foreign aggressors and that these soldiers will be as good fighters as the soldiers of any other country.

(13) If the Congress had ever attempted "to seduce or even sway the Indian army" and failed in the attempt, then it would have been relevant for Mr. Churchill to gloat over "the impotence of the Congress." But it has never made that attempt. Hence, what he says in this connection is irrelevant.

(14) It is grossly inaccurate to say that India is more populous than Europe. India's population is much smaller than that of Europe (including Russia, of course). According to the *Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations* for 1940-41, the population of Europe *excluding Soviet Russia* (U. S. S. R.) at the end of 1939 was 402,800,000; and the population of Soviet Russia (U. S. S. R.) in Europe and Asia was 172,000,000. According to the census of 1941, the population of India was 388,800,000. So, *even excluding that part of Soviet Russia (U. S. S. R.) which lies in Europe, the population of Europe is larger than that of India.* It is, again, quite misleading to say that the racial and religious differences in India are far deeper than in Europe (including Soviet Russia and Turkey in Europe, of course).

(15) There may be only 600 British members of the Indian Civil Service and the whole administration of the government of India may be carried on by Indians. But the Indians only carry out orders as subordinates and underdogs, Englishmen being the top-dogs.

(16) How are the Ministers in Orissa and Assam responsible *in fact* to the legislatures of those provinces?

(17) Assertion based on conjecture and assumption is not equivalent to conclusive proof. It has not been proved that the present disturbances are the outcome of a Congress conspiracy.

We support the lawful punishment of those who are proved guilty of sabotage, arson, pillage, homicide, murder, etc.

The manner of Mr. Churchill's putting the fact that "less than 500 persons have been killed" etc., is not very happy. It would be lucky if the killers do not interpret Mr. Churchill's words as an indirect challenge to them. If they do—we hope and trust they will not—the Prime Minister's words may have the effect of an unintentional incitement to lawlessness.

(18) The alleged non-representative cha-

racter of the Congress can be *proved* only by holding a general election. But the Government is afraid of the Congress again sweeping the polls, as it did at the last general election which showed that its *representative* character was far greater than that of any other party or body.

We repeat that "the violent action of the Congress Party" has still to be proved.

(19) Mr. Churchill concluded his puerile speech by assuring the House of Commons that "the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm." It is to be hoped that he is not living in a fool's paradise.

In the course of the debate which followed Mr. Churchill called an Opposition Member a "merchant of discourtesies." He may similarly be styled a pedlar of fancied 'facts.'

"Manchester Guardian" on Indian Deadlock

LONDON, Sept. 18.

"What Indians are almost all asking for now is an Indian Government at the Centre which would be broadly representative and would support the war. Have we anything against that if it can be accomplished?" asks the *Manchester Guardian* in a leader today (Friday).

"Indian leaders who have been talking to each other proceed on the principle that the Indians should help themselves and should deal with one another. Some of them want to negotiate with the arrested Congress leaders. If, as is said, the Viceroy has refused his consent, he is unwise.

"Even if he himself refuses, why should not other Indians be allowed to discover chances of Government and take risks of failure to themselves? If unexpectedly some progress to a settlement were made, it would be of immense relief to the whole Allied cause. If there were still a deadlock, Indians would have done what they could with Indians and they could go on considering—as they are already considering—whether they should not try to bring about a National Government without the Congress in it."—*Reuter*.

"The New Statesman and Nation" on the Indian Situation

LONDON, Sept. 18.

"With the tropical rains coming to an end the Japanese may decide to launch an attack upon India," says *New Statesman and Nation*.

"At such a time the creation of an Indian Government to collaborate fully in the defence of their own country would seem to be the first object of policy. When Sir Stafford went to India and even when he left most people in India as well as in Britain believed in the sincerity of Britain's intentions. Now after Mr. Churchill's speech Indian Nationalists of all kinds will take more persuading of British *bonafides*. Only a prompt change of policy would remove this impression.

"No one who has followed the discussions in India during the last few days can fail to be impressed by the

virtual unanimity amongst most of the various Indian groups and individuals, Muslim, Hindu and Christian, that a National Government is now necessary and possible in India provided that Indian Independence is conceded. We believe that if there were no doubt about effective authority to be handed over to a National Government it would not be impossible even now under the threat of a Japanese invasion to form in India a Government in which not all but most of the leading and most of the representative Hindus and Muslims could co-operate. But it would have to be a Government and not a Viceroy's Council."

Suggestion To Invite Roosevelt to Arbitrate on Indian Situation

LONDON, Sept. 12.

The suggestion that Britain should "swallow its pride and invite the President of the United States to arbitrate on India," was made by Lord Strabolgi tonight. In view of the tremendous issues involved, it would be better to recognise now that "an outside and impartial mediator was needed."

Fighting in India was essential for the defeat of the Japanese but he feared a repetition of what happened in Burma—"where important elements turned to Japan after being rebuffed in London."

It is true, the last person whom Britain would dare to disoblige would be President Roosevelt. But we have our doubts regarding the up-to-date and unbiassed character of the information he has relating to India. As to his sympathies, he is a dark horse so far as India is concerned.

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek would be preferable. But Britain won't have him.

"China After Five Years Of War"

One puts down this book, published by The China Publishing Company of Chungking, with a feeling of envy. Why should we envy China, devastated as she has been by five long years of terrible war? Because by comparison India is a tortured Prometheus, bound on the rock of her subjugation. And not only with India does China compare favourably. There is no conflict here between private and national interests, no bottlenecks in production, none of the frustration and futility so evident in other countries. Consider the present coal situation in Britain and then read in this book how China has been developing her coal industry. Read of the steady progress her other industries are making, note the number of new factories opened, the number of new mines. In current English publications we read much of plans for reconstruction *after* the war. We read here of marvellous reconstruction *during* war. I doubt if history can show anything to equal it. Out of evil can come good. The mental and material upheaval in the lives of people caused by war provides unparalleled

opportunities. People are prepared for and resigned to changes. That these changes may be deliberately made use of in a way not possible in times of peace to push through reform and reconstruction has been proven in China. Chu Fu-sung, writing of wartime industrial changes, tells us:

"For the relief of refugees and wounded soldiers, the National Relief Commission has established about 20 factories, including paper mills, spinning and weaving factories and leather tanneries. Relief factories have a high educational value."

He also tells us of 'guerilla industries,' portable workshops that carry on and strengthen small-scale industries in many parts of occupied China, close to the front and behind the enemy lines, as a means of ensuring self-sufficiency in all districts. He further says:

"Prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1937, there were only 745 coal mines and 33 iron mines operating with native methods on a small scale in the hinterland. . . . Today, there are 1,350 privately-owned industrial plants in the interior, using mechanical power in addition to 108 units of heavy industries. . . . Free China is self-sufficient in almost everything necessary for the conduct of war and reconstruction."

This in spite of the fact that she has not a single large port at her disposal and the continual destruction, shifting and reconstruction of her railways. The story of her conquest of transport difficulties is an exciting one. To realise what this means let us imagine India fighting on undaunted with Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Ahmedabad and Jamshedpur in enemy hands. Not only fighting but expanding her industries, extending her communications, increasing food and commodity production, maintaining her foreign trade, training and organising her youth, and providing for refugees.

The methods used in China to secure an increase in food production are of immediate interest to India, where we are suffering so much from the shortage and inadequate regulation of foodstuffs. In the chapter on rural economy we are told:

"... the chief aim is to achieve self-sufficiency in food in every district. Special attention is given to areas producing insufficient foodstuffs for their own consumption."

How vainly has Gandhiji urged us to do this very thing! We read on:

"Food increase measures are more positive than preventive. They include the increase of acreage, the increase of rice production by reducing the acreage of glutinous rice which mostly goes to wine-making, the increase of wheat and miscellaneous grains by winter ploughing, the use of improved seeds, reclamation of wasteland, disease and insect control, use of better fertilizers, further development of the irrigation system and the protection of domestic animals."

There is no scarcity in China now. Government has monopolies of iron and steel, fuel, salt, sugar, matches. Storage houses are established in different places to keep agricultural and industrial products to safeguard against any possible shortage.

"The administration has started the control of cotton yarn and cotton cloth, which are considered by many economists as leading factors in the regulation of commodity prices. . . ."

Effective measures have been taken to stabilize the currency, control prices, prevent hoarding and check speculation.

Yet the Chinese government is essentially conservative. What it has achieved has been within the capitalist framework. Only after five years have measures been taken in hand to nationalize the land. China is like India in that her "rural problem lies in the concentration of landownership in the hands of a small number of people." The solution for India as well as for China is that proposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, namely, for farmers to be owners of the land they till. The measures being taken have, therefore, a particular interest for us. Tenants are given priority in buying land if it is for sale. Ground rent has been compulsorily reduced and the right of the landowner to change or dismiss tenants limited in several provinces. The land finance department of the Farmer's Bank of China gives loans to small farmers to enable them to buy land or to the Government to purchase land from landowners. The Government may redistribute the land to tenant farmers, who may repay the purchase price of the land to the Government in instalments.

One wishes to hear more of this scheme and more also about administration, wages and labour conditions before judging how far China has kept up her progress towards democracy under the party dictatorship of the Kuomintang. One wants to know how the representatives for the proposed People's Congress to be held as soon as conditions permit are to be chosen.

On the evidence of this book, however, we have every reason to rely on the sanity and sincerity of the valiant people who, as Madame Chiang has told us, watched with astonishment as the Western nations fell back again and again 'in the face of overwhelming odds' before a foe whom they, as unprepared as a nation could be, had fought single-handed for four and a half years.

China apparently has no use for the scorched earth policy. It is nowhere mentioned. She has relied with far greater success on portabili-

ty, removing her industries and schools from threatened areas to safer situations. Again and again has she shifted them, pressing into service all available means of transport. It is instructive to study how she has distributed the new locations as evenly and as widely as possible throughout Free China, avoiding concentrations that could easily be destroyed from the air. Thus the loss of any one part cannot cripple her, nor the number of industries to be evacuated prove beyond her ability to do so.—SRIMATI LILA RAY

Sir K. V. Reddy

The late Sir Kurma Venkata Reddy held many important offices and was an eminent citizen of Madras. He acted as Governor of Madras when Lord Erskine proceeded on leave. He succeeded the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as Agent to the Governor-General in South Africa. In 1937 he formed an interim ministry in Madras. Later when the Congress Party accepted office and the Madras ministry introduced the teaching of Hindi compulsorily in schools, he championed the cause of Dravidian culture and threatened to march into jail if that course was persisted in. Some years ago we met him several times in Madras when a session of the Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths was held there and found him possessed of an engaging and interesting personality. The last office which he held was, we believe, the Vice-Chancellorship of the Annamalai University.

Hirendranath Datta

By the death of Sjt. Hirendranath Datta the country has lost an eminent citizen, a great scholar and litterateur and a distinguished educationalist. In boyhood and youth his academic career as a student was uniformly brilliant. After obtaining high honours in the B.A., and M.A., examinations of the Calcutta University he won the Premchand Roychand Studentship, the blue ribbon of that University. He achieved great success in his professional career as an attorney-at-law. His name and memory will ever remain enshrined in the annals of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (the Bengali Literary Academy), of which he was one of the founders and a president for several terms. He was a distinguished member of the Bengal National Council of Education and took a very distinguished and active part in establishing and conducting the Jadabpur College of Engineering. He was a staunch Theosophist

and follower of Dr. Annie Besant and a Vice-president of the Theosophical Society. He worked energetically to make Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement a success. He was actively connected with the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. He was an effective speaker both in Bengali and English. He had made a profound and extensive study of the Vedanta philosophy and was one of its principal exponents. He was the author of several learned books in Bengali on philosophical and religious subjects.

Hiralal Haldar

Professor Dr. Hiralal Haldar was an educationist throughout his active career. After finishing his university career he first joined the Berhampur College as professor of philosophy. He next accepted office in the City College of Calcutta, where he taught philosophy, logic and English, and where the editor of this *Review* had the honour of being one of his co-workers. Later he was appointed professor of philosophy in the Calcutta University. After the retirement of Sir Brajendra Nath Seal from the chair of the King George the Fifth Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Dr. Haldar was elevated to that chair. He retired from the University in 1933. During the period of his active connection with the University he was for some time President of the Council of Postgraduate Teaching in Arts and Science. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University for several years. He was a successful and inspiring teacher. He had extensive and profound knowledge of Western philosophy, to which he made original contributions, too. He had similar knowledge of Indian philosophy, too. His notable work on "Neo-Hegelianism" brought him international fame. He was also the author of "Two Essays on General Philosophy and Ethics" and "Survival of Human Personality After Death." The last work at first appeared serially in *The Modern Review*. Unlike some philosophers, he had an abundant sense of humour. As befits a teacher of youth, he bore an exemplary character.

Har Dayal Nag

Sjt. Har Dayal Nag, the grand old nationalist of Bengal whose 90th birthday was celebrated quite recently, passed away on the 20th September last. He was one of the pioneers, since the Swadeshi days, among those who led people towards the achievement of self-government. He left a lucrative practice at the bar and became an ardent follower of Mahatma

Gandhi and his idealism. For the last fifty years he influenced the political life of Bengal and contributed various articles to papers stressing the need for constructive nationalism as apart from the aggressive one, and was held in great respect by Mahatma Gandhi. He tried to show that self-reliant education was the urgent need for shaping the thought and mind of people and for creating future leaders of men. He founded the national school at Chandpur, to which he gave his all, and which now follows the basic education scheme.

Later, owing to advancing years, he could not take an active part in the national struggle, but his heart was ever in it and off and on he issued statements in support of the movement.

On the occasion of his 90th birthday, he gave from his sickbed the following message :

"I am entirely a God-believing man. God created the world for His own purpose. He made a plan for that purpose and created all the beings in accordance with that purpose. God must save His creatures for his own purpose."

Is It "Foolish To Ask For Indian Control of Defence" ?

Dr. Ambedkar is reported to have expressed the opinion that there is no Indian public man competent to run the technical and military side of the Defence department, "and so, "In these circumstances it is foolish to ask for Indian control of defence, for such control, when in the hands of an ignorant person, can only be nominal." Our impression is that among those of our countrymen who are popularly considered and spoken of as public men or politicians there are men who are quite competent to control Defence. The work of the Defence member is different from both that of the commander in the battle-field and that of the director or manager of factories for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. The person who controls and runs the war department need not himself be a warrior on land or sea or in the air. Mr. Churchill is at the head of the British war cabinet. He came out to India about half a century ago as a subaltern. Perhaps it is not by virtue of that great qualification that he is what he is. Mr. Lloyd George, who won the last great world war for Britain, was not a soldier but a solicitor previous to his becoming prime minister of England. His early education was not that of a soldier but only such as his maternal uncle, a cobbler, could afford to give him. The present First Lord of the Admiralty was not a sailor but a

clerk. It is stated in *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny* by the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani that

Sir Edward Carson, speaking as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1917, during the last war, declared that he entered the Admiralty in a state of extreme ignorance. Some one asked Sir Edward the day he went there how he felt. The Admiralty Chief replied, "My only qualification is that I am absolutely at sea."—*The Leader*.

Dr. Ambedkar has not hesitated to express the opinion that he has because his masters will like it. If any other Indian member holds the opposite opinion, he may be theoretically at liberty to express it, but will not perhaps do so for fear of offending the powers that be. So the British rulers of India will conclude that it is not only they but also the "wise and patriotic" Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council who hold that there is no Indian competent to control and direct the work of the Defence department. The fact, however, remains that, if India had an Indian Defence Member she would have been better prepared to resist and repel aggression than she is today. And perhaps in that case she could have also sent to Malaya and Burma more effective help than she actually did.

Utilization Branch of Geological Survey of India

On the 21st September last the Central Legislative Assembly agreed after some discussion to the election of three members from the House to the Advisory Committee connected with the work of the utilization branch of the Geological Survey of India. The official proposal or suggestion was to elect only one such member. Credit is due to Mr. K. C. Neogy for the increase from one to three. It is to be hoped that Mr. Neogy is or will be one of the three. He has first-hand knowledge of the mineral resources of at least one Indian State, namely, Mayurbhanj.

Owing to the expulsion of British mining entrepreneurs from Malaya and Burma and to that of Dutch mining entrepreneurs from Indonesia, there is now a plethora of such mineral-hungry men seeking new fields to exploit. Proprietors of mineral-bearing lands, whether in British India or in the Indian States, ought to be very careful to see that such lands or mining concessions in them do not pass into the hands of these foreigners, and it is the duty of our legislators and other public men to help these proprietors in all practicable ways.

Impeachment of Congress in London and New Delhi

Mr. Churchill's recent speech on the Indian situation in the House of Commons was a sort of impeachment of the Indian National Congress. He opened the case for the prosecution but produced no evidence. Another peculiarity of this state trial was that the accused were not present either in person or by counsel. They had no opportunity to defend themselves. The judge and the prosecutor being the same, the verdict was a foregone conclusion and was pronounced by the prosecutor himself. The accused were convicted of sabotage, pillage, arson and murder. Later, a similar state trial took place in the Legislative Assembly and Council of State in New Delhi with the same result.

Had the prosecutors in London and New Delhi forgotten all about the Parnell Commission and the forged Pigott letter for which the *London Times* had to pay Parnell heavy damage? Of more recent date was the celebrated Zinovieff letter which was used to discredit an unwanted Labour Government. Had the authorities forgotten all about this, too?

The article on the allegations against the Congress and "Parnellism and Crime," published in this issue on another page, will enable readers to refresh their memory of the older episode referred to above.

Mahatma Gandhi's Dilemma

Previous to the outbreak of the disturbances which followed the arrest of Gandhiji and the Congress leaders the insinuation was that, as Mahatma Gandhi had nothing but his non-violent non-co-operation with which to face the apprehended Japanese invasion, he and his Congress colleagues wanted India to fall into the hands of the Axis powers. After the outbreak of the recent disorders, it has been asserted that Gandhiji and his colleagues have thrown non-violence to the winds and that the lawlessness, pre-arranged by them, which is rampant everywhere is meant to thwart the war effort against the Axis powers. So Gandhiji's non-violence was meant to help the enemy and his latterly assumed violence, too, has the same object!

Financing Congress No "Moral Turpitude," Says Sir M. Visvesvaraya

BOMBAY, Sept. 20.

The need for constituting a proper post-war reconstruction board to make adequate preparations for the reconstruction work after the war was stressed by Sir

M. Visvesvaraya, presiding over the second quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation today. He urged that the public in India should be kept informed of the progress made in the industrial front in the matter of India's war effort.

Referring to certain remarks made by Mr. Churchill on Indian manufacturers and financial interests Sir M. Visvesvaraya said: "The war is still exercising its blighting influence on industry. Our deep interest as an economic organisation lies in the early cessation of the war and the success of the Allies. The British Prime Minister in his speech on India the other day stated that the Indian National Congress which is fighting for the freedom of the country was 'sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests.' I am not personally aware that any funds have been given to this cause by the interests named, but even if they have been given, there can be no moral turpitude in such an act. Do not English businessmen contribute to party funds and get protection and help in their world-wide economic enterprises? In India too it should be recognised that for developing industries we want economic freedom. The struggle in India today is to seek amelioration or relief from conditions which threaten to stabilise poverty and make it difficult for the vast masses of our population to keep themselves alive."—A. P.

Indian Communist Party's Manifesto

The ban on the Indian communist party was lifted by the Government on the understanding, it was said at that time, that that party would help the authorities in fighting the Congress. It is not known how the Congress is being fought by that party. But its latest manifesto, which is reproduced below in part, supports the main Congress demand and urges the release of the Congress leaders.

BOMBAY, Sept. 21.

An appeal to the Government to give up its present repressive policy, to release Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, to lift the ban on the Congress organisations and open negotiations with the Congress and other parties in India, especially the Muslim League, for the purpose of establishment of a Provisional National Government is made in a 2,000-word manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India which met in Bombay during the last week.

The manifesto emphasises that the Provisional National Government should be fully empowered and determined to unite and mobilise the people for the defence and the freedom of the country in close alliance of the United Nations. The Communist Party, which is pledged to forge national unity to solve the present national crisis, appeals to the workers and progressive people of Britain to bring pressure upon the British Government to concede the just national demand of the Indian people, thus clearing the way "for our common victory in this war of liberation."

The present policy of the British Government in India, the manifesto says, "stabs the cause of the British and American people and of the Soviet and Chinese people in the back. The Communist Party warns the British Government that if it persists in this policy it will only succeed in creating a common disaster for the British and the Indian people."

Condemning the present policy of repression pursued by the Government of India and supported by the British Government the manifesto says, "The main responsibility for plunging the country into a grave and perilous crisis, which not only undermines the cause of the freedom of India, but also of the freedom-loving peoples of the United Nations, must be fastened on the shoulders of the British Government. The national leadership had declared its readiness to undertake full responsibility for uniting and organising the people for the armed defence of the country, in alliance with the United Nations and thus to take full share in the war of world freedom against Fascist aggression provided that Indian Independence was recognised and a Provisional National Government was set up, enjoying the confidence of the people and supported by the major political parties. But the British Government instead of pursuing the policy of winning the friendship and alliance of the Indian people, have persistently refused to part with power.

Expensive Plan to Outwit the Censor

It was, we believe, Mr. K. C. Neogy who first recently said in New Delhi that, owing to the strict censorship there, some Delhi correspondents of American and other foreign papers were obliged to fly to Chungking to despatch their messages abroad.

Flimsy Character of Anti-Congress Evidence Home Member Has

Writing on the Central Assembly debate *The Hindu* says:

The Home Member has described the disturbance as a 'rebellion' that is being put down. He is positive that there was deep planning and organisation behind it. "I am not at present prepared to say whence this organisation drew its inspiration. It will be our business to find out more of what we do not yet know. And yet he has had no difficulty in jumping to the conclusion that the utterances of the Congress leader at the Bombay meeting of the A-I. C. C. showed that they knew and approved of what was likely to occur. He is positive that they were not ignorant of the existence of the mysterious 'organisation' whose hidden hand Sir Reginald professes to have detected, and further that their plans did contemplate that it would be brought into play when they launched their mass movement." "It may be said that there is no proof that those bulletins (which the Madras Government professed to have unearthed) carry the authority of the Congress or the Congress leaders, although they profess to do so"; but beyond mentioning the bare possibility of such an objection Sir Reginald seems to have thought that he was not called upon to make some attempt to rebut it. The whole technique behind this campaign of disingenuous vilification by innuendo is depressingly familiar to those who know something of British public life. Did not the famous Zinovieff letter come handy to discredit an unwanted Labour Government. But this trick, dirty as it is, is comparatively harmless when employed in the rough and tumble of party politics in a free country. Unfortunately in India the die is heavily loaded against popular parties, since there is no prospect of the Government collapsing if its devious ways are exposed. After Sir Reginald's confessions the

life of his Government, if India had been a free country, would not have been worth an hour's purchase. It would have had to answer some very awkward questions. What was it doing all the time a rebellion was hatching under its very nose? And if it failed to unearth the 'organisation' of whose existence it seemed so sure, how could it try to make a scapegoat of the Congress without establishing beyond a peradventure that the Congress was that organisation? If the two were different bodies but worked hand in hand and timed their operations nicely so as to dovetail into one another—which is another of Sir Reginald's alternative theories—why should they have waited for the Government to arrest the Congress leaders before creating trouble? Sir Reginald is, however, persuaded that "this movement cannot in any true sense be described as a people's movement. The whole thing is engineered and not spontaneous." If, nevertheless, it has worked so much havoc, are not the Government largely to blame for having, by their tactless action in arresting the Congress leaders and inflaming mob passions, unconsciously aided the efforts of the malcontents?

Why Disorders Greatest Where Congress Ministries Functioned Before

In the Central Assembly Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Law Member, said in the course of his speech against the Congress on the 18th September last :

Before the ink was dry on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution the whole of India was in flames, and the acts of destruction followed with lightning rapidity and virulence almost unparalleled in the history of India, and it was most remarkable that the movement was most violent in provinces where the Congress Ministries had functioned before they went out of office (hear, hear).

Sir Sultan's insinuation against the Congress has been met, as if by prophetic anticipation, in the statement which Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad issued about a fortnight before on Sir Firozkhan Noon's fantastic scheme for five Dominions in India. In that statement Sir Jagdish says that the explanation which Sir Firozkhan has given of the recent disturbances is far too simple to be accepted as correct. Sir Firozkhan's explanation is that the Panjab and Bengal have remained quieter, comparatively speaking, as they are two of the provinces with Muslim majorities. This is not a convincing explanation. Muslim majority provinces are not necessarily and generally quiet during time of war. Sind has not been quiet during the present war. The lawless elements there have taken advantage of the Government's pre-occupation with the war to create trouble, led by other motives, too, no doubt. During the last world war disturbances on a large scale took place in the Panjab, and at that time terrorists were very active in Bengal.

Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad's explanation

is indicated in his statement that "it is noticeable that so far as these disorders have been most acute in those provinces where the constitution was suspended nearly three years ago, which meant that no legislature was functioning to give an outlet to public feeling and where non-officials were completely dissociated from the task of government, in short where the sense of frustration was more pronounced." Sir Jagdish's conclusion appears to us to be correct that the sense of frustration which has resulted in the present political distemper is keenest in provinces which are administered by Governors and official advisers.

"Popular ministries in touch with public opinion and responsible to legislatures, representative of a wide electorate, can more accurately gauge public sentiment than Governors and advisers who have under Indian condition necessarily to live in an artificial atmosphere and rely upon sources of information which in the very nature of things cannot accurately mirror public feeling."

The Law Member's Appeal for "Agreed Proposals"

On the 18th September last Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Law Member, appealed to the Assembly members at New Delhi "to produce agreed proposals."

NEW DELHI, Sept. 18.

The Law Member's appeal to members of the Assembly today to produce agreed proposals, which, he assured the House, would not be lightly treated either by the Government here or in Britain, has provoked lively interest in the lobbies.

In response to the appeal an early move is being planned to bring representatives of different parties and groups in the Assembly together to hold exploratory conversations.—A. P.

It is not mentioned in the message who authorized him to make this appeal. Whether it was an authorized appeal or he spoke on his own responsibility, the idea obviously is that the agreed proposals should come from all or most parties *excluding the Congress*. For, if agreed proposals were really desired from the principal parties *including the Congress*, the Viceroy would not have refused permission to Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee to see Gandhiji. Dr. Mukherji had been trying on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha to produce some such proposals for a National Government.

It is foolish to think that any party or parties can deliver the goods excluding the Congress, however much the Government may try to ignore or belittle the Congress.

And it is not the Congress alone that the Government distrusts. If Sir Muhammad Usman, Leader of the Council of State, who is a colleague of the Law Member, is to be accepted

as a spokesman of the Government, all parties are suspect in the eyes of the Government.

NEW DELHI, Sept. 23.

The Leader of the House, Sir Mohammed Usman, replying to Mr. Sapru, in the Council of State, admitted that the Government had considered the "Congress offer of wholehearted co-operation if freedom is conceded" before arresting the Congress leaders. He added that *no party was really anxious to offer wholehearted co-operation. 'What they were anxious about was to secure power for themselves.'*—A. P. (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

If "no party was really anxious to offer wholehearted co-operation", from whom does Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Law Member, expect the "agreed proposals" to come? It seems that the Government professes, and perhaps only professes, to believe in the wholehearted desire of Mr. Churchill's eleven "wise and patriotic men" alone to co-operate.

The real truth, all along believed in and every now and then given out by Indian nationalists, has been admitted by Mr. Arthur Moore, ex-editor of *The Statesman*. It is that the British Government will not part with their power in India, if, of course, they can help it.

Mr. Arthur Moore's Statement

All Indian nationalists may not agree with all the things which Mr. Arthur Moore has said in his courageous and illuminating statement. But they all believe with him that "*Indian differences are the excuse but not the cause of Britain's refusal to transfer power. Our refusal has been hitherto absolute and would remain so even if all Indian differences were composed.*"

Non-League Muslims Not Opposed to Independence But to Pakistan

A number of points about the strength of non-League Muslims in India were elucidated in the course of a Press Conference given at New Delhi on the 12th September last by Khan Bahadur Allahbux, Premier of Sind and President, Azad Muslim Conference, Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari, Secretary of the Conference and Mr. Mohamed Zahiruddin, President, All-India Momin Conference.

On the issue of Pakistan, said the Sind Premier, in three out of the four provinces which were supposed to comprise the future Pakistan,—namely, Sind, North-West Frontier and Bengal—a majority of the Muslims would say definitely no. About the position in the fourth province, namely, the Panjab, he could not say.

'No one among the Muslims,' he declared, 'is opposed to independence, but large numbers of them are certainly opposed to Pakistan.'

Replying to questions about the numerical strength of Azad Muslims, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Zahiruddin explained that

the All-India Azad Muslim Conference comprised some nine different Muslim organisations, some of them older than the Muslim League. Among these were the Momin Conference, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema (an organisation of Muslim divines), the Khuda-i-Khidmatgars (the Red Shirts of the Frontier), the Krishak Praja Party (consisting of a majority of Muslim members of the Bengal Legislature), the Nationalist Muslims of Bihar and the Ahrars of the Punjab. Of these the Momins alone claimed to represent forty million Muslims.

It was true, said Mr. Zahiruddin, that Mr. Amery gave the figure in the House of Commons as 4½ million. The discrepancy, said Mr. Zahiruddin, was explained as follows:

Momins were weavers and they constituted among Muslims a class analogous to the Depressed classes among the Hindus. Owing to social disabilities many Momins preferred to be returned in the last census as other than Momins but they nevertheless remained Momins, though they followed other professions than weaving. In any case they gave full support to the political stand taken by the Momin Conference. In fact, that Conference represented the vanguard of a social revolt of the lower stratum of the Muslim community against class Muslims, who mainly occupied the seats of power and formed the bulk of the Muslim League membership.

Following Mr. Amery's statement in the Commons, Mr. Zahiruddin went on,

the Momin Conference sent a cable to the Secretary of State stating that they actually numbered forty millions and declaring that in any case Indian Muslims repudiated the Muslim League's claim to speak on behalf of the entire Muslim community.

Mr. Zahiruddin complained that

the Viceroy had refused a request to receive representatives of the Momins and hear their grievances. Apparently, the Viceroy agreed, with the Secretary of State's estimate of the Momins' importance; but even if the Secretary of State's figure was for argument's sake accepted Momins were more numerous than the Sikhs; and he asked then why were Momins even denied the right of audience with the Viceroy.

Dr. Ansari went on to point out that

Momins were only one of the parties in the Azad Muslim Conference and as he had said there were eight other Momin parties in that conference. He suggested that its claim to speak on behalf of a large section of Muslims in India was, therefore, indisputable.

The Azad Muslim Conference at its session in 1940 had opposed Pakistan and had favoured a Federal constitution with complete autonomy for the provinces with safeguards for minorities of all communities in each province. The question of giving the right of secession to the provinces as geographical and territorial units—and not to a particular community, as the Muslim League wanted—had been discussed by the conference but no decision had been taken.

NOTES

The Azad Conference was expected to hold a session in December this year.

A correspondent asked how Khan Bahadur Allahbux's declaration that the British Government were unwilling to part with power could be reconciled with Mr. Churchill's declaration that the Cripps proposals, which promised independence after the war, remained unaltered. Khan Bahadur Allahbux replied :

The obstacle to parting with power in the immediate present had been stated by the British authorities to be absence of agreement among the parties in India. Suppose after the war the Muslim League attitude remained unchanged on the question of Pakistan, then what chances were there of a parting with power after the war? If the intention of the Cripps proposals was that power should be transferred after the war irrespective of the Muslim League's attitude, then such a transfer of power could take place right now.

Speaking as Premier of Sind, Khan Bahadur Allahbux agreed that law and order should be maintained, but a repressive policy without any attempt to come to a political settlement was no solution.

Rajaji Contradicts Sir Stafford Cripps

MADRAS, Sept. 14.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has issued the following statement :

"It is a matter for regret that Sir Stafford Cripps has again made the allegation that Mahatma Gandhi intervened and made the Working Committee breach off from negotiations while the latter has been agreeable to a settlement. Gandhiji is in prison and cannot again contradict this baseless story that will go into 'Hansard.' I was present from beginning to end during these talks, and I can say authoritatively that Mahatmaji, who was absent from Delhi during the later stages, was not responsible for anything that took place. In spite of Mahatmaji's adverse opinion expressed at the preliminary stage, the Working Committee entered into discussions with Sir Stafford and carried on according to their own policy and Mahatmaji did not interfere.

Sir Stafford Cripps has again chosen to repeat this story even though it was definitely contradicted when it was first put forward by him. Sir Stafford seems to be suffering from some obsession in this regard. Whatever may be sources of his information, this is to assure everyone concerned that the story has no foundation. I am afraid that some one has deceived Sir Stafford Cripps in this matter and has put an idea into his head which he is unwilling to give up. Probably if he had known that there was no truth in the story that Gandhiji intervened against a settlement, Sir Stafford would not have broken off so suddenly and flown back to England as he did. Whoever was responsible for this mischievous invention he had done the greatest disservice to Indo-British relations and is largely responsible for the present tragic situation.—A. P.

Appeal to British Premier By Indian Leaders For Immediate Transfer of Power

A demand that the British Prime Minister should settle the Indian problem was made in

a joint statement issued on the 10th September last by leaders who had been engaged in the Delhi political talks. The appeal asks for a declaration of immediate transfer of real power to Indian hands postponing all controversial issues. This appeal was made on the eve of Mr. Churchill's then expected statement on India. Copies of the leaders' statement were cabled to Mr. Churchill and forwarded to the Viceroy. Nevertheless Mr. Churchill made the statement that he did, showing that he was determined to flout Indian public opinion.

"The present war, which has involved all the nations of the world is proclaimed to be a struggle between democracy and freedom on one side, and tyranny and race superiority on the other," says the appeal. "From the beginning of this titanic struggle India has been demanding that Great Britain where she has the power should implement the professions of equality and freedom, so that her moral prestige might rise and her cause be endowed with justice. For some reason or other she has been evading this obvious duty and postponing the accomplishment of the great ideals for which she professes to fight.

"The failure of her policy in Egypt and Ireland, in Burma and Malaya indicates that if she is to be successful in India, she must enlist the popular will and enthusiasm. The Indian people must be made to feel that they are defending their honour and freedom, their hearths and homes against the foreign aggressors. The examples of China and Russia are there to indicate that only a people's war can be waged successfully under modern conditions. The most influential political party in a mood of utter despair finding no adequate response to this legitimate demand wished to change their policy of non-embarrassment to achieve freedom. But before they could promulgate the same, they were incarcerated and a policy of repression ensued. We feel that an atmosphere of violence and counter-violence is hardly the atmosphere for a satisfactory reconciliation between India and Great Britain. If Great Britain is willing to grant self-government to India after the war, what is it that prevents its accomplishment today? A national government pledged to the support of the war against the aggressors consisting of representatives of major political interest with complete autonomy in the internal administration during the period of the war and unfettered freedom thereafter, will satisfy the demand for independence put forth by all the political parties in the country.

"Such a declaration of immediate transfer of real power to Indian hands postponing all controversial issues until after the war will produce the right atmosphere for dissolving differences and harmonising the divergent tendencies which are now over-emphasised. By solving the Indian problem Britain will help the Allied nations, improve her own case and be a powerful instrument for the overthrow of the aggressive powers which are menacing civilization today. There does not seem to be any justification for shirking the issue any longer. Here and now His Majesty's Government must proclaim that India is independent. We have not the least doubt that free India will not negotiate any separate treaties with the enemy powers but will wholeheartedly fight the aggressors along with the Allied nations. Events in India are rapidly moving towards a dangerous climax and there never was a period in the last hundred years when the feeling against Britain was so bitter as it is today.

Before it is too late we urge the British Prime Minister who has, if he chooses, courage, vision and statesmanship to settle this problem now and for all time in the interests of Britain and India."

The signatories are

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal.
 Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, President, Azad Muslim Conference, Chief Minister, Sind.
 Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Working President, Hindu Mahasabha and Minister, Bengal.
 K. K. Habibullah, Nawab of Dacca, Minister, Bengal.
 Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister, Punjab.
 Master Tara Singh, President, Shiromani Prabhakar Committee.
 Sir Gokul Chand Narang.
 Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.
 Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., Punjab.
 Mohd. Zaher-uddin, President, All-India Muslim Conference.
 N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha.
 Meher Chand Khanna, President, Frontier Hindu Mahasabha.
 Raja Maheshwar Dayal, Working President, U. P. Hindu Mahasabha.
 Dr. S. S. Ansari, General Secretary, Azad Muslim Board.
 K. C. Neogy, M.L.A. (Central).--A. P. I.

Sapru-Jayakar Statement

"Much concern and great disappointment" at Mr. Churchill's speech on the Indian situation is expressed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar in the course of a joint statement issued to the Press on the 16th September last. The statement begins:

We have read with much concern and with great disappointment Mr. Churchill's speech on the Indian situation in the House of Commons. In our considered opinion, a speech like this will in no way help but may worsen the situation. It may have a reassuring effect in America and other countries belonging to the United Nations. Perhaps the hope of such a reaction was the dominating factor in shaping that speech.

We have read also with equal concern Mr. Amery's speech. Both these speeches give rise to certain questions. If as Mr. Amery says: "Very soon after Sir Stafford Cripps left India, it became clear that, under Mr. Gandhi's inspiration, the Congress was steadily swinging towards a policy of direct defiance at paralysis of the existing Government of India," the people of this country are entitled to know what steps Mr. Amery and the Government of India took to prevent matters reaching a catastrophic climax.

If, as Mr. Churchill attempts to make out, the Congress does not represent the vast mass of the people, may we ask why the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other political bodies and the general public were ignored during the whole of this critical period? We wonder what Sir Stafford Cripps will say to Mr. Churchill's plea about the unrepresentative character of the Congress. Will he recall what he told both of us during our interview in Delhi that in his opinion the Congress and the Muslim League alone mattered for the purposes of the settlement and that if he saw no

prospect of such a settlement with them, then we need expect no change?

The suggestions made by Dr. Sapru and Dr. Jayakar are:

(1) Even now an attempt should be made to establish without delay a National Government, with the help of the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other political parties. These bodies should be left free to treat with Congress leaders behind the bars. If the Congress leaders are unable to negotiate with them in their places of detention, they should be set free to deal with their own countrymen of other parties.

(2) It should be declared by those who negotiate that in any attempt which they will make for the purposes of a settlement and the establishment of a National Government, they will do nothing to prejudice or prejudice the demands of any minority community on which it sets a value, at the time of the framing of the permanent constitution.

CALLING OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(3) Congressmen should be persuaded by their own countrymen who negotiate with them to call off civil disobedience, but if they decline to do so, then those belonging to other parties, who may be called upon to assume responsibility, should be left free to deal with the movement.

RESTING AGGRESSION

(4) Those who are called upon to form a National Government should make it unequivocally clear that they will make their best and genuine effort to resist enemy aggression and will not interfere with or obstruct in any manner but will help actual military operations or the execution of military policy during the period of the war and that all such matters will be left entirely in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief guided by the War Cabinet in London.

ABOLITION OF INDIA OFFICE

(5) We further suggest that the India Office should be forthwith abolished. It is the one part of British machinery which is most distrusted in India and never more so than during the last two years.

(6) Outstanding questions between England and India in regard to other interests should be left for settlement after the war.

INDIA AND UNITED NATIONS

(7) The question of the Defence of India is not an isolated one. In its proper solution all the United Nations are vitally interested. We, therefore, suggest that having regard to the proportions which the present unrest has assumed in India, the United Nations should bestir themselves and make their contribution to a happy appeasement of Indian feeling. We fear that speeches in England and official statements in India are at times too much dominated by a callous spirit of propaganda. This must stop."--A. P.

Two Muslim Leaders on the Congress and on Independence

The debate on the present situation in India continued in the Central Assembly on September 17th last.

Opening the discussion for the day Dr. Ziauddin declared that the Congress and the Muslim League did not differ on the main issue of independence and National Government.

CONGRESS NO NONENTITY

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi though opposed to the attitude of the Congress did not, on the other hand, agree with Mr. Churchill that the Congress was a nonentity.

WHO REPRESENTS MUSLIMS ?

Opining that Mr. Churchill accepted or discredited the claims of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah according to the purpose that suited him Sir A. H. Ghuznavi said : " This time he (Mr. Churchill) has conceded that the 90 millions of Muslims are behind the Muslim League and opposed to the Congress, forgetting the existence of very important parties with large following among the Muslims of India, like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Momins, the Ahrars, the Azad Muslims who do not owe allegiance to the Muslim League.

Rajaji's Retort to Lord Erskine

Referring to Lord Erskine's letter to *The Times*, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, has issued the following statement :

" Lord Erskine's fantastic story about Gandhiji's interference in the formation of the Madras Ministry has as little truth in it as its predecessor the Lord Privy Seal's story about the breakdown of his own negotiations. It is regrettable that responsible men should make accusation of this kind merely upon the strength of their own conjectures and try to buttress one story with another. We are not told on what data these two eminent accusers based their allegations. If the data were furnished we could apportion the blame for these inventions. Chivalry at least should have prevented the circulation of these accusations against one who is kept as a close prisoner unable to contradict the allegations." —A. P.

Rajaji has given these purveyors of falsehoods more credit for chivalry than they deserve. Another Britisher, too, has circulated another falsehood relating to Gandhiji.

All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee's Important Resolution

The following is the full text of the important resolution passed last month (September) at Delhi by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha :

The peril confronting India demands the mobilisation of India's tremendous man-power and gigantic natural resources which can never be secure without a National Government. The experiences of Burma and Malaya and the working of the present constitution in this country during the last few years demand the radical transformation of the present system of Government which has failed either to mobilise public opinion or to utilise the resources of the country effectively in the cause of democracy and liberty. If this has got to be won and if the present menace has to be destroyed, it is clear that India's national will must support the defending army and this can never be secured by the mere employment of non-Indian troops or by the continuance of the present Government which commands neither the confidence nor the willing allegiance of the Indian people. The dangerous international situation

which threatens India and the imminent danger of foreign invasion and the urge for national emancipation stimulated by the professed aims of the United Nations demand the immediate declaration of India's independence and the formation of a National Government to whom power must be transferred subject to necessary adjustments during the war for fighting the menace and for the national defence of India.

MAHASABHA'S DEMANDS

The All-India Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha therefore demands :

1. Immediate declaration by Britain of India's independent status.
2. Immediate initiation of negotiation by the British Government with the principal political parties in India to solve the present deadlock which is impeding war efforts and is bound to widen the cleavage between England and India.
3. Formation of an Indian National Government to whom all power should be transferred by the British Government.
4. The National Government will be composite in character and will consist of representatives of the principal political parties in the country.
5. Similar National Governments should be formed in the provinces which will include representatives of the principal political parties.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

6. After the termination of the war a Constituent Assembly will be set up by the National Government to frame a constitution for the Indian nation based on democratic principles, and if any minority is not satisfied with the safeguards laid down in the constitution the minority will have the right to refer the matter to an independent tribunal whose decision will be binding on all concerned.

7. The Indian National Government in India will declare its determination to fight the common enemy.

It will act in close collaboration with Britain and the United Nations for carrying out a common war policy which will be determined by the Allied war councils on which India will be represented by Indians chosen by the National Government, the Commander-in-Chief remaining in charge of the operational control of the war.

8. The Indian National Government will pursue a policy of militarisation and industrialisation for the effective national defence of India and will raise a national army for the purpose. In this national crisis no party should raise any issue calculated to disrupt Indian unity and to hinder the establishment of a National Government. In case any party adopts an obstructive attitude and does not want to co-operate in the formation of National Government, then the other parties should still be invited to form such a National Government.

This Committee records its emphatic opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of nationalism and to the ordered evolution of free India if as has been suggested in some quarters the Muslim League alone with its present avowedly anti-national outlook is invited to form the Government at the Centre and the Hindus will never accept such a Government.

LEAGUE CONDEMNED

This Committee condemns the anti-national attitude adopted by the Muslim League and profoundly regrets that it is still pursuing a policy which will intensify the strife and bitterness between the communities calcu-

lated to help the continuance of foreign domination in India.

TRANSFER OF POWER

This Committee is of opinion that the anti-national and anti-Hindu forces are being encouraged by the attitude of the British Government and by its reluctance to part with power to the representatives of the Indian nation. This Committee has reason to believe that immediately the British Government genuinely decided to transfer power to Indian hands the reactionary elements will be rendered ineffective and the representatives of the leading political parties will join hands and save India from the impending disaster.

FUTURE CONSTITUTION

This Committee is of opinion that the constitution of free India should be a federated one with the largest possible measure of autonomy for the federating units and in the interest of maintaining the unity and integrity of India residuary powers must be vested in the Federal Government and not in the federating units.

POLITICAL FREEDOM

The Hindu Mahasabha as the representative organisation of the Hindus of India has pursued the policy of responsive co-operation in spite of the tragic surrender by Britain through Sir Stafford Cripps to the malignant disruptionists in India. The time has now come when the Hindu Mahasabha must warn the British Government that although force may suppress the violent outburst of popular discontent for the time being, it can never appease or remove the fundamental cause of India's discontent.

The only way to secure the willing co-operation of India in the titanic struggle against the present menace is to recognise India as a free country and to respond to India's demand for a National Government. The interests of England and her Allies require that political freedom should be conceded to India in such a full measure that it would be impossible for the enemies of England to offer anything more alluring to the people of India.

A WARNING

If the British Government still persists in its policy of callous indifference to India's national aspirations and does not respond to this demand for the recognition of India's freedom and for the formation of a National Government, the Hindu Mahasabha will have no other alternative but to revise its present programme and to devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies will realise that India as a self-respecting nation can no longer be suppressed.

SOLUTION OF DEADLOCK

The Hindu Mahasabha feels that in this crisis when the Congress Committees have been banned as unlawful bodies and the Muslim League has taken up an impossible attitude of mere negation, it is the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha to make an earnest attempt to bring about the solution of the present deadlock and to make a final effort for Indo-British settlement on honourable terms and to mobilise public opinion throughout India in support of the national demand.

For effectively carrying out this double objective this Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha appoints a Committee consisting of the Working President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna, Mr. G. Deshpande, President Savarkar and Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth (both *ex-officio*) in order to

organise an intensive campaign for mobilising public opinion in support of the national demand and if possible to negotiate with the leaders of the principal political parties as well as representatives of the British Government.

This Committee should submit its report to the Working Committee by the end of September and a meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee should be summoned at Nagpur on October 1 to make recommendations as to the course of action which the Hindu Mahasabha should adopt and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Committee should meet thereafter at Nagpur on third and fourth of October to discuss the recommendations of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha.

POLICY OF REPRESSION

This Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India and deplores the complete lack of statesmanship exhibited by the Government. This Committee demands the immediate release of all national leaders who are now detained in jail.—A. P.

Sind Premier Renounces His Titles

Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, the Premier of Sind, the head of one of the ministries in office, referred to by Mr. Churchill in his speech, has renounced his titles of "Khan Bahadur" and "C. B. E." as a protest against the British Government's policy.

Announcing this at a Press Conference this evening, the Premier said the policy of the British Government was "to continue their hold on India and persist in keeping her under subjection, to use her political and communal differences for propaganda purposes, and to crush the national forces and serve their own intentions."

He also read a letter addressed by him to the Viceroy.

A Section of Britishers Favour Transfer of Power

A section of the British community in India who do not see things with official eyes and are, therefore, conscious of the reality of the situation, favour transfer of power to Indian hands and the formation of a national government. They are wise men and patriotic, too, if only Mr. Churchill would recognise the fact!

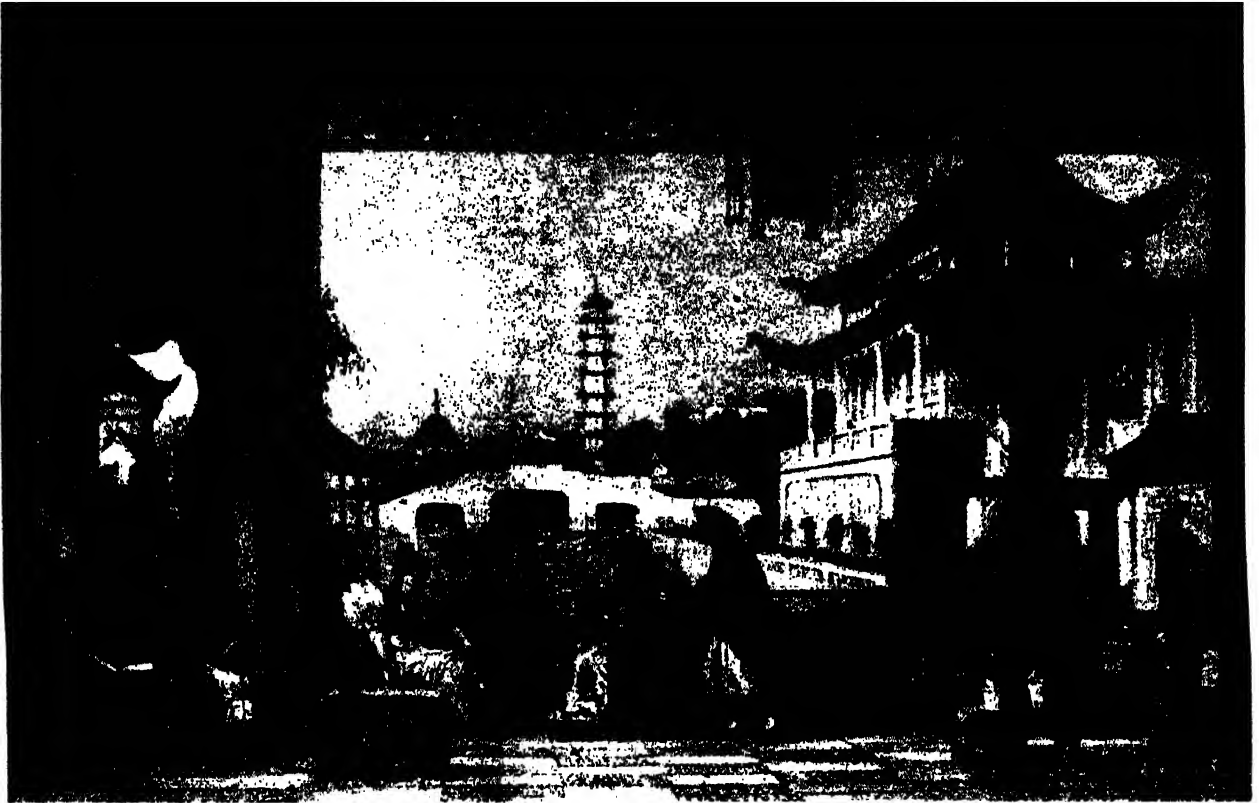
Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 14th October to the 27th October, 1942, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Ramananda Chatterjee,

Proprietor, "The Modern Review" and Prabasi Press.

CHINA OF A CENTURY AGO



Pavilion and gardens of a Mandarin near Peking



Gardens of the Imperial Palace. Peking



The Great Wall of China



Harbour of Hong Kong



Porcelain Tower. Nanking



The City of Nanking



The Tac-ping Shaou Kwan



The City of Ning-po from the river



WHY INDIA HELPED BRITAIN IN THE LAST WORLD WAR

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

VI

THE ATTITUDE OF POLITICAL INDIA

MORE than one English writer has expressed his gratification at the loyalty shown by the middle class intelligentsia which supplied then, as it does now, the majority of politicians in India. One of these, Sir Valentine Chirol, on page 139 of his *India Old and New*, after referring to the traditional loyalty of the Indian Princes, the great land-owning gentry and the fighting races, has observed :

"Less expected was the immediate rally to the British cause of the new Western-educated classes who, baulked of the political liberties which they regarded as their due, had seemed to be drifting hopelessly into bitter antagonism to British rule—a rally which at first included even those who, like Mr. Tilak, just released from his long detention at Mandalay, had taught hatred and contempt of the British rulers of India with a violence which implied, even when it was not definitely expressed, a fierce desire to sever the British connection altogether."

THE QUESTION OF THE STABILITY OF BRITISH RULE

An explanation of this friendliness towards Government put forward at that time was that Political India was so convinced about the stability of British rule that it abstained from embarrassing the administration in any way, because it had no doubts regarding the utter futility and the crass stupidity of such an attitude.

It is not denied that when war broke out, the classes of people referred to here including the middle classes did indeed believe in the ultimate victory of Britain though, for the time being, she had been put into a very awkward situation by the unexpected way in which war had been forced on her by Germany. It did not take Political India, which was composed of what one may call the well-informed classes, long to realise that Britain had been caught more or less unprepared. And it was confirmed in this belief by the urgency of the war situation in France which, immediately after hostilities had broken out, had compelled Lord Hardinge to despatch two Indian divisions to the western front and to follow them up by still another

division where they fought till the new army trained under the Kitchener scheme replaced them. These people also realised that India, a dependency, was the first among the components of the British Empire to come to the rescue of Britain in spite of the fact that her Daughters, the self-governing Dominions, claimed a much closer relationship and enjoyed certain privileges which were denied to Indians.

The conclusion that Political India drew from all these facts was that the stability of British rule was not, as in the past, as for instance during the Indian Mutiny, due to the gallantry of the British soldier only. Then it had been more or less a struggle between practically unarmed and absolutely untrained hooligans and sepoys without the right type of leadership who had broken the bonds of discipline on the one hand and well-equipped, disciplined forces on the other with the result that victory had come to the smaller but more efficient army. The Sikh wars had demonstrated that where there was something like parity, it was not easy for the British to have anything like a walk-over.

The war into which Britain had been dragged proved that the old reputation for invincibility under all circumstances, against all odds and against every opponent, was an undeserved one. It is true enough that Political India did believe in the "stability of British rule," but it also knew that this was very largely ensured by the participation of India and of the Dominions in the war and that India also was contributing her share towards ensuring this stability.

Lord Hardinge revealed the possession of insight into the Indian mind when he sent Indian troops, to act not merely as subsidiary forces in a comparatively unimportant war area but to France to fight shoulder to shoulder with British soldiers against the German army which, at that time, was regarded as almost invincible. It is of course true that the despatch of Indian troops was something like Hobson's choice, for the gap in the front line there had to be filled up somehow till Lord Kitchener's army was properly trained and equipped. But not many in India were aware of this fact at that time

and regarded the despatch of Indian troops in the light of a recognition of Indian valour. As the war dragged on, Indian troops went to various fronts whence glowing accounts of their courage and ability to meet all foes came pouring in and every Indian began to take pride in their achievements.

This fact was recognised by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, where we are told :

"The spectacle of Indian troops going forth gladly to fight for justice and right, side by side with the British army, appealed intensely to India's imagination. It was a source of legitimate pride and delight to her people that Indian regiments should be deemed fit to face '*the most highly trained enemy in the world.*'" (Italics ours).

India came to feel that she was part and no mean part of the Empire, that without her the British Empire would not have been what it was and that in order that she might be able to play her part properly as a partner in that Empire, her children must put forth their best efforts to assist Britain in all possible ways.

This feeling was strengthened when the valuable nature of India's contributions in the shape of men, materials and money to the Empire war effort was recognised by Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister of England, who said :

"We welcome with appreciation and affection their (Indians') proffered aid and in an empire which knows no distinctions of race or class we all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interests and fortunes. . . ."

Practical proof of this feeling was afforded by the admission of two Indians, Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharajah of Bikanir, to the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet, where they participated in the discussions with the British Ministers and the Ministers of the self-governing Dominions on terms of perfect equality and also when later on the Maharajah of Patiala and Sir S. P. Sinha represented India at the Peace Conference.

LOYALTY AND SYMPATHETIC ADMINISTRATION

Another explanation of the willingness India showed to shoulder her share and something more of the burden for carrying on the war, to which wide publicity was given at that time in Anglo-Indian papers published in our motherland as well as in a certain type of papers published in England, was that these proofs of loyalty which came from all sections including those politically-minded were really due to the sympathetic and self-sacrificing administration of the country by British officials.

While no one denies that the Government of India by Britain has undoubtedly conferred many and various benefits on us, there cannot be much doubt that they have not always found appreciation in every quarter. To ask any one who claims the possession of any knowledge of human nature to believe that the British administration had been so perfect and all the people of India so very capable of gratitude as to rally round Britain in her hour of trial and to pour out blood and money in order to show their appreciation and gratitude for British rule would make greater demands on his credulity than probably he is capable of.

When editorials and contributions to this effect, specially from retired members of the Indian Civil Service, began to appear with a monotonous regularity in the conservative papers of England and in Anglo-Indian papers, the *New Statesman*, well-known for the impartiality of its outlook and its sympathies for Indian political aspirations, intervened and in an editorial which appeared in the middle of January, 1918, observed :

"India stands by England today because England is understood to be standing by a principle of world-wide importance. Indian support is given to stamp out militarism and oppression in Europe; and *ipso facto* their reflexes in India. The loyal and whole-hearted service which is being rendered on the battlefields of France and Belgium is the outcome of a hope that the British democracy (in contrast with the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy) will see to it when the time comes that the black shadow of political and militarist domination is lifted for ever in India as well as in Europe."

It thus appears that, according to the editor of this periodical, the reason for India's "loyalty" was the desire for the abolition of political subjection or, in other words, the securing of greater political power.

ABSTINENCE FROM OPPOSITION

Political India has been credited with showing its loyalty to Government in various ways, of which the three principal ones were refraining from embarrassing the administration by opposition to the various measures it had to take for meeting the abnormal situation created by the war, co-operating with the officials in propaganda for raising men for the army and money for war purposes and subscribing to the war loans and war charities.

So far as the question of refraining from opposing Government when it brought forward emergency legislation is concerned, it is quite true that from 1914 to 1916, Indian politicians who are generally drawn from the middle-class

intelligentsia did, as a matter of fact, faithfully observe the truce which had been called for by the Viceroy when he announced the outbreak of hostilities. Their belief that the war was being waged to win freedom for all including themselves was strengthened by the repeated declarations of British statesmen and the pronouncements of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. Their disappointment grew greater and greater when they found that though the war went on and with it India's sacrifices, there was no sign that India would obtain what she was so eager to secure.

And as Political India came to realise the important part our motherland was playing by supplying men, money and materials in order to reinforce the empire's war effort, it not only took pride in India's achievements but, along with it, felt dissatisfaction that India's efforts were not accorded anything like a generous recognition.

The agitation for Home Rule was started and opposition offered to the administration only when Indian politicians, rightly or wrongly, came to the conclusion that there was not much likelihood that India would be granted political concessions to the extent she sought and to which they held she was entitled as a recognition of the services she was even then rendering to Britain. But even the so-called Extremists never expressed any desire to sever India's connection with Britain.

• CO-OPERATION WITH GOVERNMENT

Coming to the question of co-operating with Government in its propaganda for raising men and money, we find that the participation of Political India in this direction was whole-hearted up to a certain stage after which there was a marked falling off in its enthusiasm for such work. Government made the mistake of either distrusting or ignoring popular leaders and of organising recruiting and war loan committees of officials and their nominees. The latter were almost invariably loyalists and as such looked on with disfavour by the politically-minded intelligentsia. As the need for men and money grew more and more insistent and as the response anticipated was not always forthcoming, the administration through these committees was compelled to adopt increasingly vigorous measures to ensure their adequate supply.

It is not maintained, even for one moment, that the higher officials were themselves responsible for many of those abuses which gradually crept into the campaign Government was

conducting for enlisting men and raising money. But the unfortunate thing is that the technique adopted and the measures followed were such as to lend themselves easily to abuse which, naturally enough, had the effect of antagonising those Indians who, rightly or wrongly, regarded themselves as the leaders of their people and the champions of their rights. This explains the gradual withdrawal of the independent sections of the middle classes from participation in the war effort so far as the campaign for recruiting men and collecting money for war loans and war charities was concerned.

But though the politically-minded section of the middle classes was antagonised in this way by Government and though its accredited leaders were shut out from active participation in recruitment and war loan committees, they continued to assist Government in ways open to them. This is true not only of the service-hunters and of those seeking titles and honours from Government, but also of the politically-minded section of the middle classes.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO WAR LOANS AND WAR CHARITIES

India's free gift of £100 million was met partly from loans raised in India and partly from additional taxation. To that end, War Loans were floated in 1917 and 1918. These were planned to attract not only those people who ordinarily invest their savings in Government securities and who generally belong to the higher economic strata, but also members of those other classes who had not, up to that time, been in the habit of doing so. While it is quite true that a vigorous campaign for persuading India to invest in these loans was conducted by Provincial and District War Loan Committees, it should not be forgotten that the reasons which prompted patriotic Indians to assist the war financially lay in those feelings of goodwill towards and sympathy with Britain which was fighting organised violence and to which expression had been given by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. These sentiments were strengthened by the expectation that India would secure further political advancement by co-operating with Government in ways open to different classes and different sections.

The rank and file of the soldiery and the Labour Corps had necessarily to be drawn from the agricultural population but the War Loans presented an opportunity not only to the very rich and the well-to-do, but also to the members

of the upper and lower middle classes. That they rose to the occasion is proved when we remember that whereas formerly the largest single loan raised by Government in India had never been more than £3 million, the two War Loans of 1917 and 1918 between them realised nearly £75 million.

Still another proof of the desire of India at large to assist the war effort and, incidentally, to show herself worthy of further political advance, is afforded by the fact that whereas the last pre-war loan of £3 million had been distributed among 1,172 investors, the number of investors in the 1917 War Loan was 155,103 while their number for the War Loan of 1918 was 227,706.

A very important matter which has to be mentioned here is that the Post Office Cash Certificates which formed part of these loans and which yielded nearly £10 million were purchased by thousands of the poorer section of the middle classes. Unfortunately, no information about their number is available.

Emphasis has been laid on this matter merely to prove that even the politically-minded section of middle-class intelligentsia which was more nationalistic in its outlook than either the landed aristocracy or people engaged in business, commerce and industry on the one hand and the peasantry and industrial labourers on the other, lent its co-operation in its own way to Government to carry on the war.

It would not be charitable to suggest that the only attractions these War Loans possessed for these people consisted in their yield though that factor undoubtedly played its part in attracting investors. And the reason for this opinion is that the lower middle classes specially were, and are to-day, more inclined to invest their savings in landed property, mortgages and gold and silver ornaments as these are regarded as perfectly safe investments or nearly so than in securities with a war then actually going on. The turn the war had taken when these loans were floated, tended to make such feelings stronger. Many felt that these War Loans would be repudiated if victory did not smile on Britain and her allies and yet these people, mistaken as was subsequently proved in their opinion, staked their all on the the victory of the Allies.

INDIA'S POLITICAL AMBITIONS

When the war broke out, probably there was not one Indian who wanted the replacement of British by German rule if only on the

principle that the latter was "an unknown quantity". There were few, if any, responsible Indian politicians who believed in the ability of India to establish and maintain a national government. In addition, such men felt that if India played a prominent and truly valiant part in the war, the prestige she would acquire and the position she would achieve would settle for ever the question of her political status in the world. It was thus that the hopes raised by India's war effort and its recognition by Britain had the effect of encouraging India to set a new political ideal before herself—of responsible government within the British Empire and of the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges as the self-governing Dominions.

Political India was enthusiastic for the war at its outset, for the cause for which it was said to be fought stirred its imagination and roused its sympathy. The nature and extent of the appeal the Allied cause made can be appreciated only by those who can realise the sentiments entertained by people under political subjection for other nations similarly circumstanced when the country ruling them professes to fight for restoring the liberty of the latter. India took it for granted that in fighting for the Allies, she was defending the cause not only of countries situated like Belgium but was also bringing nearer that day when she too would enjoy freedom.

Believing fully the reiterated pronouncements of responsible British statesmen and the expressed ideals of President Woodrow Wilson, India was convinced that winning freedom for others would be the prelude to her own freedom as a full partner in the British Empire.

That this feeling was so largely held as to be obvious even to observing foreigners may be inferred from the following lines quoted from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report :

"Attention is repeatedly called to the fact that in Europe, Britain is fighting on the side of liberty, and it is urged that Britain cannot deny to the people of India that for which she is herself fighting in Europe and in the fight for which she has been helped by India's blood and treasure."

EXPLANATION OF POLITICAL INDIA'S LOYALTY

National India has always disagreed with those politicians who demanded self-government on the score of the heavy sacrifices undergone by India in defence of the British Empire. It held that the attention of Britain had to be drawn to them, a far from graceful thing, only because she might not be tempted to explain them as proofs of the gratitude felt by Indians

for her very able and efficient administration of their motherland and then be persuaded to believe that Indians had fallen in love with it to the extent that they would welcome its indefinite prolongation.

National India demanded self-government as a birth-right and it was of the opinion that its enjoyment involves both rights and duties. Those who claim self-government must be in a position to demonstrate beyond any doubt that, just as they demand certain rights, they are also equally capable of doing their duty towards the larger unit equal partnership in which they seek. It is here that India's contributions to the Empire's war effort came in as one of the proofs that India was capable of bearing her share of the burden and carrying out the work entrusted to her.

These were some of the reasons which induced Political India to help the war effort as much as it could. These were the considerations which kept it quiet when nearly a million of India's children were sent overseas to defend the Empire. In spite of poverty, there was no complaint when additional taxes were imposed, when enormous sums were raised for war charities and when a free gift of £100 million was made by the poorest to the richest country in the world.

SMUTS VOICES POLITICAL INDIA'S ASPIRATIONS

General Smuts who had gone to England early in 1917, speaking at the Empire Day Celebration at Stepney in June that year is reported to have said :

"I am a barbarian from the Veldt, a Boer who fought for three years against you when you were very

wrong indeed. However, we have helped to convert you and win you back to the right road of freedom and liberty, and on that road you are now making the biggest struggle in your whole history. I am fighting with you and not I alone but thousands of my old companions of the Boer war. What has brought these men into the struggle? I don't think it is love of the British Empire. It is that they feel what you all feel that the greatest, the most precious and most spiritual force of this human race are at stake. Either we are going into the future under the drill sergeant, on Prussian lines or we shall move forward as free men and women. It is not a battle of British Islands or of the British Empire. It is a battle of the world."

Here the Boer was speaking out what a majority of Indians felt but to which they could not give free and full expression through apprehensions of being misunderstood. While some Indians were fighting and others helping the war effort in other equally valuable ways, all were feeling that in helping the world in putting down the German menace, they were, at the same time, gradually getting rid of those disabilities from which they suffered on account of their political subordination.

And when what they obtained in the shape of political concessions proved but a fraction of what they had expected and when, along with that, they realised the indifference with which their prayers and entreaties for the redress of their grievances were treated, and moreover when what they considered repressive legislation was passed against the unanimous protests of India, the bolder, the more advanced and the more impatient spirits among them needed no persuasion to join in a movement which seemed to promise them the desire of their hearts.

(Concluded)

STILLNESS

By DAVID IAN MACDONALD

Sunsets, clouds, and hills,
Are lovelier for such a moment of stillness.

Schools of philosophers need not argue
To point out its merits or its existence.

For once there is a meaning
To the 'whys' which intrude at moments.

Some of us realise the folly of an answer,
We turn an epigram or shrug a shoulder.

There is a meeting point somewhere
For the earnest sceptic and the religious man.

Someday we might meet there,
Not to discuss but in a silence to share.



SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION AND AKHAND HINDUSTHAN

By RAJA NARINDRA NATH SAHIB

SIR Stafford Cripps' mission has failed mainly because there was no agreement between the Indian leaders and Sir Stafford as to the terms on which the representatives of the people of India were prepared to participate in the government of the country during the period between now and the framing of the new Constitution. Although according to Sir Stafford's explanation his proposals were to be accepted or rejected as a whole and the British Government is not now bound by the terms of the Declaration of the War Cabinet as there has been no agreement between political parties in India and the British as to the manner in which government is to be carried on now, yet I have reason to believe that Britain will not back out of the main points of the Declaration with which Sir Stafford Cripps came. I will deal with some of the essential features of it on which I have to offer some remarks. His Majesty's Government undertook to accept and implement a Constitution made by an elected body charged with the task of framing the new Constitution subject to the following conditions :

1. Any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, but that the British Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union.

2. That a treaty will be signed between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body, such treaty "making provision for the protection of religious and racial minorities."

The term 'minority' in India has never been made clear. The Muslims form the most important and the largest minority in the country—a minority in the Federation but a majority in some of the provinces. Hindus who form the largest part of the Indian population are a minority in some provinces and a majority in the country as a whole and in some provinces. Provincial administration is an important part of the country's administration. Lists (ii) and (iii) of the 7th schedule of the Government of India Act, 1935, enumerate matters with which Provincial administration deals. List (iii), no doubt, gives concurrent authority to the

Federation and the provinces under certain conditions, but it must be noted that the provinces have also authority in these matters.

An undertaking given for the protection of racial and religious minorities clearly means undertaking of the interests of the minorities in the provinces also and the undertaking does not lose its importance from the fact that the minority is a majority in the Federation. The Federal majority does not in any way affect the provincial administration. I will deal with this question later. What will be the attitude of the British Government and what position will it take if the provincial majority does not accede to the legitimate demands of provincial minorities or if the Federal majority does not accept the demands of the Federal minority? None of the political leaders who approached Sir Stafford Cripps, so far as I know, questioned him on the point, nor did the representatives at the Press Conference clear it up. In his exposition he is reported to have said, "If any difference were to arise in connection with the treaty, there might have to be some kind of arbitration." I presume that this refers to all differences, between the British Government and the Constitution-making body on the one hand and between the communities *inter se*.

It goes without saying that non-acceding provinces will be some or all of the 4 provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority, *viz.*, Punjab, Bengal, Sind and N.-W. F. P. Their demand to stay out of the Union will surely be accompanied by a demand for the redistribution of the boundaries of provinces. Section 290 of the Government of India Act already provides that His Majesty's Government may, by order in Council, create a new province, increase the area of any province, diminish the area of any province and alter the boundaries of any province. The object of the advocates of Pakistan is that the numerical strength of non-Muslim minorities may be reduced to as low a figure as possible. Due regard, therefore, to the rights of provincial minorities receives paramount importance. From my experience of the last Round Table Conference and the attitude which Mr. Ramsay

MacDonald adopted towards my representations on behalf of Hindus of the Punjab, I can safely assert that the British statesmen at the time thought that Hindu minority in the Punjab and elsewhere need not receive any consideration, as the Hindus were in majority in 6 provinces and also in the Federation. I now wish to lay stress on the fact that according to the terms of the Declaration and the treaty which will be made between the British Government and the Constitution-making body, it will be wrong and highly improper for England to adopt that attitude. We have a Federal Government in India and there is a demand to make the provinces more independent or to give a wider scope to the legislative and executive spheres of the provinces. A comparison of lists (ii) and (iii) of the 7th schedule of the Government of India Act with the list given in Section 92 of the Canadian Act and with Section 85 of the Act for Union of South Africa will show that whilst the Canadian list covers only 16 items and the South African list covers 13 items, lists (ii) and (iii) of the Government of India Act cover 90 items. List No. (i) deals mostly with matters which are common to all provinces. The interests of Hindus in 4 provinces, therefore, becomes a question as important as the protection of classes which are minorities in other provinces as also in the whole country.

With regard to the first condition, namely, the right of provinces to stay out of the Federation, the Declaration itself is vague and indefinite in certain particulars. Sir Stafford, in the course of several of his expositions, laid down conditions which lead me to think that it was quite unnecessary for the War Cabinet to concede the right of non-accession to provinces. Sir Stafford first said that a province which wanted to keep out of the Union should in the provincial assembly desire such non-accession by a substantial vote, i.e., not less than 60%. If less than 60% of the members of the Assembly insist on non-accession the minority could claim plebiscite. These words are not clear. 57% or 58% of an assembly cannot in any sense be called a minority. I have always understood Sir Stafford's explanation to mean that even if 60% of the members of the assembly wanted non-accession the remaining 40% could ask for plebiscite for 40% and not 57%, which can in no sense be called a minority over a minority. He again said that the provinces which desired separate union of their own should be contiguous. But I have been told that he subsequent-

ly retracted this condition. If he really meant that the formation of a second union or federation was to be subject to these two conditions mentioned in his exposition, then I do not know why the creation of more than one union was referred to at all in the Declaration of the War Cabinet. In the Punjab the condition of 60% for the separation is not likely to be fulfilled and the only provinces in which this condition may be fulfilled are N.-W. F. P. and Sind, which are not contiguous. I am not sure if Sir Stafford's exposition has the same binding force as the Declaration by the Cabinet. If it has not, the Cabinet Declaration is not materially different from what Mr. Amery has been saying all along, viz., that if the minorities agree upon any constitution, the Parliament will accept it. The supporters of Pakistan pay no consideration to the implications of this scheme. But the War Cabinet should have been able to understand them and by raising hopes of the creation of a separate federation, the Cabinet has certainly, in the words of the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, "thrown another apple of discord."

PROBLEMS TO BE FACED IF MORE THAN ONE FEDERATION IS CREATED

Is the War Cabinet prepared to face some of the most difficult problems that will be created by having more than one Union or Federation?

REACTION ON INDIAN STATES

The area of the Indian States is slightly less than 40% of the total area of India and their population is slightly less than 25% of the total population of India calculated on the figures of the census of 1931. Most of the States have introduced the judicial and revenue system of administration prevailing in British India and have adopted to a great extent with slight alterations to suit their own conditions, the criminal and civil codes which are in force in India. Administration in most of them has been worked by officers whose services were lent to the States by the Indian Government. Political ideas prevailing in India have gradually infiltrated into the States. Their population has not remained, cannot and will not remain, completely isolated. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report which followed the Declaration of the 4th of August 1917 in Parliament contented itself simply by suggesting a council of princes (para 306)—a permanent consultative body. This led to the

formation of the Chamber of Princes or Narendra Mandal.

The report of the committee appointed by All Parties Conference in 1928 and called the Nehru Report devotes a whole chapter (pages 70-85) to the consideration of problems presented by the Native States. While mainly devoting its attention to the question that the existence of Native States did not stand in the way of India enjoying the same political rights as other dominions of the British Empire, it admits the necessity of "joint actions" by the States and the proposed Dominion based on community of interests (page 72). The Constitution proposed deals with in chapter (vii) "the recommendations" and disposes of the question of Native States in para 85 which lays down that "the Commonwealth will exercise the same rights and discharge the same obligations towards Indian States as the Government of India does." The framers of the report never envisaged the inclusion of the States in the Federal Assembly of the Commonwealth, though they would have considered it a consummation devoutly to be wished for. The report of the Statutory Commission called the Simon Report, takes the same view (paras 227-237 of Vol. II). It, however, deals with the whole question in a general way. It gives a tentative list of matters of common concern between Indian India and British India (para 236) and thus paves the way for the inclusion of Native States in the Federal Legislature. No politician or political organisation who or which has devised a scheme of federation or thought of devising such a scheme has ever entertained the idea of excluding from the ambit of federation, the Indian States. States Conferences have come unto existence. Parishads have sprung up in several Native States. They demand democratic system of government in the States. So far as Indian Federation is concerned, the controversy now between the advanced and liberal school of politicians and those who are conservative and wish to advance slowly has been confined only to one point, viz., to what extent the executive which controls the administration in the States (specially the ruling chief) should be allowed to influence the selection of representatives of Native States. Whether they should be elected directly by the people on a low franchise or by representative assemblies already working in some of the States and elected on a high franchise, I am of opinion that it is to the advantage of the people to have a voice in framing laws which affect them. Their inclusion, however restricted, is

better than exclusion. I am not aware of any question with which the Federal Assembly has to deal in which the interests of the ruling Princes are in conflict with those of their people.

The provinces in British India have been under a Central Government, but the Princes have exercised independent authority guided and controlled in some matters by the Viceroy. The inclusion of Native States in the Federal Assembly would lead to the surrender of autonomy of the Princes to the central legislature (Sections 125 and 128). The Act of 1935 therefore devised that the States coming into the Federation will do so by executing Instruments of Accession proposing terms on which they are willing to accede to the Federation. The laws passed by the Federal Assembly shall be applicable to the States, which have come into the Federation. Now the division of India into Pakistan and Hindusthan will create an extremely difficult, if not an insoluble question, for the Princes. There are States in which the Ruler is a Muslim but the majority of the population is Hindu; there are others in which the reverse is the case, the Prince being a Hindu and the majority of the population over which he rules being Muslim. The following are some of the instances :

Muslim Princes over a majority of Hindu population.

1. Hyderabad.
2. Bhopal.
3. Rampur.
4. Malerkotla.
5. Tonk.
6. Cambay.
7. Jaura.
8. Palanpur.
9. Junagad.
10. Sachin.

Hindu Princes over a majority of Muslim population.

1. Kashmir.
2. Kapurthala.

Will the in-coming Princes of Bhopal, Jaura and Rampur agree to accede to a Federation in which their own community forms an insignificant minority passing laws applicable to their States? The position of all those Princes will be extremely embarrassing when the question of their accession to the Federation is broached to them. It would not be unsafe to presume that one of the terms of the Instrument of Accession will be that India should not be divided as is proposed by the sponsors of Pakistan. The only alternative will be to exclude all the Princes from the Federation or at least those who rule over a population professing a religion different from theirs. More than one

federation being a possibility, the Princes may ask for a separate federation of their own. There is a greater uniformity in the fiscal and economic conditions of the States than between the Native States and British India. How can such a request of the Princes be refused?

Separatism is an evil tendency and should be checked and not encouraged. Self-determination is liable to gross abuse. Carried to extremes, it leads to self-centred egotism. Collaboration and co-operation are essential factors of social existence. A hint in one of Mr. Amery's recent speeches in Parliament, that redistribution of the provincial boundaries may suit the Sikhs, led the leader of the Akali party to imagine the possibility of the creation of Khalistan. Some Hindu politicians of the Punjab have begun to think that the underlying motive of the recent Akali Unionist pact is a secret understanding between the Punjab Premier and the leader of the Sikhs to encourage the creation of a separate province carved out of the Punjab in which the Sikhs are in absolute majority. Sikhs are to be found in districts in which Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. Nankana Sahib, one of the sacred places of the Sikhs, is in Sheikhpura district, in which Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. A province made up of some of the districts in which Sikhs are to be found in large numbers may not be financially stable. Sir Stafford Cripps in one of his interviews with the representatives of the press is reported to have said that financial stability was the look-out of the non-acceding provinces. Separatism and exclusiveness are vices which are infectious. At the conference of depressed classes held recently at Nagpur a resolution was passed demanding a separate colony for the scheduled castes. If financial considerations are not to be thought of lightly, then the following matters will present some difficulty :

DIVISION OF THE CONTROL OF RAILWAYS

It is one thing to make administrative arrangements of control over a line which runs through countries under different political control and it is quite another thing to split up the control over a line developed in a country which was never supposed to be divided. Railways on the continent of Europe running through different countries and those in Native States and British India fall under the first head. The N.-W. Railway runs through both Pakistan and "Hindusthan." "Hindusthan" will never be prepared to pay for the part which runs from

Ambala to Delhi. But in connection with this I may quote the following from the Report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways for 1939-40, Vol. I, page 25 :

"It is interesting to notice that during the 16 years of which the first six were prosperous, the State has received large profits from seven railways, viz., 26 crores from East India; 24½ crores from the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway; about 6 crores from the South Indian; 7 crores from the Bengal and North-Western (Tirhoot); 5½ crores from the Madras and Southern Mahratta; about 4½ crores from the North-Western (Commercial lines) and 1 crore from the Lucknow Bareilly. On the other hand, it had to bear losses on five railways. The largest was about 30 crores on the strategic section of North-Western Railway, the next largest 18 crores on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and on the Assam Bengal Railway amounted to 7½ crores. The Eastern Bengal and Great Indian Peninsular Railway were responsible for loss of 8 crores and 82 lakhs respectively."

Deficit railways will fall to the share of Pakistan. In the case of Burma there was no such difficulty as the Burmese railway was unconnected with India. Posts, telegraphs and telephones do not present difficulties of administration as railways do.

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC DEBT

When loans were raised by Government, the whole of India was the borrower. It would be unfair to divide the country into two parts and thereby impair the security on which the creditors relied. A Commission will have to be appointed to deal with the question of distribution. The representatives of both "Hindusthan" and Pakistan, will have to be put on the Commission and if they disagree it will be necessary to refer the matter to the arbitration of outsiders who are neutral. I know that such a course was not adopted in the case of Burma. The distribution of public debt between India and Burma was obviously unfair and there is no reason why the mistake should be repeated. A large part of the public debt has been raised for the development of Pakistan, construction of canals and strategic railways. Pakistan will have to bear a pretty heavy burden of public debt.

DUPLICATION OF EXPENDITURE BY WHICH BOTH PAKISTAN AND HINDUSTHAN WILL SUFFER

The Declaration of the War Cabinet promises us independence, which means that His Majesty will not control the army, navy and air force. If there are two federations, there will be two armies each controlled by its own federation. According to the estimate of 1940-41 out of an income of Rs. 1,31,73,65,000/- slightly less than half the income was to be spent on

the army. Maintenance of two efficient armies fully mechanised will absorb nearly the whole of the income of India. His Majesty may decide to maintain a strong British army in India to prevent the Federations from resorting to a civil war. The Indian population, poor as it is, will simply be crushed under this burden. The case of Burma is quite different. Burma does not spend much on the army. Neither the Burmese nor the Indian army is controlled by their respective assemblies or parliaments. They are both under His Majesty's control. The Indian army can be ordered to defend Burma but the two federations in India are supposed to be independent and Pakistan cannot rely on the help of the Hindusthan army nor Hindusthan on the help of the Pakistan army. There will, presumably, be two Governors-General. There will certainly be two representative assemblies, two federal courts and two federal public services commissions.

WHY DOES THE MUSLIM LEAGUE INSIST ON PARTITION : DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES DISCUSSED

Since the resolution of the Muslim League session held in March 1940, demanding that geographically contiguous units be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted (with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary) that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India be grouped to constitute independent units, autonomous and sovereign; and authorising the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs, and such other matters as may be necessary. No such scheme has been formulated. What is generally understood by the Pakistan scheme is that there should be two federations : one, in which the constituent units will be provinces with Muslim majority and the other of which the constituent units will be provinces in which the Hindus are in a majority. Greater autonomy for the provinces and less control by the federal governments has also been demanded. Mr. Jinnah in one of his recent interviews complains that the Congress which is opposed to the division of India has not yet drafted any constitution for India. But for this the Muslim League is as much if not more to blame than the Congress; for the sub-committee which was authorised by the League to frame

such a constitution has not yet framed the constitution which it was required to do. A Punjabi (name not given) has written a book called the *Confederacy of India* in which he proposes five federations but his scheme has not been approved by the Muslim League. Sir Mohammed Iqbal is reported to have proposed in the Third Round Table Conference that the Muslim provinces in the Pakistan should not be under any Federation but should be directly under Parliament. He would thus completely wash out all that has been conceded to the people of India since 1862 when the Indian Council was first created. He did not specify in what matters the provinces will exercise their control and whether the Viceroy who is the representative of the King in India is to be completely ignored. But the resolution of 1940 rules out completely Sir Mohammed Iqbal's proposal. "Hindusthan" will not be satisfied with this sort of diluted self-government and "Pakistan" will not demand anything less.

The provincial and federal constitutions given in the present Government of India Act have not been carefully examined by the Muslim League and its supporters. No one has pointed out in what sphere the powers of the provincial governments should be widened and those of the Federal Government curtailed. The Federal Assembly as constituted under the Act will contain a majority of the Hindus in the lower and the upper houses, if we include the representatives of the Hindu States and assume that all the Hindu Princes will join the Federation. If, however, we look at list No. I of Federal subjects in the 7th schedule, we fail to see any matter in which the Hindu and Muslim interests clash except perhaps in defence and foreign policy. The Muslim view of this policy specially with respect to N.-W. Frontier may possibly be different from the Hindu view. In the long Federal Legislative list which consists of 59 items there is only one, namely, No. 13, Benares University and the Aligarh University, which deals with communal questions. But even with regard to them it is by no means difficult for the two communities to accommodate each other—for the Mohammedans to concede to the Benares University what they want for the Aligarh University and *vice versa*. The dispute about other items is due to the angle of vision created by a policy of government on which I will offer my remarks later on. The demand for the division of India into Hindu India and Muslim India, is the result of this policy and is due to the acme of mutual distrust.

I may here mention that the anonymous writer of the *Confederacy of India* who supports this separatist policy of Pakistan says that Muslims can never favour any import duty on textiles. He quotes in his support a Punjab civilian who was not very sympathetic to Indian political advancement and who was of opinion that India benefits not by industrialization but by remaining an agricultural country. One of the reasons for which the Muslim writer dreads Hindu majority in the Federal Assembly is that the Hindus will favour industrialization and will be indifferent if not hostile to the interests of the grower or producer of raw material. Now Bombay and C. P. combined with rural representatives from Sind and Punjab form a majority in the Federal Assembly. There are several industries the raw materials of which do not depend on agricultural labour involved in tilth, i.e., glass, tannery, steel, paper, silk and even woollen industry, tariff on imports of which cannot clash with agricultural interests. Owing to increase of population, pressure on the soil is increasing. The area owned per individual is decreasing. The only relief for the agricultural population is industrialization of the country. A Muslim writer who deals with the economic condition of independent Muslim countries complains against the attitude of European advisers who do not favour industrialization. He will, probably, look with extreme suspicion on the advice given by the Punjab civilian.

I do not know what an astute politician and lawyer like Mr. Jinnah means by saying that the only just course for Britain is to hand over to Hindus their homeland and to Muslims their homeland. Even a lawyer is not supposed to be absolutely blind to what can be said on the other side. Does Mr. Jinnah mean that the Raja of Mahmoodabad or of Jehangirabad has no homeland? They live in provinces in which a large majority consists of Hindus. Have the Kashmiri Pandits who live in the Punjab but who migrated in the 18th century and settled in the Punjab no homeland? Kashmir in the 18th century as also now had an overwhelming majority of Muslims.

The two federations will, probably, differ on the question of foreign policy and defence. On the North-Western Frontier there are Muslim kingdoms. The federation of Hindu India may not be satisfied with the policy of Muslim India towards those kingdoms. Pakistan as proposed to be constituted contains most vulnerable parts of India. No invasion of India has taken place from the mountainous

regions which border on U. P., Bihar or Western Bengal. If Muslims are not satisfied with 33½% representation given to them in one federation, how is it possible for vast millions of people, specially 250 millions of Hindus, to be satisfied with much smaller representation in a federation which holds the key of the whole country? The geographical features of India are such that an invader after crossing the Himalayas finds free access to the whole country up to the sea-coast. Vindhya-chal in the centre is a small hill, neither very long nor very high, and admits of being very easily circumvented. The remarks of a prominent member of the Muslim League who said that Pakistan was intended to lead to the consolidation of all Muslim States in Asia should be borne in mind.

What are the other objects with which the redistribution of provincial boundaries in order to strengthen numerically the Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal and creation of a separate federation of their own is desired? The anonymous author of *Confederacy of India* says that "Muslims cannot divorce their religion from politics" (pages 88-89). He considers socialism is a commendable economic system, but he would have it on Islamic lines. The question then arises how the interests of Hindu minorities (whom the Declaration of the War Cabinet undertakes to protect) in the 4 provinces will be safeguarded. They would not at all submit to the Quaranic economic law or Shariat. The result of this Islamisation will be that the Hindus in 6 provinces where they are in a majority will derive inspiration from Manu's Dharma Shastra and Kautilya's Artha Shastra. I cannot conceive of a more retrograde step aiming at the regulation of human affairs on codes formed centuries ago.

Mr. Jinnah says that a single federation for the whole of India will mean Hindu Raj. Assuming this to be true, what will be the plight of the Muslim community in 6 provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority? Their total number is approximately 20 millions. The Hindu Federation over them will impose an intensified Hindu Raj. Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A., an able member of the Muslim League in the Punjab, in his address at Pakistan Conference held on 19th July 1939, emphasising the need of Pakistan, says:

"True that ten years ago, we of the Muslim League were wedded to the ideal of a United India and that we had laboured throughout for preserving the integrity and inviolability of India. Why have we changed? We have changed, let our critics bear in mind, because our experience of the Congress Governments in the

Seven Congress Provinces from July, 1937 to October, 1939, when they were in power, shattered all our confidence in the good faith of our Hindu countrymen."

I have read the report by the Raja of Pirpur on the Congress administration. The Congress ministry challenged an enquiry, which was not held. I fail to understand how a separate federation of "Hindusthan" in which Muslim representation will be at a very low figure will remove the grievances of Muslims of the Congress provinces. I am astonished to find Muslim magnates of provinces, in which Muslim population is small, supporting Pakistan. They fail to realise that the only forum of appeal for 20 millions of Muslims in 6 provinces in which they are in a minority will be the Muslim majority of Pakistan. The advocacy of these gentlemen is the result of propaganda which the League has been carrying on. Dr. Serge Chakotin, a Russian psychologist, in his book called *The Rape of the Masses* says that very few men are able to form an opinion of their own on political questions and that they are carried away by propaganda of a few leading men and may support opinions which are prejudicial to their interests.

In the address above alluded to, Malik Barkat Ali refers to a certain paper in which he was asked to explain with what object, except that of exercising uncontrolled combination over the non-Muslim minorities in their so-called majority provinces, are the Muslim Leaguers trying to convert these provinces into independent and sovereign states. He says that the Muslims are asking for Pakistan as through Pakistan they will have opportunity of "self-expression and self-determination." After reading his address I put him a specific question. I asked him to point out the instances in which the "self-expression and self-determination" of Muslims in the Punjab had been prejudiced or impeded owing to their inadequate majority. The only answer that he was able to give was that a larger majority like that of the Hindus in U. P., C. P., Madras and Bombay was needed and having secured the majority all possible obstruction from a centre controlled by a non-Muslim majority will be eliminated. I will presently deal with the question of the control of the centre over provincial governments, but I may mention here that under Act (IV) of 72 in all matters pertaining to marriage

and inheritance Muslims in the Punjab are governed by Muslim Law modified by such custom as may have prevailed amongst them. The Muslim Personal Law Application Act of 1937 gets rid of such local customs in most cases. I quote below from Mr. Yusuf Ali's recent book on cultural history of India during the British period (page 315) :

"The Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act of 1937 which extends to all India excluding the North-West Frontier Province, gets rid of such local customs in most cases. It enacts that in all questions (save questions relating to agricultural land) regarding intestate succession, special property of females, including personal property inherited or obtained under contract or by gift or under any other provision of personal law, marriage, dissolution of marriage (under the various forms recognised by Muslim Law), maintenance, dower, guardianship, gifts, trusts and trust properties, and waqfs (other than charities and charitable institutions and charitable and religious endowments), the rule of decision in cases where the parties are Muslims will be the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat). It further provides that any Indian Muslim can make a declaration that the Act will apply to him and to all his minor children and descendants. This provision was necessary in order to prevent the courts from holding that there was particular family or local custom to the contrary applicable to the particular case."

The Hindu members will nowhere object to the application of Muslim Law to agricultural land in preference to any local custom. The anonymous writer of *Confederacy of India* whom I have already quoted has plainly and bluntly explained the object. It is that of Islamization. In the *Civil & Military Gazette* of August 6th last I find an article on the genesis of Pakistan by "Pakistan Caliphate." The following extract from it shows the object aimed at by those who insist on the partition of India :

"They want to revive Islamic institutions with the help of state authority. Their struggle arises out of conviction and not out of expediency. They want to eradicate western, Hindu and all other alien influences which are eating into their Islamic integrity. They conceive of Pakistan as a spring-board for the realisation of a world revolution on the principles of Islam. Their attitude to life is missionary."

I have explained that Hindu majority in a single federation so far as federal subjects are concerned cannot lead to Hindu Raj. Hindus rightly apprehend that to make over the defence of the Muslim bloc of provinces to a federation in which there is Muslim majority—is to expose the whole country to foreign invasion.

(To be concluded)

BERTRAND RUSSELL ON HOW TO END THE DEADLOCK IN INDIA

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

LORD Russel, more widely known as Bertrand Russell, the distinguished English mathematician and philosopher, "one of the most stimulating and provocative critics of contemporary problems and society," who is at present lecturing for the Barnes Foundation near Philadelphia, U. S. A., has contributed to *Asia* an article on how to end the deadlock in India.

Some people, mostly Britons, have the foolish and wrong notion that Indian problems are Britain's "domestic concern." Bertrand Russell holds that

The failure of Sir Stafford Cripps's mission has made the problem of India one which concerns all the United Nations, since some solution is essential to victory in the war.

He thinks :

The problem needs to be considered from three points of view : that of the relations between India and Great Britain, that of the conduct of the war, and that of the postwar settlement. These are, of course, all interconnected.

In considering the problem from the first point of view the author writes :

As regards the relations of India and Great Britain, it is of course obvious that Cripps's offer ought to have been made years ago, as he, in common with all liberal-minded Englishmen, would have wished. The actual offer fell short of the wishes of the Congress Party in various respects. First and foremost, they desired complete independence, not Dominion Status; but since Dominion Status carries with it the right of secession, this point seems not very important. Second, the British government insisted on observing its treaties with the Rajas—treaties which ought not to have been made, but are now, rightly or wrongly, regarded as involving the duty of maintaining, in the Rajas' territories, a form of government which is antiquated and often very bad. I cannot but think that, in this matter, a better solution could have been found. Third, the offer allowed any province to remain outside the Dominion, or to combine with other dissenting provinces to form a separate Dominion. This provision was vehemently disliked by the Congress Party, but in my opinion unjustly. If any part of India does not wish to be governed by the Hindu majority, it has a right to independence of the Hindus, as the Hindus have to independence of the British. The Congress leaders insisted that India must be treated as a unit, but the problem is the same as in Ireland, where De Valera refuses to admit that the Northern Irish have the same rights against those of the South as those of the South had against the English. On these as well as other grounds I cannot but think that India made a mistake in rejecting Cripps's offer.

As a matter of cold logic we agree that

Dominion Status with the right of recession is equivalent to complete independence. But complete independence is psychologically more impressive and effective as appealing more powerfully to the mind of the nation. Moreover, the Congress party wanted the *immediate* declaration of India's independence in order to enable the Indian nation to join the United Nations' total war effort *with the utmost possible enthusiasm*, which a promise of Dominion Status *after the end of hostilities* cannot possibly rouse. Nevertheless, if the Cripps proposals included *immediate* declaration of Dominion Status, with the right of secession, the Congress representatives would have, we think, given it their calm consideration.

Regarding the problem of treaties with the Rajas we agree with the author.

We entirely disagree with him as regards allowing any province to remain outside the Dominion. The problem is *not* the same as in Ireland. "The Northern Irish" are descendants of Protestant English settlers with English, not Erse, as their mother tongue. The vast majority of Muslims in India are descendants of Hindu converts, a small number being themselves converts from Hinduism. Racially and linguistically Hindus and Muslims in India are not different but one. The question has been discussed threadbare in many articles in this and other journals. We are unable even to summarize all the arguments in those articles here.

Bertrand Russell should try to argue in America that the Southern States there had the right to secede from the Northern ones in Lincoln's days !

As regards "the conduct of the war," the author thinks :

Clearly what ought to have been offered was a status, in regard to the war, analogous to that of Australia. There was, however, the difficulty that owing to past British policy, Indians had not the necessary experience of military command.

But the Congress party had all along agreed to leave the military command undisturbed and unchanged during the duration of the war.

The author proceeds :

Both the British and the Indians appear to have been blind to the realities of the war. Whatever may



be the intentions of the British government, it is clear that the British Asiatic Empire is lost, and on a sane view there is no reason to regret this, unless it is succeeded by a worse imperialism such as that of Japan.

We cannot judge whether we are blind to the realities of the war, but we are glad to find that the author holds that the British are blind to them. As indirectly elucidating that view the following observations of the author are illuminating :

When we consider the population of Great Britain, it is obvious that the empire could not be held under modern conditions even if the British were to become completely militarized, and devote themselves almost wholly to a military career—result far more to be deplored than the loss of empire. Even then we could not hold our own unaided against an equally militarized empire of much larger population and much nearer the regions in question. Moreover, any empire based on conquest is almost inevitably ephemeral, and ought to be so. Whatever kind of skill has made conquest possible will, in time, be acquired by the conquered or lost by the conquerors. If there is, at first, a higher level of civilization among the conquerors, this difference is bound to grow less with time; the conquered territory must be unified in order to be ruled, and sooner or later the conquered will become able to claim their freedom and to take it.

Nor is empire so important as it was. In spite of the Standard Oil Company, we shall soon, like the Germans, be using synthetic rubber, and no doubt some substitute for tin will be found, unless a sufficient supply can be obtained elsewhere. Malaya will then cease to interest us. Technical progress is making any given raw material less indispensable than formerly, provided other raw materials are available. Ingenuity and scientific skill are enabling us more and more to dispense with control of distant parts of the earth's surface.

In view of the above considerations "the only question is whether Asia is to be free or is to be partitioned between Germany and Japan."

The only way to keep the Japanese from conquering India is to rouse a great patriotic enthusiasm in India, and this cannot be done unless it is known, beyond a doubt, that if the Japanese are defeated the Indians will be free. It would therefore be not only generous, but wise from the point of view of war strategy, if England were to announce a policy of complete freedom for India, and, to inspire confidence, were to have this policy guaranteed by the United States. Any thought, lingering in the minds of the Conservative members of the British government, that the Asiatic Empire can be maintained, is hopelessly anachronistic. The result in Burma has already been made plain; in India it must be the same. We can defeat the Japanese and do good, or be defeated by them in the attempt to do harm. But British Conservatives are not likely to realize this. The Indians are equally blind. If the Japanese are defeated, Indian freedom will certainly follow, however reluctant British imperialists may be to admit this; but, if the Japanese win, India will suffer a slavery far worse than subjection to England. It is therefore to the interest of India to co-operate in the war effort in spite of dissatisfaction with British policy.

The Indians are **not** equally blind. All Indian parties know and believe that "if the Japanese win, India will suffer a slavery far worse than subjection to England." Therefore, in order to enable India to co-operate in the war effort with full enthusiasm the Congress party wanted immediate independence, and the Hindu Mahasabha, the next most influential party, has all along been in favour of fully co-operating in the war effort "in spite of dissatisfaction with British policy."

In Bertrand Russell's opinion "*the entry of Japan into the war introduced a new issue, the freedom of Asia*. This is not one of our war aims, except as regards China, but it will be an inevitable result of our victory."

If Japan could have been defeated easily and quickly, this might not have been the case; as it is, the British cannot hope, and ought not to wish, to reconquer Malaya, or to hold India and Burma as subject nations. It is of the utmost importance that this should be realized, and that we should loudly proclaim the end of imperialism in Asia as one of the benefits for which we are fighting. This is a matter in which American opinion is influential. It is to be hoped that, as a result of the friendly offices of the American government, if not by British initiative, negotiations with the Indian Nationalists will be resumed before it is too late. Failure to reach an agreement must be disastrous to India, and may be disastrous to all the United Nations.

Bertrand Russell's opinion of Mr. Churchill as expressed in the subjoined paragraph, will be fully endorsed in India.

It is, I think, inadequately realized in the United States that Mr. Churchill has always been a die-hard imperialist. He opposed the Conservative government when it introduced a Bill—carried in spite of his fierce hostility—to create a considerable measure of self-government in India. In this he proved himself much more Conservative than most Conservatives. The necessities of the war have done something to change his point of view, but not enough; whether they will do enough in the near future is highly doubtful. His courage, and his capacity of inspiring confidence in dark days, are beyond all praise. But his very qualities spring, in great measure, from the fact that he lives in the past, when Britain could play a part in the world which is not now possible.

The author favours defensive alliances instead of "nominal complete independence." Rabindranath Tagore, if living today, would have welcomed the prospect of a defensive alliance with a completely free China and Soviet Russia. Perhaps Jawaharlal Nehru's view would be the same. We have long held that view, as outlined in the following paragraph of Bertrand Russell's article :

The cessation of old-style imperialism, however, is by no means all that is called for. Nominal complete independence is an isolationist ideal, and is no longer possible for any country. Denmark and Norway, Hol-

land and Belgium, Rumania, Greece and Yugoslavia, each in turn insisted on complete independence until they found themselves conquered by the Nazis. Every country, not excepting the United States, if it insists on isolated independence, will expose itself to foreign conquest. India, like every other country, needs help in its own defense; like every other country, it is reluctant to admit this obvious fact. If India wishes to remain free, it will be necessary to join a defensive alliance of countries that wish neither to conquer others nor to be conquered themselves. Indian Nationalists object to partnership in the British Commonwealth of self-governing nations, but would probably not object to partnership in an international alliance not specially British, particularly if the alliance were divided into regional groups, and India belonged to an oriental group. Here we suffer from unwillingness to clarify our war aims. If we proclaimed the formation of such an alliance as one of the objects of the war, we could offer Indian membership in it when peace comes. As it is, we can only offer either partnership in the British Empire or complete independence; and the latter, however attractive to Indian opinion, is purely illusory.

The following views of the author may appear cynical but are nevertheless quite sound :

Some people seem to imagine that, if once Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated, we should all be happy and virtuous ever after. This view, of course, is childish. Nations are aggressive when they think it will pay them to be so. If the present villains of the piece were out of the way, new villains would arise, unless there were in existence institutions making it fairly certain that aggressors would be defeated. And such institutions cannot exist if self-determination, without any qualification, is recognized as the right principle in international affairs.

To the question, "what ought to be done to end the deadlock in India," Bertrand Russell's reply is :

First, the United Nations should proclaim their fixed determination to form, after the war, a defensive alliance, pledged to united armed resistance against aggression by any power against any member of the alliance.

Second, India should be promised (with a United States guarantee) complete independence of the British Empire after the war, on condition of joining the oriental group in the alliance.

Third, for the period of the war, the Supreme War Council of the United Nations should have the right to send armed forces of any one of the United Nations into India, in such numbers as might be deemed necessary. The generalissimo of such forces should be neither English nor Indian.

Fourth, India should be encouraged to raise defense forces, not to be employed outside India, but to be subject to the generalissimo of forces in India when engaged in military duty; the civilian side of the control of the defense force should, however, be in Indian hands. An analogous situation exists in Australia.

All internal Indian questions, such as the position of the Rajas, the relations of Hindus and Muslims and the rights of provinces or groups of provinces to contract out, should be left to an Indian Constituent Assembly, to be convened at the earliest possible moment after the war. If civil war resulted, that would be India's concern and no one else's. We have all had civil wars in our day, and have not welcomed foreign intervention.

If the United Nations cannot, in the immediate future, agree to make a defensive alliance one of their war aims, the first clause above and the reference to the alliance in the second clause will have to be dropped, since time presses.

In favour of his plan the author advances the following arguments which he styles "overwhelming" :

First, there can be little doubt that India would accept it, and would become a wholehearted ally in the war effort, instead of being lukewarm, as at present.

Second, such an offer would immensely increase our prospects of winning the war, and, more particularly, of preventing a junction of the Nazis and the Japanese.

Third, such an offer concedes to India no more than is just; we say we are fighting for freedom, but at present, in all parts of Asia outside China, this is questionable.

Fourth, the war would then unquestionably have an aim of which the good would be comparable to the vastness of the effort: not only to preserve the independence of the United States and the self-governing parts of the British Empire, and to restore the independence of the conquered parts of Europe, but to bring freedom from imperialist domination to the vast populations of the East.

With such aims, the war becomes worth winning, and possible to win. Without them, it may be lost in ignoble squabbles.

Asia adds the following note to the article editorially :

China, Britain, America—all the United Nations—need the wholehearted support of India, as India needs the United Nations. How may that support be won? The answer is to be found both in India and in Britain—in the British attitude toward India at this crucial moment. The United States as a full partner in the cause of the United Nations has the right to know India's as well as Britain's side of the case. The lines of communication between India and America must be kept completely and promptly open, as they have not been up to the present. Asia will do all in its power now, as it has in the past, to bring direct word of what is in the mind of India from India's own people and leaders.

But can that which "is in the mind of India" reach the Asia office in America "direct from India's own people and leaders?" We could wish it could.

ALL-INDIA NATIONALIST CONFERENCE, POONA

By M.

SPEAKING the other day at the above conference at Poona on the Resolution on Pakistan, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.L.C. (Bengal) stated that he had been speaking and writing on the subject for years and as far back as 1914 he published a book in London called *The Fundamental Unity of India* to which an introduction is written by J. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Premier, who writes in it the following classical sentence : "India and Hinduism are organically related like body and soul." Quite recently, the same view was expressed by a detached observer like H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester who stated in his last broadcast in India : "The first thing that struck me was that India is a country fashioned by Nature to be united; divided against herself she would be weak; united she can be great and powerful beyond measure. While uniformity is not to be expected in such a vast country, where there is room for differences of race, religion, language, and custom, unity is a necessity : and it seemed to me that already there are strong influences at work, breaking down the barriers of division, and emphasising the fundamental unity of the country." It is gratifying, said Dr. Mookerji, that the title of his work has found its way into His Royal Highness's message.

On the top of above authoritative pronouncements comes another unqualified one from no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi who states : "If Pakistan is an article of faith with Mr. Jinnah, indivisible India is equally an article of faith with me. Hence there is a stalemate."

Gandhiji also points out in his own pithy manner the consequences of the Pakistan scheme : (1) "It is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and Sovereign State. (2) This Sovereign State can conceivably go to war against the one of which it was but yesterday a part. (3) It can also equally conceivably make treaties with other States."

No more convincing indictment of the Pakistan Scheme in such a short compass can be made by anyone except Gandhiji.

Dr. Radhakumud then went on to say that the indivisibility of India has been an article

of faith with the Hindus through the ages since the dawn of history. They have deified the mother country as a Goddess to be worshipped in her *Virāt* form described in their Śāstras from the Vedas downwards. Every Hindu has to utter the preliminary purificatory prayer invoking Mother India as the land of seven sacred rivers, Gangā, Jamunā, Godavarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu (Indus), and Kāverī. Hindus all over India are thus animated by the inspiration of a common creed which teaches them to meditate on the country as an integral unity extending from Kashmir to the Cape. There are other prayers by which the country is to be meditated and visualised by the inner eye as that of seven sacred cities like Ayodhyā, Māyā (Hardwar), Mathura, Kāshi, Kanchi (Canjeeveram), Avanti (Ujjain), and Dwarka. The spiritual conception of Mother India as a vast unity does not recognise the artificial and administrative divisions of the country into Provinces and States. Spirit conquers matter. India again is fondly worshipped as the land of seven sacred mountain-systems from the Himalayas to the Malayas, forming the ribs and backbone of the great Mother-goddess. It was left to our immortal poet Rabindranath Tagore to give expression to this immemorial religious tradition by his own inimitable song describing the *Virāt deha*, the great body of Mother India, as having her sacred feet washed by the deep-blue ocean in the south, her forehead formed by the Himalayas, her crown by their perpetual snows, while out of her breasts flow the streams of ambrosia in the great rivers, Jahnavī and Yamunā. To the Hindu, patriotism is not the product of materialism or an aggressive nationalism. It is a part of his religion. The Hindu must daily worship his Mother Country in the form prescribed by his scriptures. He cannot accept any mutilated or contracted form dictated by any secular authority. He must worship Durgā as *dasa-bhujā*, 'ten-handed.' Pakistan thus constitutes an attack upon the Hindu's religion and must be resisted by him at all costs. Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindra Nath Tagore have voiced forth afresh the Hindu religious sentiment uttering itself through the ages.



A VISIT TO WARDHA

By PROFESSOR DARBARA SINGH, M.Sc.

PRECISELY speaking it is not Wardha but Sewagram, a village where Mahatma Gandhi lives, distant about 5 miles from the Railway Station of Wardha and towards its south. Wardha itself is the centre of India. It is a kacha road that leads to the village. The soil is dark-red and quite hard.

The moment you enter the village, you are faced with a big tri-coloured flag, the National

exterior of huts are scrupulously clean and present a very dignified spectacle.

Between the blocks of houses or huts there are vegetable and flower fields, very carefully laid out and looked after. The fencing of these fields and their gates are made of bamboo sticks, properly cut and arranged. In a word, the Sewagram is a typical Indian village, extraordinarily clean and carefully laid out and kept. It is typical of Gandhiji in simplicity and decency.

On the outskirts of the village there are generally a number of cars and tanges standing in a row. But there is all quiet there.

In the whole colony you will not come across any person merely idling away his time. Everybody is engaged in his work, so much so, that you may go round the whole village and keep on standing at the door of a hut, and you will not be taken notice of, unless, of course, you ask someone what you want and he will attend to you. But that too summarily. It is not dis-



Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha

Flag, fastened at the top of a huge post, gaily and proudly flying in the air.

The houses of the village are nothing but huts. They are all scattered over the area and, generally, are isolated, one from the other. Although there are some huts having some common walls, they are very few. The huts are arranged in the form of blocks. The passage between the huts is fairly wide. They are all made of clay having roofs of bamboo sticks, with hay and mud on them. The roofs are all slanting to drain off very efficiently the rain water. The flooring is kacha. The number of huts is about 200. The so-called streets and the



Gandhiji going out for a morning walk

courtesy but the spirit of business of the people of the colony. They are so busy that they have no moment to waste.

Right in the centre of the whole village there is a lonely hut. This is probably the lowest hut. This is the centre of activity of the whole village. Every now and then parties of men are entering inside and going out of it. They

have to take off their shoes while going in. Despite the hut being the centre of all activity there is no noise outside it. There is no watch over it. Perfect order prevails inside. People



The guest-house at Sewagram, Wardha

inside squat on the floor covered with a matting and a khaddar sheet. It is only one person who speaks at a time while others remain quiet and attentive. They are facing an old but healthy man who all the while continues spinning on the wheel and speaks occasionally. He speaks clearly and without emotion and emphasis. His dress is only a loin cloth made of khaddar, very gracefully done around his waist. Close at hand he has got some books in a shelf and some writing material. This is Gandhiji and the hut is his. Mrs. Gandhi is also in the village but she lives in a separate hut.

The colony is generally full of persons who are well-known to the Indian Nation, although there are very few permanent members. There are a number of organised activities, for example, Wardha Basic Education School, Spinning and Fluffing Department, Dairy Farm and Cutting and Sawing Department.

There seem to be a number of reasons why Gandhiji has chosen to reside in a village and so far away from a town. Firstly, he wants to be away from the noise and excitement of the town life; secondly, he wants to popularise the village life, and, thirdly, so that only those



The cowshed at Sewagram. Lord Lothian accompanied by Mahadev Desai and Miraben

should reach him who are serious with him and are prepared to take some trouble to reach him, i.e., they must be prepared to pay the price to see him. Such are the ways of great men.

THE DASARA AT MYSORE

By L. N. GUBIL

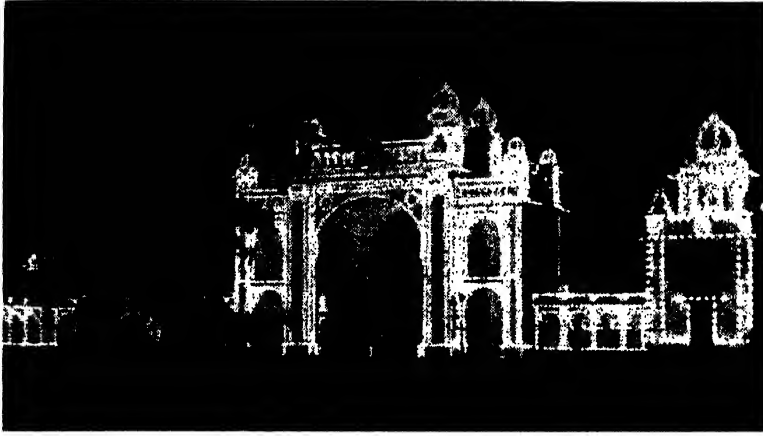
THE Dasara festival at Mysore is famous throughout India for its pageantry and magnificence. Large numbers of visitors from all parts of India and elsewhere come annually to witness it. The city is then a vast concourse of visitors and residents. Special facilities and accommodation are provided for the visitors and great care is taken during the Dasara celebrations to cater to the needs of the visitors irrespective of their status.

The city even ordinarily is a carefully and artistically designed one. It abounds in exten-

sive, picturesquely designed and beautiful gardens, parks, lawns and squares. The whole city is electrically lit. The roads are well kept. During the festival the city is transformed into a thing of beauty.

The Dasara celebrations, on the lavish scale now maintained, date from the beginning of the 17th century, when Raja Wodeyar came to the throne of Mysore after Sri Rangaraja as descendant of the Vijayanagar Princes. With his ascent also dates the use of the famous throne by the Maharaja, during the festival. Raja

Wodayar who became the king of Mysore at the beginning of the 17th century, celebrated the Dasara festival on a royal scale, and after him year after year the Dasara has gained in splendour, entertainment and attractiveness.



One of the main gates of the palace illuminated during Dasara

The history of the festival has its origin in a Puranic story concerning the killing of Mahishasura (Bandasura who took the form of a buffalo) and his comrades Chanda and Nanda by Goddess Kali. The fight went on for nine days and nights and on the tenth day Goddess Kali killed them near the hill. Hence Kali came to be known as Chamundeswari and the hill where the demons were killed as the Chamundi Hill, sacred to the deity. Chamundeswari is the family deity of the royal family and is sacred to the Rajas and the people of Mysore. The word Mysore is said to be derived from Mahishur. The festival commences with pooja to the deity.

The Maharaja appears before the deity in a special rich dress wearing a bracelet sacred to the Goddess and he wears it throughout the festival. During these nine days no visitor is allowed into the palace. The pooja is performed every day. The late lamented Maharaja was a great devotee of Chamundeswari and a beneficent ruler. After the pooja a Durbar is held.

This Durbar is an imposing spectacle. The Maharaja sits in state on the throne and gives

audience. Tradition has it that the throne now used originally belonged to the Pandavas and Yadavas and was brought to Mysore by two adventurous princes from whom the present ruling family trace their descent.

The Durbar Hall is a grand place. It is a spacious hall 50 yards by 15 yards, with excellently carved and tastefully designed pillars, with richly decorated ceilings and walls containing numerous beautiful paintings. After the pooja the lights are switched on, and His Highness the Maharaja dressed in state and seated on the gold throne with the visitors and guests seated in the hall, presents a sight unmatched in splendour and dignity. His Highness and the guests then witness for about an hour or so, various entertainments, such as

gymnastic exercises, wrestling, feats of strength, various kinds of music and dances. The State Military Band is also in attendance. The distinguished guests are presented to His Highness. The Durbar closes with the distri-

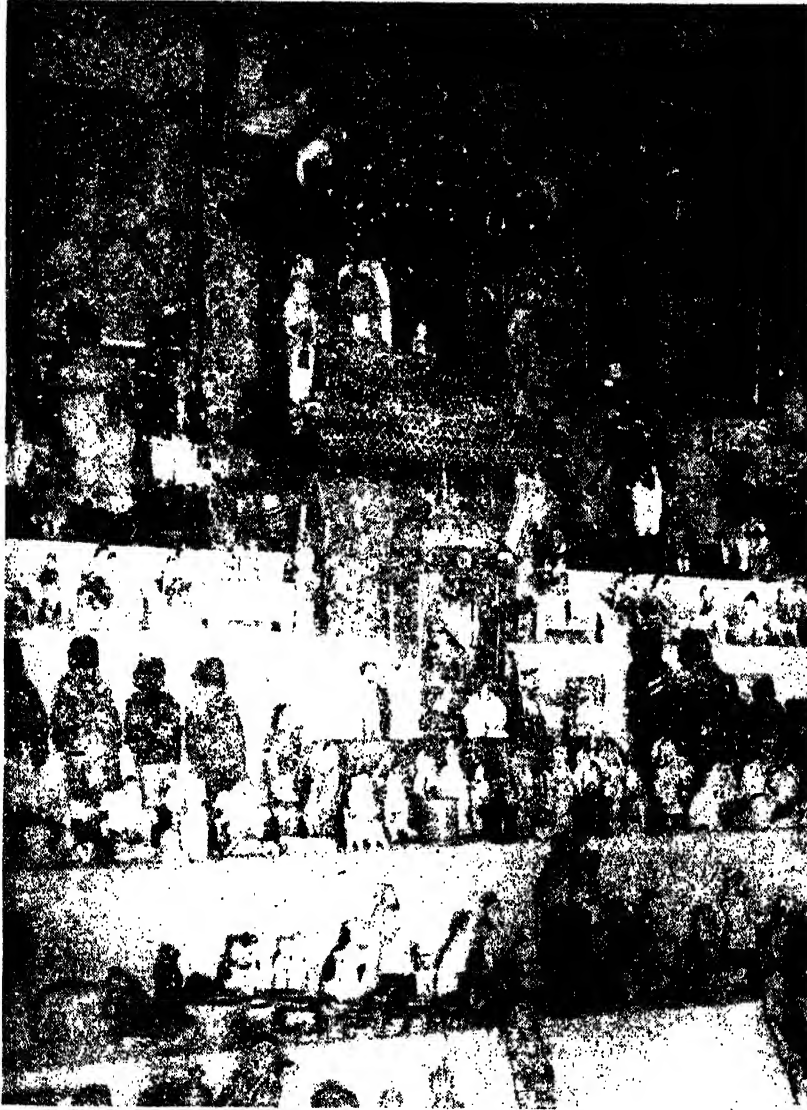


The Dasara procession. H. H. the Maharaja riding on elephant

bution of *pan-supari* and garlands to the guests and visitors. The Durbar is also attended by many European guests.

The late Maharaja of Mysore was a liberal patron of arts and was himself a gifted musician. The Durbar has a special significance in this,

that particular attention is paid to the development of fine arts in the State and artists deserving royal recognition are honoured at the Durbar. On the tenth day of the festival, the famous Dasara procession comes out in the evening. The route covers about three miles.



During Dasara (navaratri) toys of different varieties are arranged in beautiful array in every Hindu house

The procession is a grand display of oriental colour and splendour. The procession starts from Curzon Park and Statue Square. In that square there is a marble statue of Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar. The route is packed on either side with gaily dressed men and women eager to witness the State procession.

To the booming of cannon, His Highness

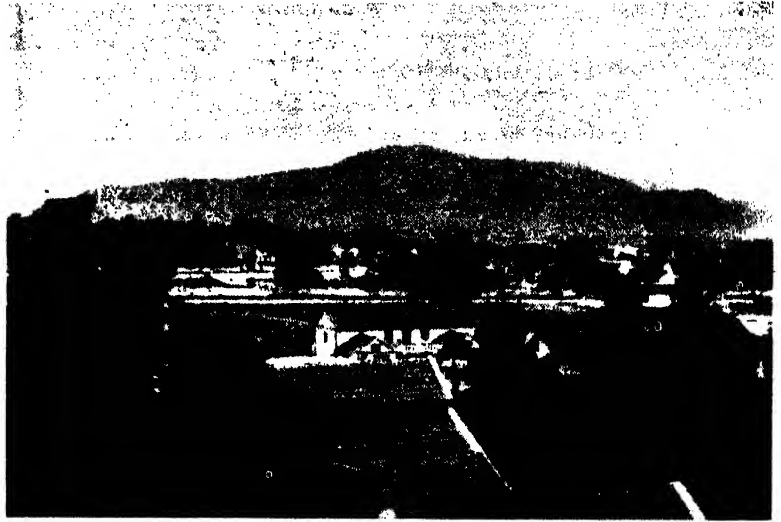
mounts the State elephant and leaves the palace. The procession is headed by an elephant with the flag. Next come cavaliers on richly caparisoned and jewelled horses and then other State elephants (tuskers) with howdahs and superbly embroidered trappings and ornaments. There is also the State coach drawn by four camels. A carriage with sixteen chairs containing members of the royal household drawn by two elephants is another interesting sight. The military accompany the procession and march to the playing of the band and bagpipes. The Maharaja's body-guards are famous for their dignified carriage. The palace staff is also in attendance in black long coats, caps and turbans. The Maharaja is seated in the centre of the howdah of the State elephant, usually with the heir-apparent; the procession reaches Banni Mandap at about dusk.

Then there is a military parade on the maidan. The maidan is electrically lit. There His Highness and staff inspect the battalions. The troops march past and salute. After inspection, the Maharaja performs pooja to the sword and cuts the Vanni tree with the sword in the customary manner. This is in commemoration of an incident in the life of Arjuna, the great archer. In the thirteenth year of their exile, the Pandavas

had to live in complete concealment and when the period was over, and King Virata's cattle were seized as a first provocation for the battle, King Virata being engaged elsewhere, the capital was struck with panic at the news. But Arjuna (in the guise of a eunuch called Brihannala employed to teach dancing) volunteered to be the charioteer of Prince Uttara in his expedi-

tion to drive away the enemies. On their way to the battle-field, Arjuna went to the Vanni tree in which he had concealed his celestial weapons and took them. Thus the Vanni tree became sacred to the Pandavas and the Maharaja of Mysore who traces descent from them also reveres the Vanni tree and hence the pooja.

The return procession is even more an imposing sight. The sword, the elephants and horses are sent back to the palace. In the same order as before the procession goes back to the palace. The whole route is electrically illuminated and the Maharaja alights at the illuminated palace entrance to the cheers of his people.



Chamundi Hill. Mysore

THE JAVANESE SHADOW PLAY

By DR. A. A. BAKE

WHAT people continually hear and see before their eyes will have a profound influence on the shaping of their moral and mental outlook. This is a truth which was subconsciously recognised by people all over the world centuries before the Axis—all the three partners of it—made it into one of the dogmas of their pernicious creed.

In the history of the cultural development of every people we see periods when a lofty ideal dominates its life and pervades it into its core. The consequence then is that the ideal emerges in every expression of the life of that people, in their art, in their literature and architecture. Its influence lasts and shapes the lives of generations, long after its initial glow has vanished, simply because every teaching that is given to the people is still based on it.

Like every other country in the world, India has known periods of such strong cultural urges and one of these coincided with her outward expanse towards the East during the first seven centuries of our present era, when the colonisation of the Indonesian archipelago took place. The active and fertile strength of the religious

convictions of those days can be gauged by the lasting influence they had on the life of the original inhabitants of two of the three main islands, Java and Bali; it was on these islands that perhaps an already existing indigenous culture offered a fertile soil to the foreign seeds.

Generations of colonists, Buddhists and Hindus of different denominations, lived there and flourished. In the course of time their contact with the motherland weakened and finally vanished, but by that time the indigenous culture had grown and developed and had absorbed the foreign elements to such an extent that it is often a difficult task to make out what belongs to the one and what to the other. Certainly the common people of Java themselves do not suspect for a moment that the heroes of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana whose lives and deeds and virtues are their constant models, were ever born anywhere but on their own Javanese soil. Their heroism is Javanese heroism, the virtue of a Kshatriya is a Javanese virtue.

How strong the influence of that ancient Indian ideal is in the lives of even Western-educated Javanese of our days was shown by a

recent happening in Java. Immediately after the invasion of Holland by the Nazis, all, even the most radical of the Javanese politicians of the opposition, decided to shelve all differences for the "duration" and co-operate with the Government until the disaster that had come over Holland had passed. There was only one of the anti-Government group who thought he might make use of the discomfiture of his opponent to further his own political aims, and started writing accordingly in his paper. The whole Javanese world gave one comment:—"That is not the conduct of a Kshatriya."

"Ardjoeno," indeed; but few people in India would recognise him, as the reader can judge for himself from the illustration. It is the hero as he appears in the Javanese Shadow Play "The Wayang," as he has been watched and admired by generation after generation of Javanese village folk.

However splendid a court, however small a village, the Wayang will be there. The puppets vary in beauty and costliness but they are always essentially the same. The dalang, leader and narrator, will vary his comments and jokes according to the crowd to which he sings and



Arjuna. Java



Krishna. Java

And that meant the inglorious end of that endeavour.

It stands to reason that if the Mahabharata (and to a somewhat lesser extent the Ramayana) had only existed on paper or in books, its influence could never have become and remained so strong. It is a living tradition. The stories of the epic have become so ingrained in the minds of the people that, for instance, a shunter in a railway yard will occupy his moments of leisure by scribbling the outline of the portrait of one of his heroes—probably Arjuna—with chalk on the wagons about to be shunted. It is

speaks, but the essentials will never change. Privileged men will watch the show from the lighted side of the screen and see the dalang handle the puppets and admire their colours. The unprivileged will only see the shadows move against the taut white cloth and hear the wise and solemn words and the gay and biting comments come from the other side of the screen as from another world. But whichever side of the screen the spectators are on, they always drink the stories in anew, and always find new joy and solace in what they hear.

It is not quite certain at what time the

Wayang puppets acquired their present shape. As we see them now they show a strong resemblance to the reliefs of the temple complex of Panataran in East Java (about the 13th century A.D.) where the Ramayana is depicted in its Javanese form, very different from the four to five centuries older reliefs on the middle Java-



Chitraksi. Java

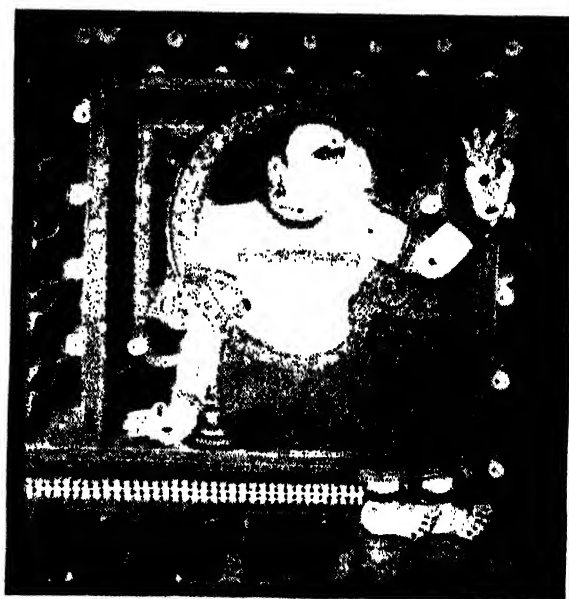
nese temple complex of Prambanan, where the Indian original is still plainly recognisable. Shadow plays with leather puppets and their sway over the emotions of the audience are mentioned in an old Javanese epic, "Arjuna-vivaha" dating back to the 11th century. But the shadow play itself must be very much older than that. Its origins are rooted in the times of animistic ancestor worship, probably long before either the Ramayana or the Mahabharata was ever heard of under that name.

The great question has been for a long time, whether shadow play was something originally Javanese which was found to be a suitable vehicle for the imported stories. If so, the importations were incorporated side by side with the already existing Javanese stories such as the cycle of plays that circle round the valiant

knight Pandji and old Javanese characters such as Semar and the other semi-divine clowns who became attendants of the Pandavas. The other possibility is that the shadow play was introduced to Java by the Indian settlers, in which case also the technique of the Wayang itself, not only the subject-matter, would be of Indian origin.

There is a strong body of opinion in favour of the idea that the shadow play was something originally Javanese, basing its strength mainly on the absence of this form of art in India. As a matter of fact, it would not detract a jot from the cultural value of the Wayang if it were to be found that at least parallel forms of art had existed or even do exist in India. Like most things in the culture of every people on the face of the earth, the Wayang is the outcome of a combination of strains from many times and different lands. Still there the question lies, open to investigation.

In some villages in Malabar, that precious store-house of manners and customs forgotten or discarded in other parts of India, survives a form of art curiously reminiscent of the Wayang.



Sita. Malabar

There is, for instance, an old shadow play tradition in the neighbourhood of Cheruthuruthi on the northern border of Cochin State. The puppets that came to our notice were connected with the Ramayana. They were definitely of two types: first the image of Sita, (see illustration) where the puppet almost merged into a fixed background and had only very limited movability.

She had to appear and disappear together with her surrounding bower and could only indicate the tiniest of movements with her hand. This type of puppet is unknown in Java. The other



Hanuman. Malabar

type, however, is closely related to what is commonly used in Java, a single figure cut out by itself in semi-profile with at least one movable arm, able to take part as an independent character in the play. Hanuman and his Lord, Sugriva, were portrayed very much alike,

and the monkeys as well as Sita herself, were shown in a very much more naturalistic way than the heroes and heroines of the Javanese Wayang. The style of reciting the story as heard in Malabar was less of a refined art than what is current in Java. It was more or less a monotonous recitation, without the rhythmical changes and the fulness of the gamelan orchestra that makes a Javanese performance such a deeply stirring event.

Research scholars will perhaps be able to solve the problem: Is the shadow play in Malabar a late flower of the tree which grew in India, and which, transplanted in Java, took root and flourished up to our days? Or, did Java know a shadow play of its own, with which the Indian variety could mix and intermingle, producing new results unthought of in either parent?

This is but one of the hundred questions that arise in the mind of even the most superficial observer of the cultures of India and the N. E. I., connecting India's glorious past with a strong and healthy present, healthy in spite of the temporary setbacks or even the deluge of evil forces that has flooded the Far East. Research and comparative study may be impossible and even ordinary contact ruled out, but we need not fear for the future, for what is true and noble will certainly come into its own again, like the Kshatriya who emerges victoriously from the battles with seemingly infinitely stronger demons.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH TIGER THAT CHARGED ME

BY KUNWAR JASJIT SINGH

IN silent hours of leisure I often take delight in calmly studying nature around me, nature so full of diversities, nature kind and cruel. Human society from time immemorial has endeavoured hard to subjugate nature. To a small extent man has been successful, but nature in the end asserts itself. The powerful would sway over the less powerful. The strong would prey on the weak. This is said to be the law of nature. The tiger was destined to dominate the jungle. He will not tolerate rivals in his domain. But alas! he is powerless against the acute intelligence of man.

The powerful among the beasts had one day to come to challenge the supremacy of the

human race. With his marvellously built muscles and boundless energy he was likely to crush the tiny figure of man. One smack from the king of beasts was sufficient to make the mightiest man reel down to the ground, but alas! that was not to be, and man instead got the upper hand. But sometimes he would outwit man. He would occasionally, rather surreptitiously, feed on delicious human flesh and bones. But man would retaliate.

Life without risks and adventures for a young man is a series of dull and dreary dreams full of monotony which is likely to kill him by inches if really there is anything left in him of a man. He will fearlessly have a fight with

the strongest of the beasts, providing at the same time shelter to the weak but beautiful creations of God who enhance the glory of the jungle by their loveliness and innocence. Shame to the human being who measures his muscular strength and the power of weapons against these charming creatures.

I want to be a sportsman in the real sense of the term. I long for adventures, and adventures off and on have been the companion of my life and and often had I the pleasure and privilege of inviting risks. At this age of 28 I have untiringly travelled through hundreds of miles of impassable tracts in the foot-hills of the Himalyas in pursuit of the pleasure only enjoyable by a sportsman. I have been a successful seeker after sports.

It was in March, 1942. that one day I found my Peshkar bringing a lot of Dak to me. Amidst this heap of letters I caught sight of a thick Khaki envelope on His Majesty's Service, which seemed to be the thickest of the lot. Letters on H. M. Service are not very inviting in such times as these, so I grew a little curious about its contents. I, however, noticed the forest seal and it did not take long for me to conclude that this must be from Lansdowne Forests Division. I hurriedly tore open the envelope and the very sight of the shooting permit filled me with a sense of overwhelming joy. The letter was pertaining to the most favourite block of Koluchaur which in the past afforded me unparalleled pleasure and opportunity of shooting big games (tigers) and this time again I was going to venture to try my luck for the colossal tiger for which other brother sportsmen had tried their luck but in vain.

The tiger in question is a first class "graduate," fully knowing what his shikari friends mean and are up to by tying the bait. He has developed a queer instinct of quickly discerning and sensing the sportsman, the machan and the elephants. He would leave the Nallah as soon as he suspects the foot-prints of an elephant. His tracks are huge. People who have happened to see him by

chance say that he is the biggest of its kind and so old that his lower lip is hanging down. There are many superstitious stories current about this colossal beast. They take it for ghost and out of fear will not divulge its whereabouts to any sportsman fearing that it may bring some bad luck to them. He mostly feeds on Sambhar and seldom kills cattle.

The Divisional Forest Officer of Lansdowne bade a challenge to this tiger and was after him till the day of his transfer, but luck did not favour him. He had to leave the Division with his hopes unrealized. We were friends and I had to go to bid him good-bye. He most feelingly remarked that he was sorry he could not do anything and hoped that I should

The writer with his favourite Jeffery's 400 and its victim

try my level best to bag the old tiger and let him know as soon as he was shot.

I was twice as eager as my friend. This permit filled me with new hopes. I decided this time not to fire a single shot on anything else.

This block affords some good fishing too. Although I am not a good fisherman and have just started fishing, I decided to fish in the mean time in order to enjoy every hour in my favourite block.

I was expectantly looking forward to the day we were to pack off to Koluchaur. All shooting kit and paraphernalia were sent in advance so that everything might have been arranged there before we reached. We stayed back with a few bare necessities which we would

like to carry along in our 'shooting van' (a specially made Chevrolet commercial chassis).

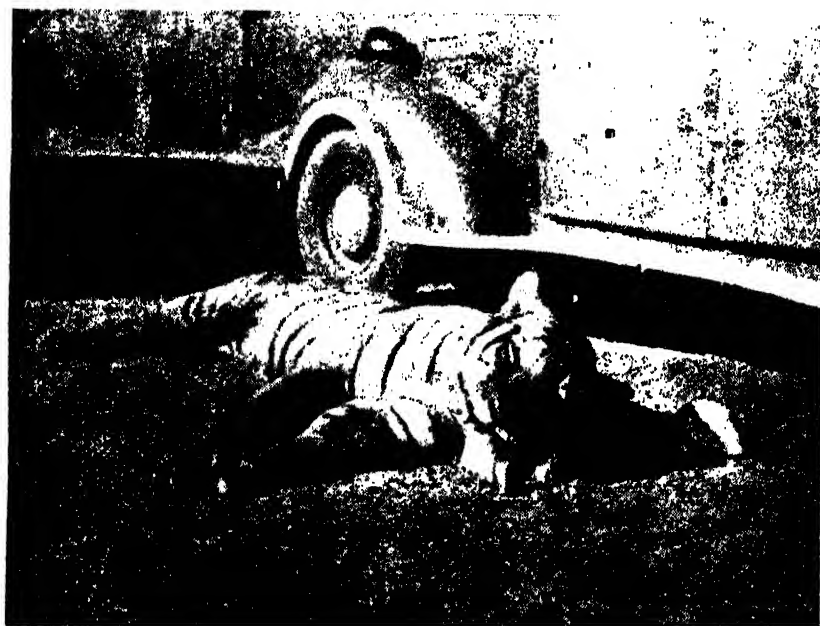
During these present uncertain times when the world is madly heading towards a cataclysm and crisis I have curtailed my big game shooting. This was the very first of the season. The very idea of bagging this huge tiger excited me and an anxiety prevailed throughout. All necessary arrangements were made but the question of petrol perturbed me. I am, however, thankful to the rationing authorities who relieved me timely of my apprehended difficulties.

The date of my shooting excursion was drawing nearer and I had accordingly managed for sufficient petrol. In compliance with the wishes

Singh said with a smile that he could show us a tiger just now provided we did the beating (Hakwa) of the particular jungle. He paused for a while and again in a fit of frenzy said, "But this a tigress with two cubs, Hazoor." I kept mum for a little while and then retorted, "You know very well that I never care about a tigress and especially a tigress with cubs." "Hazoor, that is why the elephants were not asked to be ready for the beat," said Dewan Singh shikari. "Well, that is alright." I precipitately told him to provide me with the latest news of the huge tiger for which I had specially come this time. Dewan Singh being a Pahari was also full of superstitions, wanted to dodge

this question but at last, despondently pointed towards the north and said that he had only that morning seen the fresh "pug marks" of the same tiger. This news was quite encouraging. I immediately sent for the Estate shikari Majid and told him to work on this tiger exclusively and try to find out some of his natural 'kills'. With a courteous salam, off he went.

A couple of days passed in search of the kill but in vain. In the mean time I was enjoying my new hobby and was lucky enough to hook a twenty pounder and several other fish. People say that fishing is a fool's game but



The colossal tiger shot at Koluchaur

of my wife, her friends and the kiddies who were equally interested in outing and shikar, I decided to take them along with me. April being a hot month we preferred to leave in the early hour of the morning. We reached the camp earlier than 10 A.M. and to our best satisfaction we found everything neat and clean. A lovely breakfast awaited us to which we were prepared to do full justice after a hurried cool wash.

We had hardly finished with our 'Hazri' when I saw the local shikari Dewan Singh gaily coming to me. My inquisitiveness had already transcended the limit and I was over-impatient to hear the tidings about the movements of this tiger. Therefore, out I came and curiously inquired as to what news he had brought. Dewan

it gave me a nice morning and a pleasant evening. The fourth day a kill was reported but it was not a suitable place for the Hakwa. I decided to sit for it, but luck did not favour me. I heard the tiger roaring about a mile away but it never came to the kill. In the same way I had four more kills but without any result. It was a great disappointment to me and I was in a fix as to what next I should do. The impatience was torturing me mentally. I wished to get rid of it; but it was only possible when I had shot the tiger which was supposed to be by far the biggest tiger in the block. For a sportsman it is difficult to have a comfortable sleep and a peaceful mind until he has achieved his object and set his foot on his game. Every day was a harbinger of increasing anxiety and

impatience to me. And in the gloom of despondency I would pass the day off.

It was in the early hours of the morning. The birds were singing melodiously in a chorus—an unmistakable sign of the break of dawn. After a while the red disc of the sun was seen gradually emerging from behind the mountain-peaks, drawing gently the veil of the gloom of night aside from the face of this earth. I too left my bed and lazily sauntered about. Leaning over the camp basin with tooth-brush in hand I heard the terrific roar of a very big beast towards the north of the forest rest-house, not very far away. This was quickly followed by the stampede of Sanbhar and Cheetal who in a frenzy of fear were crying eccentrically.

I had scarcely dressed when the noise from outside the forest rest-house attracted my attention and I saw the elephant already awaiting there to take me for a morning stroll that I generally took in the hope of coming across some tiger or panther. It was an arresting sight to behold in the morning the snow-clad mountain-peaks.

A hurried cup of tea satisfied me and off I went with my favourite Jeffery's special H. V. 400 along with my trusted shikari. He is a good shot with my Holland's Paradox and not seldom has he saved my life. All the people in the camp had heard the tiger's roar.

My old mahawat Munna Khan cannot hear anything unless it is trumpeted to his ears. He is much more energetic than most men of half his age are. He is a genius as far as his shikar capabilities are concerned and is a rare combination of a shikari and a mahawat. He is an octogenarian, and has seen over a hundred tigers being shot before his eyes. He still loves going out with me whenever I am after a tiger. He rarely lets me go alone, for he is the hereditary Feelwan of the Estate. He is faithful and has grown exceptionally attached to all of us. He is still bold and desperate and is well acquainted with the ways of tiger-shooting.

The place being hilly and steep with long undulated contours it was very uncomfortable

to ride and I preferred to walk along with my "White Hunter." So, we got down and asked the old man to keep a few hundred yards behind. As we were proceeding on our way we heard another terrific roar which must have been heard in the camp by the rest of the party.

We inferred that the tiger was hardly a mile away roaring in the Nallah which my shikari was well acquainted with. I consulted him and we decided to wait near its mouth as the tiger was bound to leave the Nallah as it was getting very bright. For quite a long time we waited for "His Majesty's" approach but to our utter disappointment he had politely taken the other direction which we had least expected. It was a disappointment.



Fishing

It was getting gradually hot and I suggested going back to the camp but my shikari requested to proceed a mile further where he had seen a lovely spot with a nice pool of water evidently infested with Narkul (reeds). It was the only suitable retiring place for the sun-beaten beasts during the scorching days of April which had actually burnt down every sort of vegetation. The sun was blazing hot in the horizon. Here and there some animals were recklessly moving about in this sweltering sun to find out a shady place. The luxuriant growth of the green Narkul which had grown in the bed of the Nallah beneath the overhanging branches of the trees on the edge of its banks provided a comfortable retiring place to the wild beasts who

after having a cold drink from the pool could spend the scorching hours in comfortable rest. My shikari suspected that the tiger might have gone there either for drink or for his nap for the remainder of the day.

I hesitated for a moment and then agreed to his suggestion. We rode the elephant and when we were within half a mile from the pool I thought it better to go on foot to avoid unnecessary noise. We were to creep along slowly avoiding the dry leaves and branches to see if the tiger was there.

After walking a few hundred yards the shikari showed me some fresh pugs of the huge tiger going towards the pool. We followed these very carefully and quietly upto the pool. But where did he go after the drink? We moved further on and suddenly I caught sight of some blood-stains on the grass. We followed the stains and a few yards to the right we saw a pool of blood, which was obviously enough to show as to what must have actually happened there. It did not take long to infer that a Sambhar had just been the victim of our friend who had dragged it into the Narkul. We did not think it advisable to have a look at the kill as our friend was there guarding it.

This was a lovely place to beat out and one elephant was quite sufficient to drive the tiger towards me. The patch was about 200 yards long and about 80 yards wide. The very idea after all this survey filled me with joy and I was certain that success was at hand. We had hardly decided to beat it out and I had hardly ambushed myself when I noticed a slight rustle in the Narkul. I was just about to draw my shikari's attention to that spot when all of a sudden we both heard the coughing grunts of the tiger not more than fifty yards away who came towards us in a full charging mood.

We were stunned with this nerve-racking experience; but I had seen thirty-five tigers before, so I did not lose my head even though my heart was in my mouth. I could hardly put on the safety catch of my favourite Jeffery's 400, the only thing I could rely upon, when I saw the huge head emerging out of the tall Narkul twenty yards away or so. I fired point blank and heard the tiger fall with a Hoolh. Unfortunately my shikari happened to be carrying his gun unloaded. I was just going to pull the trigger of my rifle again after taking a very steady aim between the two eyes of the tiger as he laid unconscious facing towards me when I heard a bang from behind and imme-

diately the tiger made a murderous charge. Now we were face to face. Literally speaking it was certain death on either side. I however gave him no time either to move forward or backward and immediately let loose both the barrels into his face (which only providence favoured me with) and to my great relief I saw the colossal beast lying dead peacefully at my feet.

I looked round and saw my poor shikari Majid with a pale face trembling a couple of yards behind me. He was ashamed of intervening and letting loose his famous Paradox's barrel which caused this deadly charge.

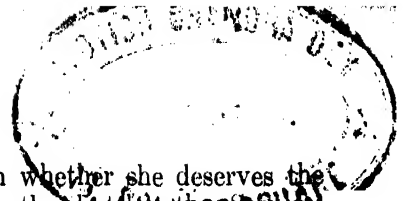
Old Munna Khan tired of waiting for so long had started towards us and was only three or four hundred yards away when all this happened. He heard the shots and was puzzled a lot. He was however overjoyed to see the colossal tiger lying dead in the Nallah beside me. It was the attraction of the block which had really led many a brother sportsman to try their luck, but fate ordained that I would be crowned with success.

As soon as we came back to the camp the first thing we did was to measure it. The Forest guard being an old man was equally eager to know the size of the tiger after which his old Saheb had wasted so much time. The tiger measured 10 ft. 6 inches between pugs and 11 ft. 1 inch on curve and 48 inches at the shoulder. While measuring it I noticed that his right foreleg was twice as thick as the other one. Close scrutiny disclosed that some great shikari had tried to kill him with a buck-shot but only caused a wound in the neck and the foreleg. With the passage of time the first wound had healed up but the leg still remained unhealed and full of maggots.

Tigers usually never charge on sight; but why this particular tiger did so remains no longer a mystery to me. The poor brute had previously experienced that the tiny figure of man was more dangerous than what he looked like. He did not quite recover from the punishment he had got a few months ago from a brother sportsman. He soon learnt that the sight of man was a dangerous sign and he must have decided to pay him back. My first shot broke his right shoulder with an energy of four hundred pounds and paralysed him for the moment. The second shot from my shikari broke his hind leg and thus thinking that it was not the end of his troubles he revengefully charged me with wrath.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI



THE Battle for Stalingrad has resolved itself into a grim showdown of titanic proportions between Germany and her satellites—Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Finland and the 'volunteer' brigades from Spain, etc.—on the one hand and the lone might of Soviet Russia on the other. It is true that not all the Axis powers are fighting at Stalingrad, but that they have released dozens of German divisions from elsewhere and that they are piling up supplies behind von Bock's forces cannot be denied. The heroic stand of the Russians is being indirectly praised even by their enemies and it is certain that not even their friends expected this "fight unto death" resistance, outnumbered and almost overwhelmed by the immensely superior weight of their enemies' arms as they are. Whatever the outcome of this epic struggle, it is beyond all doubt that the honour of the battle will rest with the defenders of the steel city, who are even now inscribing a glorious page of history with their life's blood.

But of what avail will this struggle be—so far as the immediate future be concerned—if after all this sacrifice the Germanic powers succeed in capturing Stalingrad? The Proletarian forces of the Soviets will have earned undying fame as peerless fighters for freedom, but the forces of Fascism will have succeeded in gaining their objective, that of destroying the last great arsenal of the Soviets in Europe. After Stalingrad, there will remain only the munitions centres round Moscow, and those in the Urals regions and those of Asiatic Russia. There can be no doubt that the peoples of Russia will fight on, depleted of resources and bleeding at every pore though they may be, so long their leaders are as determined, and as sure of final victory as they are now. But after the speech of Mr. Churchill and the reports of Mr. Wendel Willkie's visit to Moscow, it is plain now that Russia is plainly beginning to doubt whether her Allies are equally determined to assist her at all costs. There can be no doubt that there is a clear difference of opinion between Moscow and London and Washington, regarding the value of the time factor in opening a second front in Europe. Such differences of opinion are dangerous in the extreme as they might vitally affect the morale of a desperately hard-pressed nation in mortal need of aid. There can be no doubt about the necessity of this aid for the most critical stage of this World War has now been reached. And Russia's

Allies cannot question whether she deserves the aid now, for besides the battle at Stalingrad, forces have fought—and are still fighting—all other battles and engagements fought in this war pale into insignificance. Russia has staked her uttermost in this battle for the Allied cause, and she has made it plain that if this war is to be won, then her Allies must come to her aid now, with all the strength that they can muster. It is up to the rest of the Allies to give the answer.

That the thrust into the Caucasus is hanging fire is partly due to the unexpected resis-



Von Bock

tance experienced there, but mostly due to the tremendous drain on the resources of the Germanic forces engaged in the reduction of Stalingrad. If Stalingrad stands till winter calls a halt on mechanized warfare, then this campaign may end in another stalemate like the one before Moscow in last year's autumn. If on the other hand von Bock succeeds in breaking Russian resistance at Stalingrad before winter sets in, then the position in the Caucasus will become critical, unless the Soviet can make another forlorn hope stand in that area.

An American Naval Under-Secretary has

been reported to have remarked that up till now the Allies have been losing the war. This opinion added to that of Ambassador Grew's warning that there has been a gross underestimate of the fighting power and determination of Japan should bring down to earth those clever gentry who are already thinking ahead about a post-war world under the domination of the "democracies." Indeed if Germany succeeds in gaining her immediate objectives before Winter clamps down brakes on her war machine, and if Japan is left undisturbed to augment her resources from the store-houses of Philippines, Malaya, Burma, the isles of the South Pacific and the Dutch and British East Indies for the rest of this year, then the Allied cause would indeed be in danger.

Russia represents the greatest barrier to the ambitions of the Axis for the present. At some distant date the combined strength of America and Britain may equal the force with which the Soviets opposed single-handed the colossal might of Germany, aided by her satellites. And at that time the mighty war machine of the Axis in Europe had hardly a dent on its armour. After fifteen months of the Russian War, Germany has suffered a serious drain on her resources, both as regards man-power and as regards armament. Her strength has been taxed to the utmost and the strain on her resources must have reached the breaking point. The only chance the Axis has now of ever obtaining a decision, rests on the possibility of crippling the Russian forces to such an extent as to render a counter-offensive from that quarter an impossibility in the near future. If this can be done before winter sets in and Germany gets a respite for a sufficient period to recoup and to recondition her forces, then she can face a war on a second front with some degree of assurance. The strength of the Soviets, measured in the terms of mechanised warfare on the Gargantuan scale as at present, although very great is not inexhaustible, and it is possibly for this reason that Moscow has broadcast its appeal for a second front.

Hitler's speech on the 22nd of June 1941, clearly stated that he was forced to launch an attack on Russia because so many of his divisions had to be diverted to the Eastern frontiers to guard against the Russian forces massing there as to render a successful campaign in the West an impossibility. This was probably the real reason as to why England did not have to face the perils of an invasion. Since then, while Russia has borne the full brunt of the mightiest

assaults in the history of warfare, her Allies on the West have obtained a prolonged respite.

* * * * *

The other theatre of war in the Western Hemisphere, though occasionally referred to in the columns of the daily press as the "Battle of the Atlantic," does not find much space with which to attract the eyes of the news-reader. It is known that it is of vital concern to all the countries involved in the present war, but the nature of this campaign is such that neither side desires to give full publicity as to the actual combat, as would be the case in the event of a more spectacular naval engagement between surface craft. This warfare of hide and seek and of sudden death is all the same almost as vital in its effects on the final outcome of this present World War as that of any campaign now in the field. It is evident that up till now no satisfactory answer has been found to the problem of Submarine Warfare. Building more ships than can be sunk by the submarines is at its best an unsatisfactory solution. Each ship sunk represents so much of valuable cargo, so much of urgently needed munitions and a great deal of time and labour lost, all of which would have helped the cause of the Allies. These losses have imposed a stranglehold on the counter-offensive in every theatre of war, and in the case of Russia it will probably prove to be the most formidable barrier in the path of Allied victory. If the German forces succeed in cutting the supply route to Russia *via* the Persian Gulf and the Caspian, then the only remaining routes would be those that are infested with submarines aided by land-based aircraft—a deadly combination where slow-moving convoys are concerned. The Mediterranean route has become hazardous in the extreme due to this combination, so much so that the passage of a big convoy assumes the character of a major naval engagement. The recent reports about the extension of the activities of the Japanese Navy into the Atlantic, as a result of which a "serious trickle of essential supplies" is reaching the Axis powers in Europe, disclose a serious complication in the sending of supplies to the Far East *via* the Cape. Other disclosures, regarding the shipping position go to show that the Battle of the Atlantic is as yet far from being won.

In the Western desert of Egypt, the eerie calm still persists. Here the Allies as yet seem to be contented with a successful defence. All the reports indicate that the Allied forces are expecting an attack by Rommel's army. Of

course, when the Allied counter-offensive does start, it would do so unannounced and therefore no indication should be given to the enemy in advance.

* * *

In the Eastern theatres of war, the Japanese seem to have resumed the offensive. From Burma come reports of an advance by the Japanese into Western Yunnan. In New Guinea the attack on Port Moresby still continues though the Australians seem to have forced a distinct slackening of the pace on the Japanese. It is just possible however that the Japanese are waiting for further supplies and reinforcements, which are difficult to bring over the Owen Stanley mountains. In any case a determined assault on Port Moresby is almost certain to come before many weeks have passed. In the Solomons the Japanese attempts at retrieving their losses have not met with any success upto date, but on the other hand there is no indication that the Japanese are inclined to accept defeat in this sector.

In China the armies of the Generalissimo are trying to force the Japanese armies on the defensive all along the coastal area. The Japanese have made considerable withdrawals and more seem to be indicated. Lack of mechanized equipment and of heavy artillery is a terrible handicap to the gallant soldiers of Free China and as such their courage and determination to keep the offensive spirit is an example to the freedom-loving world. The sacrifices involved in the "scorched earth policy"—first initiated by the Government of Free China—and in the "Trading of Space for Time" are unsurpassed in the History of Nations when the total of assets are compared to the losses involved. The Five Years of War in China are deathless chapters of glory for the soldier of Free China. This tremendous resistance put up by an unorganised people, without any modern arms or equipment and without any considerable trained army or war directorate, against the third mightiest military power of the world has not only confounded all Western "experts" but has made the aggressor admit that no power can subjugate this "Mastodon amongst nations." There is no room for doubt that if China had received aid in a more substantial form than mere lip sympathy during the first three or four years of her fight for freedom, then the course of this World War would have run in a different channel.

For obvious reasons the present position in India cannot be fully discussed. The powers

that be seem to be labouring under the delusion that if they can apportion in full the blame for all that has been happening in India since the arrest of all the Congress leaders on to the Congress in general and Mahatma Gandhi in particular, then the job of winning the war, so far as India is concerned, will be well accomplished. Even if it be proved to the hilt that the Congress is the sole root of all the evils in the world would that alter the position of India *vis a vis* the war situation one whit? Can Whitehall and New Delhi deny that the war-effort in India is not more than 10% of the real potential? And can they apportion blame for that in that case on the Congress? If the Congress is to blame for that, in that case the Congress is a thousand times more powerful than what Mr. Churchill and his Viceroy in India would have the World believe. If not—and that is nearer reality—then there is gross neglect and inefficiency in the conduction of the country's war-effort. The Grady report on the American Committee's findings strongly supports this assumption.

The whole thing boils down to the question, does the war-effort of Indian India matter one jot to the Allied cause? If it does then the Allies are riding for a fall with the present policy of drift in India, and the rest of the United Nations cannot deny their responsibility in it. If it does not, then why all this pother about war-effort and A. R. P. and Indian solidarity with the Allied cause?

Any person who considers the world-war situation now in a calm frame of mind can visualise for himself the cold realities that face the United Nations in their attempt to overthrow the Axis. It is true that the inner details of this war are not apparent to the lay reader—indeed the leaders of the Allied Nations do not seem to agree on the fullest implication of the situation in Europe—but what can be seen on the surface is serious enough in all conscience. The Axis domination over Europe is still on the ascendant, and if Germany is becoming weaker, so is Russia to a greater extent—and Russia represents, uptill now, by far the strongest factor in the collective strength of the Allies. In the event of a delay in opening a Second Front, therefore, it is more than likely that all the forces that Britain and America can muster for some time to come, will have to be expended on the task of defeating the armies of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe. It must be remembered that by far the greatest part of the Italian army is lying intact in Europe, where

they do not suffer from the handicap of having a precarious line of communications. The German forces in the West together with the Italians are substantial enough to render a second front a very difficult proposition even now. If this second front is to be opened then there would be little force to spare on the other fronts. In Africa the best that could be expected is to obtain a balance of power and thus to force a stalemate until Britain and America have their hands free.

Such being the case, who is to prevent Japan from waxing fatter and stronger on the spoils of her blitz campaign? China can do it within her own territories, if a sufficiency of supplies—and there lies the problem—could be got to her. But who is to free Burma, Malaya and the islands of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean from the grip that Japan has laid on them? Some time back an American commentator remarked that unless India could be brought solidly on the side of the United Nations, a million (or was it millions?) American boys will find their graves in the soil of Asia. This, and what is going on in Russia, is a fair indication of the magnitude of the task facing the Allies. Certainly there can be no question that many, many millions of soldiers and untold million tons of supplies will have to be landed on the continents of Asia and Europe before the United Nations can even dream of a victory. The question is where are all these soldiers and supplies to come from within the requisite period of time—for time is of the essence now and has been so all along. It is true that the miracle of a Russian comeback may yet happen. But failing that, what else? And what happens if there be further set-backs in Russia? Does all this lead to the question of India's war-effort or not? Judging by the attitude of officialdom, at Whitehall and at New Delhi, it has all along seemed that India was of little consequence one way or the other.

Leaving aside the question of responsibility for the creation of a crisis, there can be no question that matters have come to a sorry pass as at present. If there is delay in finding a remedy then it may well be that India will cease to be an asset, of any considerable weight, for the Allied cause.

Herbert Matthews, the head of the war correspondents of the *New York Times* is reported to have said on his return from India that "virtually all Indians are convinced that the British will have no friends in India after the war." His paper has remarked that if true

it indicates a very serious situation indeed. How serious the situation is, is quite apparent even from the news released to the press by the censor's department, although Mr. Churchill in his wisdom did not seem to think so. His statement was that "*Less than 500 persons* have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population and it has only been necessary to move a few brigades of British troops here and there in support of the civil power." Thus spake Zarathustra, but unfortunately the questioners in the Central Assembly and the Council of State were not content. In reply to their questions Sir Reginald Maxwell stated that "The casualties caused by police firing, according to most recent reports were *350 killed and 850 wounded*. The casualties caused by the Military were *318 killed and 153 wounded*," thus giving a total of *658 killed* as opposed to Mr. Churchill's "*less than 500*."

Sir M. Usman threw further light on the situation. His reply to a question contained the following:

In the disturbed areas fullest use was made of the police who on several occasions had to face very difficult situations and were forced to open fire on riotous mobs. As a result of this *about 390 people were killed and about 1060 wounded*. A large number of policemen were injured and 32 were killed. British and Indian troops were used in the aid of the civil power in about 60 places. They were forced on many occasions to open fire, the casualties being *331 killed and 159 wounded*, and the military casualties being 11 killed and 7 wounded." Thus Sir M. Usman's figures show that *721 Indian civilians were killed* as a result of firing only. It was further admitted in the Assembly that the figures were not complete as reports from certain areas could not be got in.

The damage done according to Sir M. Usman included 258 Railway Stations destroyed, 40 trains derailed, 550 Post Offices and 140 other Government buildings attacked, serious damage being done to the majority, and about 70 Police Stations and outposts attacked.

The reports released by the censor from day to day to the daily press in Bengal contain news of police and military opening fire on about 200 different occasions, in seven out of the eleven provinces in India, prior to the 17th of September. Further Sir Alan Hartley the deputy commander-in-chief informed the Council of State that on 5 occasions machine gun fire from air-craft was also used. The situation is grave as the *New York Times* remarked.

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST CONGRESS, AND "PARNELLISM AND CRIME"

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THERE are important differences between the methods and principles of the Indian National Congress and those of the nineteenth century Irish leader Charles Stewart Parnell, and certainly between the character and personality of the latter and those of the front rank leaders of the Congress. But just as the Congress movement aims at the achievement of India's independence, so Parnell's movement had for its object Irish independence. Parnell was against all outrage and violence—he depended on obstruction in Parliament for success. Indian Congressmen, too, are against all violence—some as a matter of spiritual principle, others as a matter of right policy.

Nevertheless Parnell was openly charged with complicity in assassination, as the Congress Working Committee has been held responsible for the sabotage, arson and homicide, etc., which are part of the disturbances which have followed the arrest of the Congress leaders. The allegations made against the Congress Working Committee have not been supported by any proofs judicially tested by an impartial tribunal and found convincing. As for the charges against Parnell, they were found to be based mainly on a forged letter, for which *The Times* of London had to pay damages to Parnell. This episode in the life of Parnell will be found narrated in the extracts made below from *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition, vol. 17, article on Charles Stewart Parnell. The Phoenix Park murders mentioned therein were the murder in Phoenix Park, Dublin, on May 6, 1882, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, Secretary for Ireland, and Undersecretary Thomas Burke by Irish Invincibles.

The Phoenix Park murders (May 6, 1882) followed. Parnell was prostrated by this catastrophe. In a public manifesto to the Irish people he declared that "no act has been perpetrated in our country, during the exciting struggle for social and political rights of the past fifty years, that has so stained the name of hospitable Ireland as this cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger." Privately to his own friends and to Mr. Gladstone he expressed his desire to withdraw from public life. A new Crimes Bill was introduced and made operative for a period of three years, and England was exasperated by a succession of dynamite outrages organized chiefly in America, which Parnell was power-

less to prevent. The Phoenix Park murders did more than any other incident of his time and career to frustrate Parnell's policy.

For more than two years after the Phoenix Park murders Parnell's influence in Parliament, and even in Ireland, was only intermittently and not very energetically exerted. His health was bad, his absences from the House of Commons were frequent and mysterious, and he had already formed those relations with Mrs. O'Shea which were ultimately to bring him to the divorce Court. . . . He became a figure more remote and mysterious than ever. The Phoenix Park murderers were arrested and brought to justice early in 1883. Forster seized the opportunity to deliver a scathing indictment of Parnell in the House of Commons. In an almost contemptuous reply Parnell repudiated the charges in general terms, disavowed all sympathy with dynamite outrages, their authors and abettors, declined to plead in detail before an English tribunal, and declared that he sought only the approbation of the Irish people. The Irish people responded by a subscription known as the "Parnell Tribute," amounting to £37,000, presented to Parnell, partly for the liquidation of debts he was known to have contracted, but mainly in recognition of his public services. The Irish National League, a successor to the suppressed Land League, was founded in the autumn of 1882 at a meeting over which Parnell presided, but he looked on it at first with little favour.

The Crimes Act, passed in 1882, was to expire in 1885; in May notice was given for its partial renewal and the second reading was fixed for June 10. On June 8, Parnell, with thirty-nine of his followers, voted with the opposition against the budget, and the government was defeated by 264 votes to 252. . . .

Parnell opened the electoral campaign with a speech in Dublin, in which he expressed the hope that "it may be possible for us to have a programme and a platform with only one plank, and that one plank National Independence." Parnell invited Gladstone in a public speech to declare his policy and to sketch the Constitution he would give to Ireland subject to the limitations he had insisted on. To this Gladstone replied, "through the same confidential channel," that he could not consider the Irish demand before it had been constitutionally formulated, and that, not being in an official position, he could not usurp the functions of a government. Thereupon Parnell instructed Irish Nationalists in Great Britain to give their votes to the Tories. In these circumstances the general election was fought, and resulted in the return of 335 Liberals, four of whom were classed as "independent," 249 Conservatives and 86 followers of Parnell.

Mr. Gladstone's return to power at the head of an administration conditionally committed to Home Rule marks the culminating point of Parnell's influence on English politics and English parties. And after the defeat of the Home Rule Ministry in 1886, Parnell more than once found measures, which had been contemptuously rejected when he had proposed them, ultimately

adopted by the Government; and the comparative tranquillity which Ireland enjoyed at the close of the 19th century may be ascribed partly to legislation inspired and recommended by himself. In 1886, Parnell introduced a comprehensive Tenants' Relief Bill. The Salisbury Government would have none of it, though in the following session they adopted and carried many of its leading provisions. Its rejection was followed by renewed agitation in Ireland, in which Parnell took no part. He was ill—"dangerously ill," he said himself at the time—and some of his more hot-headed followers devised the famous "Plan of Campaign," on which he was never consulted and which never had his approval. Ireland was once more thrown into a turmoil of agitation, turbulence and crime. In the course of the Spring of 1887 *The Times* had begun publishing a series of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime," on lines following Mr. Forster's indictment of Parnell in 1883, though with much greater detail of circumstances and accusation. On April 18, appeared an article accompanied by the facsimile of a letter purporting to be signed but not written by Parnell, in which he apologized for his attitude on the Phoenix Park murders, and specially excused the murder of Mr. Burke. On the same evening, in the House of Commons, Parnell declared the letter to be a forgery. He was not believed, and the second reading of the Crimes Act followed. Later in the session Sir Charles Lewis, an Ulster member and a bitter antagonist of the Nationalists, moved that the charges made by *The Times* constituted a breach of privilege. The Government met this proposal by an offer to pay the expenses of a libel action against *The Times* on behalf of the Irish members incriminated. This was refused. Gladstone proposed a select committee of inquiry into the charges including the letter attributed to Parnell, and to this Parnell assented. But the Government rejected the proposal. For the rest, Parnell maintained almost superhuman reticence.

The Parnell Commission.—F. H. O'Donnell, an ex-M. P. and former member of the Irish Party, now brought an action against *The Times* for libel. His case was a weak one, and a verdict was obtained by the defendants. But in the course of the proceedings the Attorney-General, Counsel for *The Times*, affirmed the readiness of his clients to establish all the charges advanced, including the genuineness of the letter which Parnell had declared to be a forgery. Parnell once more invited the House of Commons to refer this particular issue—that of the letter—to a select committee. This was again refused; but after some hesitation, the Government resolved to appoint by Act of Parliament a Special Commission, composed of three Judges of the High Court, to enquire into all the charges advanced by *The Times*. This led to what was in substance, though not perhaps in judicial form, the most remarkable

State trial of the 19th century. The Commission began to sit in September 1888, and issued its report in February 1890. The report of the Commission was a voluminous document reporting on the whole of the question arising out of the relation between Parliamentary action and outrage; it was variously interpreted by different parties to the controversy:—

The specific charges brought against Parnell personally were thus dealt with by the Commissioners:

(a) That at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations Mr. Parnell knew that Sheridan and Boyton had been organising outrage and therefore wished to use them to put down outrage.

We find that this charge has not been proved.

(b) That Mr. Parnell was intimate with the leading Invincibles; that he probably learned from them what they were about when he was released on *parole* in April, 1882; and that he recognized the Phoenix Park murders as their handiwork.

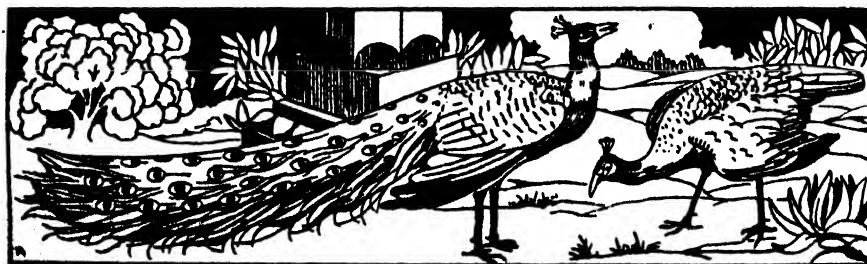
We find that there is no foundation for this charge. We have already stated that the Invincibles were not a branch of the Land League.

(c) That Mr. Parnell on 23rd January, 1883, by an opportune remittance enabled F. Byrne to escape from justice to France.

We find that Mr. Parnell did not make any remittance to enable F. Byrne to escape from justice.

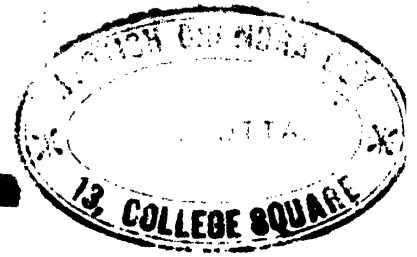
Pigott's Forgery.—The argument of Parnell's insincerity based on the facsimile letter alleged to have been written by Parnell condoning the Phoenix Park murders broke down altogether. It had been purchased with other documents from one Richard Pigott, who afterwards tried to blackmail Archbishop Walsh by offering, in a letter which was produced in Court, to confess its forgery. Cross-examined by Charles Russell on this letter to the Archbishop, Pigott broke down utterly. Before the Commission sat again he fled to Madrid, and there blew his brains out. He had confessed the forgery to Labouchere in the presence of G. A. Sala, but did not stay to be cross-examined on his confession. The Attorney-General withdrew the letter on behalf of *The Times*, and the Commission pronounced it to be a forgery. Shortly after the letter had been withdrawn, Parnell filed an action against *The Times* for libel, claiming damages to the amount of £100,000. The action was compromised out of Court by a payment of £5,000.

Practically, the damaging effect of some of his findings of the Commission was neutralized by Parnell's triumphant vindication in the matter of the facsimile letter and of the darker charges levelled at him.



ITALIAN THRENODY

By JAMES H. COUSINS



O thou who once to spirits free
Brought light in darkness, Italy !
And wakened the high hope that ran
Through the aspiring heart of man,
When thy strong heart, in captive pain,
Struck at the Austrian's heavy chain :
Hardly may now song's tears be shed
For thee who, being alive, art dead ;
Who, missing the free spirit's goal,
Found death, ah ! not in flesh, but soul,
Falling from high creative stress
To depths of loud vaingloriousness,
Kingship without the kingly crown,
Lowness that drags the lofty down
And veils in vaporous pretence
The Ciceronian eloquence.

Oh ! deeper still and deeper sank
Thy soul from the heroic rank
When ruthless pride and selfish thought
Heart-hardening infection wrought
Into the gloating hand and eye
That, from the safety of the sky,
Dropping hell's fire through heaven's blue,
The shieldless Abyssinian slew,
And on frail homes, in ruins laid,
An ignominious triumph made.

What evil genius wrought thee wrong,
O " sacred Italy " of song !
That thou, once comrade of the free,
Shouldst fall from noble enmity
With man's last travesty of Man,
Heir to the spoilers of Milan,
Who in the lust of power has laid
War's curse on mother, child and maid.
Oh ! tears, let tears of shame for thee
Be shed, much fallen Italy !
Who, in thine uttermost descent,
Unto his friendship's bondage bent,
When dawned fate's day that should release
The valour of resurgent Greece
Thy mad ambition's flood to stem
And reassume her diadem.
Ah ! under life's deep-hidden will,
Dark was her fortune, to fulfil
Thy darker doom, O Italy !
That thou, apostate from the free,
When outraged honour drove thy host

Back to the scarred Albanian coast,
Shouldst pray the base Germanic might
To fend thy fate, and quench the light
Of Grecian freedom, and enslave
The land that first to Europe gave
Thought that on grovelling thought set wings,
Beauty beyond all perishings,
And Periclean dreams that wait
Her dawn, thy dreadful dusk, of fate.

Oh ! not for this thy Dante dared
Exile from the heart's home, and fared
Far from his youth's familiar gate
When Florence offered flowers of hate
In harsh tyrannic hands, to find
The freedom of the sovereign mind ;
And from his life's Inferno made
The Paradisal escalade
That set in honour high among
Song's voices the Italian tongue !
Oh ! not for this the hand of fame
Softened the flowery city's shame
When the young shepherd sketched his sheep—
And genius burst the bonds of sleep,
And Giotto led the glorious line
Of masters, raised to joy divine
At wafture of creation's wing,
To limn and sculpture, build and sing.
" Glory to God ! " their pæan ran ;
" And glory to the God in man ! "
And glory—glory unto thee ?
Ironie glory, Italy !

To thee from alien coldness came
Warm souls that sought a friendly flame,
And in thy labouring heart and mind
The world's new birth once more divined :
The splendid youth who found in thee
Refuge remote from obloquy,
Shelley who made thy heavy wrong
Immortal in immortal song ;
And Keats who in thy hallowed ground
" A grave among the eternal " found,
And made fame's unforgotten home
Under the sapphire sky of Rome.
And he who sang of knight and knave,
Browning, to Asolando gave
His last and bravest lyric breath,
And honoured Venice with his death.

Thou hast outlived, though dead, the fire
 Of Swinburne, whose prophetic ire,
 When the blown flame of kingship failed,
 In thee the true Republic hailed,
 And stepped in reverence on thy sod
 That Byron, Hunt and Landor trod
 Rejoicing in thine eyes to see
 Lights of incarnate Liberty.
 Oh! tears, shed tears for faith denied
 And Freedom's vision falsified.

Greatly on thee were showered the gifts
 Of spring's renascent blossom-drifts.
 Richly around thine Apennines
 Ripened the olives and the vines
 In substance for the body's might
 And the elixir of delight.
 Sea, sky and land conspired to bless
 Thy days and nights with loveliness.
 Oh! tears, hot tears for broken trust,
 Bounty and beauty in the dust,
 Nature to man's desire depraved,
 Free gifts to war's wild lust enslaved.

Ah! who can face untouched by tears
 A desert of unfruitful years,
 Where Art once walked a flowering land
 Leading young Beauty by the hand,
 With palette, mallet, brush and knife
 Making God's House the House of Life,
 Hanging bright orbs of high intent
 In Europe's gloomy firmament?
 How may they live who blindly cast

Into Death's tomb the living Past;
 Or how the life abundant reach
 Who quench the soul's compassionate speech,
 And stifle with demoniac boasts
 The trumpets of angelic hosts;
 Who, for white lilies of the Lord,
 Scatter the scarlet weed abhorred
 By love that seeketh not its own;
 Who utter in pontific tone
 Annunciations of desire
 That ask annihilating fire?

Oh! yet, to thought that has divined
 First things with last things intertwined,
 And links thy heritage of scars
 With the wolf-suckled son of Mars,
 Hardly couldst thou forestall thy fate—
 Or song her sorrowing abate
 That holds from the ancestral Will
 Wisdom that winnows good from ill:
 Inevitably falls thy leaf—
 To her inevitable grief.
 And with the tears that fall for thee,
 O loved and loveless Italy!
 Dimly across their misty flow
 Is bent a momentary bow
 Of hope that in thy sunless brain
 One gleam of morning may remain
 To gild seen dark with light unseen
 And break the gloom of what has been;
 One hibernating flower-succeed
 The ash of burnt and buried weed,
 And bloom beyond song's threnody,
 Not what thou art, but yet mayst be!

"TRAVEL ONLY WHEN YOU MUST": THE OTHER ASPECT

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE Railway has recently been trying to popularise the slogan "Travel only when you must." The catechism is, in a sense, a very appropriate one, for it applies equally well to the authorities here. They will also travel only when they must, even in a fast-moving world and will never look two steps ahead. This attitude is discernible in almost all the spheres of our governmental activity. But that is too big a question to be discussed within the present compass; let us confine ourselves here to one aspect of the problem and try to find out the

real story behind the present transport difficulties, the causes immediate and remote and any solution, if possible, of the present problems.

THE WAR EMERGENCY

The Railways in India are now competing with each other in their effort to reduce civilian traffic in every possible way. What are the causes of such a predicament? The war is said to be the most important factor, for it has not only made a heavy direct demand on the Railways, but has also indirectly compelled them to

work within very great limitations by stopping all possible sources of expansion. In fact, the war has not only displaced civilian traffic but has also hampered the efficiency of the railways by curtailing repair and replacement facilities. Railway workshops have been handed over for munitions production, considerable mileage of track has been shipped overseas and specialised staff lent to the Supply Department.

From the point of view of civilian traffic, therefore, we are not concerned immediately about the efficiency of the Railways as such, but must take note of the following matters—(1) What is the real extent of the difficulty specially in a period when rising war production demands *not any curtailment but an actual expansion of transport facilities*. (2) We have, secondly, to find out whether this is a case of genuine difficulty or whether it is due, at least partly, to any mistaken policy followed by the authorities,—that is to say, whether the civilians have to suffer because they must, through reasons beyond control or whether they are being consciously subjected to these difficulties, even partially, merely for the sake of any group interest which is at variance with national interests. (3) We have finally to draw up a profit and loss account and see if the profit earned by any class or any particular section of our population has been enough to offset the loss sustained by the majority and if the loss, if any, is absolutely unavoidable or could have been less with a better policy and a better management.

THE REAL EXTENT OF PRESENT DIFFICULTIES

Let us, first, try to assess the real extent of present difficulties. Ordinarily, any heavy curtailment of transport facilities would, in itself, be a source of serious difficulty. But the effects of any such curtailment are more serious when the demand for transport is actually on the increase. But we have to remember that railways constitute only one form of transport; coastal shipping, for instance, is another method of transport, while motor vehicles have an increasingly important part to play in carrying passengers and goods. The problem, even in this limited aspect, is a complex one; it is necessary to contrast the present transport position in its totality with the present demand before we can have any fairly accurate idea of the real extent of present difficulties.

(a) *The Actual Increase*. Before trying to assess the possible increase let us examine the actual increase that has taken place in transport

facilities since the war. Gross earnings of all Indian railways have gone up from 107·15 crores in 1938-39 to 126·36 crores in 1940-41, number of passengers originating has gone up from 530·62 millions in 1938-39 to 575·72 millions in 1940-41, total freight tons originating have recorded an increase from 88·36 millions to 92·78 millions during the same period while train miles increased from 197·04 million miles to 200·90 million miles. But while passenger and goods traffic were on the increase, transport facilities were being continually curtailed. Route mileage decreased from 41·134 in 1938-39 to 41·052 in 1940-41. The decline in rolling stock during the last decade is astonishingly rapid; the number of steam locomotives declined from 9474 in 1929-30 to 8414 in 1940-41, coaching vehicles came down from 27820 to 25819 and goods wagons from 234382 to 213414. The future is again not very bright; for as was complained in the last Railway Board meeting which decided the rolling-stock programme for the coming years, replacements are not arriving from England and orders given two years ago have not yet been supplied. The Railways are thus not in a position to replace this year more than one-tenth of the replacement programme for the next three years. The inevitable result has been over-intensive use of wagons and passenger carriages and extreme overcrowding of trains. The percentage of engines under or awaiting repairs was reduced from 17·6 in 1939-40 to 17 per cent on the broad gauge and from 13·2 to 12·5% on the metre gauge. Thus, the civilians had to suffer doubly. Not only the total transport facilities showed a decline in recent years, but there was heavy encroachment on civilian use by military traffic, while conditions of trade and business demanded greater travel and more use of the railways by the civilians.

(B) *The Potential Increase*. It is however difficult to estimate what the increase would have been, if there were no restricting factors and if the Railways were in a position to respond adequately to the changing situation. We might however get an indication of the possible state of affairs from the indices relating to import, export, inland trade and so on. Export and import quanta have indeed showed some decline, but industrial activity is recording a steady rise while inland trade is, according to available statistics, yet above the pre-war level. But as we have already remarked transport facilities have been declining for some time. This is not only true of the railways in India,

but also of motor transport and coastal shipping, for while drastic petrol rationing has taken motor transport practically off the road, the total amount of merchandise carried by coastal ships is showing rapid decline. It is needless to say that this has heavily told on indigenous trade and industry; it has not only made the civilians suffer now but has blocked the way to future prosperity. Well-developed coastal shipping could have come to the rescue of the railways at this moment. But the position has been just the reverse, for as the Railway Board Report states, the rail-borne tonnage of coal across India to Bombay and Karachi (this coal was previously carried in coastal ships to a large extent) increased in 1940-41 by 570 per cent and 120 per cent respectively as compared with 1938-39.

ARE THE DIFFICULTIES REALLY GENUINE? PAST SINS AND PRESENT FOLLIES

We have discussed above the first aspect of the problem and have tried to assess the real extent of present difficulties. But now comes the other question: are these difficulties really genuine, or are they due, even to a small extent, to mistakes in high policy and to an unjust working of the administrative machinery? As we shall see, the difficulties are no doubt genuine and could not be avoided to a large extent, but it cannot also be said that the authorities have a very clear record in this matter. In fact, the slogan of 'Travel only when you must' is only a fitting conclusion to a tragic story of past sins and present follies. The policy whether of the Government of India or of the Railway Board has clearly not been in the best interests of the country or in the interests of this country alone. Taking the question of transport as a whole, we would not be wrong to say that the object of the Government in this matter has all along been more to open up a channel for foreign capital than to develop the country economically and to bring rural areas and interior places in closer contact with towns and ports. In fact, the policy of relentless exploitation is evident in all its aspects. Let us examine briefly some of the more important aspects of our railway policy.

First about the general policy. We have shown above that rolling stock has been steadily declining. Railway authorities have tried to ascribe this to the world depression.¹ But we should remember that had the railways not gone

on purchasing unnecessary rolling stock during good years, the necessity for curtailment would not have been so severe during the depression. It has been distinctly stated in the Wedgwood Committee Report that rolling stock was clearly excessive. This policy of over-capitalisation has undeniably been for the benefit of British builders at the cost of the Indian tax-payer and the Indian businessman. But the policy whether of expansion or of reduction was wholly an artificial one. The depression found the stock excessive. But when the country was caught in the war, it was still a swing downward for the Railways even though traffic began its upward swing with the result that the rolling stock became, as always, out of adjustment with traffic demand! But the Government is refusing to learn the lessons of history. It cannot, according to the Public Accounts Committee, control the Agents of the General Managers, but it is never lacking in enthusiasm to shield the Railway Board rightly or wrongly.

The policy of rolling stock purchase in the last decade is a still more interesting one. It is not necessary here to recount in detail how Pacific locomotives were being purchased without trials or in spite of unsatisfactory results at the trials; or how broad gauge locomotives are still not being constructed even when a technical committee has definitely told us that India can produce broad gauge locomotives far more cheaply. All these go to show the real attitude of Railway Board and the Government of India. Regarding the coaching vehicles, again, the percentage of carriages under or awaiting repairs is higher in India than elsewhere. But the most vital question is with regard to the wagons. Lack of adequate published statistics does not make it possible to investigate fully into the matter. But if we remember that three railway workshops have been handed over for munitions production, the materials for wagon construction are extremely scarce and difficult to secure, the trained personnel has been away to the war, we have no great hope of any immediate improvement in our wagon position. But that is not all. It has also been recently brought to light that racial discrimination in the matter of wagon distribution has often led to the strangulation of Indian trade and industry. We thus see that the position is unsatisfactory from every point of view. In fact, the Wedgwood Committee, consisting entirely of sober British experts, did not remark without very good reasons that

1. *Vide* Speech by the Financial Commissioner of Railways in the Central Legislative Assembly on 27-2-40.

"The Indian railways are unpopular. We would almost say that they are the most unpopular institutions in India."

This exploitation of the Indian people coupled together with an arrogant defiance of public opinion really rob the Railways of any moral claim to public sympathy. Indian population must therefore, view with alarm the recent increase in the working expenses of Indian railways. It has been stated that this is due to increased traffic and the increased cost of stores and other etceteras. But can the Railways really claim the sympathy of the public even in these difficult times, when the civilians, suffering extreme hardships as users of Railways have nevertheless to pay for the increased price of stores, though such stores could have been manufactured here far more cheaply, but will not be produced here and must be imported from abroad ?

RAILWAY POLICY AND THE NATIONAL DIVIDEND

But do the recent happenings in the Railway constitute a story of unmitigated loss ? It will perhaps be argued that even if there has been loss in some directions and the civilians have to suffer a lot of troubles, yet there are other compensating factors, which from the standpoint of the national dividend as a whole, will make the loss much less if they cannot offset it altogether. Such an argument is correct at least in theory. It is true that the dearness allowance paid to a certain section of the staff, the employment of additional persons for various purposes, the increase, however little, in the purchase of stores locally (the increase has been to the extent of 5% in 1940-41 over the previous year; see, Railway Board Report 1940-41 p. 56)—all these must offset to a certain extent the losses sustained in other directions. The ultimate profit or loss, not for the civilians but for the country as a whole, should be determined after balancing both the sides. It is however important to remember that this argument, though correct theoretically, is vitiated in this country by certain fallacies. For, any increase in the national dividend may not mean ultimately greater prosperity for the children of the soil, the major portion of the profit accruing to the foreigners not interested in any way in the permanent economic development of the country. A larger National Dividend is thus no index of better economic conditions for this country as a whole. But even apart from this question, has there been a net profit on the Railway Account ? A complete and categorical

reply to this question would involve a comprehensive enquiry into the National Dividend position, which is for India an extremely difficult task. Proceeding on more *a priori* grounds, we find certain indications which do not favour the conclusion that the national balance has been on the credit side. For example, in the year 1940-41, the Railway member estimated that the surplus that year on existing rates were to be about Rs. 3 crores. But in spite of this surplus an increase in Railway rates was thought necessary. So an increase was proposed which was expected to yield Rs. 30 lakhs in that year and 5½ crores in the next year (i.e., 1940-41), in spite of the fact that gross traffic receipts for 1940-41 were put at 103 crores against the revised estimates of 97·3 crores for the current year. Clearly the increase has been more than necessary; but that is, according to Sir Andrew Clow, the Railway member, "the sound course in the present situation, when the traffic can bear increased charges."² But in the year 1940-41, the intake of indigenous goods increased only by 5 per cent, that is by only Rs. 1 crore, increased payment to staff amounted, in class 1 Railways, to 65 lakhs,—that is, in all about 1·70 crores, excluding payments to contractors' labourers. It is the same story this year, for even with a record surplus, rates have been increased on the ground that it will ensure less travelling. Now this shows the discrepancy between income and expenditure; it is an indication that the people have, as a whole, given more than they have received. The burden becomes much heavier if we take account of the rise in commodity-prices consequent upon the rise in freight-rates. The people have ultimately suffered not merely as tax-payers but also as consumers while they have not received anything proportionate in return.

The Railway, in modern times, plays a very important part in National Dividend. It always exercises a key control over diverse aspects of national economy and more so in such abnormal times. It is for this reason essential from the standpoint of the National Dividend that the Railway policy should be so adjusted as would inflict the least possible harm to the National Dividend, if the Dividend can not be actually augmented. But considering facts as they are, it is futile to suggest that there has been any real increase in the National Dividend as a whole

2. Central Legislative Assembly Debates, the 16th February, 1940.

when benefit has accrued to so few, including the foreigners, against the loss sustained by such huge masses.

CONCLUSION

What, then, are the ultimate reasons for our travelling only when we must? While not minimising the importance of the present world-war, we should also remember that the war is not the only factor responsible for the recent difficulties. There is also another aspect of the matter. There is also behind recent difficulties a long-drawn story of continual exploitation, of follies, mistakes and perversities rendered all the more dangerous by the self-complacent superiority complex of those in power. People should travel less when interests of trade and industry demand now more than at any other time travelling more. People should travel less because the Railway Board could not and did not adjust their policy to the needs of the country. People should travel less because there

are at present no arrangements in India to meet the expanding demands. But people should nevertheless pay more in the shape of increased freights, increased prices, increased taxes and still suffer from shortage of commodities, even of food-stuffs though they could have done with paying less if the recommendations of technical experts and the demands of popular leaders were listened to. That is the other aspect, quite distinct from that of the War. It is no wonder, therefore, that Indian trade and industry would protest against the appointment of a European to the portfolio of war transport. It is time for the Government to learn the lesson of history, specially after the recent reverses. 'Travel only when you must' is a dangerous slogan in the present age; it is more so in times of acute crisis when the pace of social evolution increases to such a great extent. The people of India will not perhaps yet disagree to travel only when they must, only if the Government begins travelling before they are forced to do so.

MUSIC OF LIFE

By CYRIL MODAK

My soul is parched for some diviner strain
 Than earth can give,
 That like ambrosial dew or nectar-rain,
 Or like Love's touch upon the brow of pain,
 Could make me live.

The din of traffic wheeled with polish'd vice,
 And creaking shame,
 Of glittering throngs with foreign merchandise,
 Or messengers of death with treach'rous dice,
 I will not blame.

But let me shut the gates of sense and feel
 Aloof, apart,.....
 For one brief moment let me gently steal
 Away from masquerade of woe and weal,
 And touch thy heart!

Thy music is for those who will not flee
 The noise of strife,.....
 Let every fibre of my being be
 All vibrant with thy beauteous melody,
 Love-lucent Life!





Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE PRITHVIRAJAVIJAYA OF JAYANAKA (WITH THE COMMENTARY OF JONARAJA) : Edited by Dr. Gaurishankar Ojha and the late Pandit Chandradhar Sharma Guleri. Published by Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer. 1941. Price Rs. 5.

The birch-bark manuscript of this contemporary historical *kavya* was discovered first by Dr. G. Buhler, who, however, owing to its mutilated condition, despaired of the recovery of its reading. Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda about 30 years ago made its contents first known to scholars in a paper (Proceedings, ASB. 1873). At last, the eminent historian M. M. Gaurishankar Ojha and Pandit Chandradharji undertook the edition of the text of *Prithvirajavijayam* from one single MS. as a second has not been discovered till now. Panditji has in a learned preface in English discussed the probable date and the historical authenticity of this *kavya*.

The stubborn task that confronted the editors of this MS. reminds us of Abul Fazl's attempt to restore the reading of a Persian poem, the MS. of which was horizontally lost by clear one half. However, the text with the *teeka* of Yonaraja has been edited with accuracy and printed neatly.

It is a significant fact that toward the close of the *Prithviraj* period Kashmir was the home of Sanskrit learning and she supplied most of the literary brains to Western and Central India while Gauda and Magadha met the needs of Eastern India. We have a galaxy of Kashmirian poets of this period such as Bilhan, Kalhan, Dalhan, Chand, Jayanak (author of *Prithvirajavijayam*), Jayaratha and Yonaraja. M. M. Ojha says, "It is reasonable to suppose that the work must have been written to celebrate the great victory of Prithviraja over Shahab-ud-din Ghorî in 1191 A.D. immediately after the event. But his defeat and assassination in 1193 A.D. probably drove the poet back to his home in Kashmir." It is doubtful whether the poet completed his work at all.

Prithvirajavijayam breaking off after the honourable reception accorded to the author, Jayanaka, is veritably a cup of Tantalus to the students of Medieval history. The author was a fresh arrival at Delhi and as such he betrays ignorance of geography here and there. The poet seems to refer to the conquest of Bengal by Durlava-rajâ, one of the ancestors of Prithviraja in the following sloka :

असिः स्नातोत्थितो यस्य गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे
चिरं गौरसास्त्रावृष्ट्या ब्राह्मणतां ययौ ।

(Whose sword having dived first where the Ganges meets the ocean—rose up and attained the Brahmanhood by tasting the sweet juice of the country of Gauda).

Though we deplore the historical inaccuracy of this passage, we admire the poet's humour which only an up-countryman can enjoy. There, perhaps everywhere—at a feast the hand of a Brahman instinctively turns to *jilebi* or *laddu*; whereas that of a Bania creeps towards the *kachauri*. However, a subsequent passage makes it clear that *Gauda-janapada* is the same as the *Gudadesa*, i.e., the abode of the brave Gaura Rajputs (the hereditary foes of the Chauhans of Bundi and Ajmer) who inhabit the banks of the Chambal where it carries its waters into the Jumna.

We owe a heavy debt of gratitude to M. M. Ojha and his deceased colleague for performing so worthily the work of editing this historical poem, which every lover of chivalric history should welcome.

K. R. QANUNGO

1848—CHAPTERS OF GERMAN HISTORY : By Veit Valentin. Translated by Ethel Talbot Schef-fauer. Published by Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 480. Price 12s. 6d. net.

In this book the author has made a study of the German Revolution of 1848-49. All the five sections into which this revolutionary period may be divided have been fully and adequately dealt with. It begins with a description of the large as well as small States of Germany as they existed on the eve of Revolution. The sketches provided in this connection make a fascinating reading and give us details particularly in respect of the social and economic life of some of the petty States, which are not usually available in ordinary text-books and which will prove very interesting to the general reader. After introducing us to the background, the author places us face to face with the Revolution as it developed in Germany in the two months of March and April, 1848. He then proceeds to acquaint us with the work of the Frankfort Parliament, whose convocation was acclaimed by the German people but whose efforts, though noble and inspiring, proved so abortive in the end. He tells us how this Assembly was welcomed by the people throughout Germany as "a Goddess of Liberty" but how this goddess was allowed a year later to die "like a street woman in the gutter." That the German people proved to be fickle and inconsistent, none will demur. If they showed any steadiness of purpose on this occasion, the Parliament might have succeeded in its efforts and Germany might have been not only unified but democratised in 1848-49. If

such a result were achieved, the traditions of Germany might have been different and the history of Europe would not have been as it turned out to be. But the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament is not to be ascribed only to the fickleness of the German people. The Parliament itself did not really prove equal to the great task. "It was too much of a university and too little of a political stock exchange." That is why although its work was so abortive, its deliberations still supply inspiration to many people. In any event, the fact remained that the Revolution became increasingly a spent-up force and the counter-revolution held the different parts of the country in its grip.

The book, it may be repeated, is one of the most well written of its kind and everybody interested in the nineteenth century history may read it with both profit and entertainment.

N. C. ROY

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT: By Bool Chand. Published by the Minerva Bookshop, Lahore. Pp. 115. Price Re. 1-8.

THE ONE-PARTY STATE: By Bool Chand. Published by the Minerva Bookshop, Lahore. Pp. 31. Price annas six.

Professor Bool Chand of the Benares Hindu University has done a distinct service to the cause of educating the Indian citizen and student in the problems of modern government by undertaking to publish the Minerva Series on Government, of which the brochures under review are respectively, the first monograph and the first pamphlet. The publications are *objective* studies, which supply to the reader a large array of essential information in unobtrusive language and leave him to form his own judgment. If the present standard is maintained the series will prove a boon to those who hate cooked propagandist literature, and want to do some thinking for themselves individually or in study-groups.

The monograph on the German Government begins with a short historical note on the pre-Weimar-Constitution administration, which is followed by half-a-dozen brief chapters on the Weimar republican regime, and has two concluding chapters on the third Reich and its "constitutional pattern."

The pamphlet on the One-Party State contains short surveys of the rise of the Fascist Party in Italy, the Nazi Party in Germany and the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. Dr. Bool Chand has succeeded in clearly presenting the varying relationship of these parties to the State in the three countries. The concluding comparative analysis does great credit to the writer, and the pamphlet should be read and re-read by our public men and students in order to appraise the repercussions of certain aspects of party and group developments in our own country in their relation to future constitutional issues.

HYDERABAD STRUGGLE—AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION: By Abdus Salam. Published by the Author from 27, Ghogha Street, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 156. Price Re. 1.

Hyderabad by its political importance, size and wealth naturally occupies a position of primacy among Indian States, but in recent years, the communal situation and constitutional "struggles" and developments have also kept Hyderabad in the political picture rather prominently. In this nicely got-up brochure, the writer presents the case of the Hyderabad administration *vis-a-vis* the alleged "oppression" on the Hindus

of the State and seeks to disclose the "game" of the "Bhaganagar struggle" initiated by the Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha some time ago.

Apart from the controversial material, the conspectus of "Modern Hyderabad" given in the first chapter and the statistical and other information in the chapter on "The Hindus of Hyderabad" give the pamphlet a value of its own. Particularly revealing are the sections dealing with the policy of the State on such issues as "music before mosques" and the patronage of the State of non-Muslim religious, social and educational activities.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

PAPER-MAKING (AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY): By K. B. Joshi. *The All-India Village Industries Association. Maganwadi, Wardha. Third Edition. 1942. Pp. x+114. Price Re. 1-8.*

The All-India Village Industries Association has been issuing very useful pamphlets on various cottage industries in India. In each case, the books contain the result of numerous experiments for improvement conducted at the Association's headquarters. The popularity which these improved techniques enjoy can be gauged from the fact that the present book on paper-manufacture has already run to its third edition. The entire subject is treated here with thoroughness and lucidity, and the illustrations will go a long way to make it very helpful for those who wish to follow the directions practically.

There has been one important departure in technique incorporated in the present edition of the book. In former editions, the technique was designed to deal principally with fibrous material which did not need any high-pressure digester; for the idea was to bring the whole operation within the reach of the poorest artisans. But certain important fibrous materials had thus to be left out altogether, although the potential supply from this direction in India is fairly high. The use of power, derived from animals or from small oil engines has been described in the present edition along with that of high-pressure digesters; and it has been suggested that only recognized bodies should use them and then distribute the pulp to the paper-lifters. The work at these centres will be under conditions excluding all chances of exploitation; and thus, under controlled use of more costly appliances, whereby a certain amount of centralization takes place, it would be possible to give a very much needed stimulus to the paper industry, and also bring the benefits of modern science to the service of the poorest villagers.

We welcome this new orientation in the Association's policies; and hope that, in the present period of large-scale manufacturing difficulties, improved methods of cottage industry like this would become popular in our country.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDIAN ECONOMICS, Vol. II: By G. B. Jathar and S. G. Beri. Published by Oxford University Press. (Sept., 1941). Pp. xiv+670. Price Rs. 6.

This is the sixth and revised edition of the well-known treatise which is used as a text-book in almost all the Universities of India. The fifth edition was published in 1939. That edition was a sufficiently careful edition and we had no hesitation to recommend the book to the students and the public alike as a reliable source of information on almost all important economic matters relating to India. But economic changes that had been showing for some time a continuous tendency towards

growing rapidly have been further accelerated by the outbreak of War in September, 1939. Considerable changes have taken place in different spheres of our industry and trade and also in currency, exchange, banking, finance and taxation. All these called for a revision of the 1939 publication and hence this revised edition. Here in this book, facts and figures have been brought up-to-date and all the changes have been clearly indicated. We can recommend this treatise to the general public as a valuable standard book of information as well as guidance.

P. C. GHOSH

GENERALISSIMO AND MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK IN INDIA: *Edited and published by V. G. Nair. Calcutta. 1942. Pp. 57. Price Rs. 2.*

INDIA'S HEART IS ONE WITH CHINA: *Published by the Times of India Press, Bombay. Pp. 34. Price annas four.*

These are two Souvenir Volumes commemorating the visit of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India early this year. Both the booklets are profusely illustrated, and no pains have been spared to make them interesting reading. These monographs contain, in addition to an exhaustive account of their official itinerary, the summaries of speeches delivered by the distinguished guests at various official and social functions while touring the country.

The first booklet which is dedicated to the peoples of China and India as partners in a great cause contains interesting articles by distinguished Chinese and Indian leaders and publicists. Among the articles included in this volume that would be read with considerable interest, mention may be made of Prof. Tan Yun-shan's article on "Cultural Contact Between India and China," Dr. Amiya Chakravarty's article on "Tagore and China," and Dr. William Goddard's article on "Japan's New Order in Asia." That this little Souvenir Volume should be priced at Rs. 2 is explained by the fact that the sale proceeds would be devoted to the benefit of war orphans in China.

MONINDRAMOHUN MOULIK

LAND REVENUE POLICY IN THE UNITED PROVINCES: *By Dr. B. R. Misra. Published by Nand Kishore & Brothers, Benares, 1942. Pp. 274. Price Rs. 5.*

There are twelve chapters, the last being "The State as Landlord." The whole thing is a historical summary of land settlement in the U. P. and is yet another addition to the numerous books we have had recently on the permanent settlement (in Bengal). This is also a provincial study and Dr. Misra has taken great pains to give a clear picture of the development of land policy at the different stages. In the chapter on Rents, Revenue and Prices, the author discusses many of the present-day problems, and the volume should prove of great value to all students of agricultural economics and finance.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

THE UNSEEN POWER: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Free India Publications, Shah Din Buildings, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. 104. Price not mentioned.*

This is a compilation, edited by Sri Jag Parvesh Chander, of extracts from *Young India* and *Harijan*, embodying Gandhiji's views on Existence of God, Meaning of Prayer and Idol Worship. As Gandhiji once observed about himself, "I may live without air and water but not without Him." His faith in God is

neither "an intellectual belief nor a blind belief," but a living reality. For him, therefore, there is no hiatus between work and worship, though some time has to be set apart specifically every day for prayer because the latter "purifies us and give us the true strength." With regard to idol worship, he says, "Proper worship is not image worship, it is the worship of God in the image."

The Unseen Power could be used, with advantage, for daily devotional study and meditation, for in it is heard the authentic voice of one who testifies to the presence of the Unseen Power with his whole being.

SRI AUROBINDO'S "THE LIFE DIVINE"—A BRIEF STUDY: *By V. Chandrasekharam. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 12, Kondi Chetty Street, G. T., Madras. Pp. 105. Price Re. 1-7.*

Here is a bird's-eye view of Sri Aurobindo's great work, *The Life Divine*. It is more than a summary of the two volumes of the original book because it has also filled in suitably the interstices in the abstruse argument of the illustrious and illumined philosopher, thus enabling even the layman to follow it intelligently. The result is that the message of the Master is brought home to the reader with irresistible appeal,—the message of the integral perfection of human life. "Human life itself can and should become the manifestation of that perfection." This thesis is based on a blending of faith and knowledge, which usually are made to dwell in separate camps. At a time when the war-weary West is looking for a gospel, which will satisfy its growing spiritual yearnings as well as the test of reason, *The Life Divine* (and the present "study") will be welcomed heartily by earnest enquirers.

GURDIAL MALLIK

THE BAHAI WORLD, Vol. V: *Published by the Baha'i Publishing Committee, New York, U. S. A. Pp. 712. Price 2.50 dollars.*

This is a well and closely printed, well-bound and heavy volume of 712 pages in which an elaborate account is given of the numerous activities of the Baha'is all over the world. The Baha'is are those who have accepted the mission and prophethood of Baha'ullah, a native of Persia and a Mussalman by birth. His teachings claim to be more universal than any other. Without denying the truth of any previous religion, Baha'ism professes to make one community of the whole human race; and looks upon differences of race as unimportant and differences of religion as capable of being overlooked and unemphasised.

Baha'ism was originally "viewed purely as a reform movement confined to Islam"; but, thanks to the persecution to which it was exposed, and to the exile of Baha'ullah himself from his native land by the Governments of Persia and Turkey, it soon became a world-wide organisation having its centres in all the lands of the East and the West and the North and the South.

In the Islamic countries and within Islam, the spirit of reform and the desire to adapt life to changing conditions of the times seem to be keenly alive. In the Ahmadiya movement of India also we have an example of a similar desire to re-interpret and re-orientate the teachings of Muhammad.

The account given in this book of the fate of the Baha'i faith and its activities in different countries, shows that it suffered more disabilities in the Muslim countries than elsewhere. In Persia, under Riza Shah Pahlavi, the entry of Baha'i literature was prohibited. We find an American lady trying to have this ban removed, but without success. In Egypt, there were furious onslaughts on it, both academic and otherwise.

Are we to understand that Islam as a state religion refuses to be reformed? It is for Islam to answer the question.

With the professed ideals of Baha'ullah we are in complete accord. But we must confess that in spite of the many ancient religions—and in spite of the many new ones springing into existence out of the dead or dying remains of the old—the world is in agony today: and human passions are laying waste all the accumulated wealth of the past centuries of civilisation.

We are suffering from a sense of frustration. Old ways have led us nowhere: old religions and their reform—even the old moral and social codes have failed. New approaches must be discovered. When the present tribulations are over, the one question that will inevitably present itself to the thinkers of the future, will be how to make man's existence on earth worthy of himself. And for that—let us have the courage to say—the relics of the past are not enough. Instead of trying to build upon old foundations which are more or less dilapidated, instead of pouring new wine into old bottles, would it not be wiser to discover new foundations altogether? Where and how, it is for the future philosophy of reconstruction of human society to answer.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

GITA THE MOTHER: By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Jag Parvesh Chander. Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 2-4.

The Editor has collected numerous short writings of Gandhiji published on different dates in *Young India*, *Harijan*, *Yervada Mandir* and other publications in which he wrote about the Gita. Gandhiji says: "I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago, but this eternal mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since. She has never changed, she has never failed. When I am in difficulty or distress I seek refuge in her bosom." Hence, the Editor has selected the abovementioned title for this book. Throughout the ages, the Gita has soothed countless troubled hearts and strengthened many weary souls on their onward journey in this world of misery.

Gandhiji was first acquainted with the Gita in 1889 when he was almost twenty. It was towards the end of his second year of stay in England that he came in touch with two English Theosophists, brothers, who made him read the Gita. They were then studying Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Song Celestial*. Gandhiji writes: "I felt ashamed as I had read the Divine Poem neither in Sanskrit nor in Gujarati. * * * I began to read the Gita with them. I recalled having read Madame Blavatsky's *The Key to Theosophy*. This book stimulated in me the desire to read books on Hinduism, and disabused me of the notion fostered by the missionaries that Hinduism was rife with superstition." The word Theosophy is derived from two Greek words—Theos=God, and Sophia=Wisdom, which in Sanskrit is called Brahmanvidya. It illuminates the scriptures and doctrines of religions by unveiling their hidden meanings to the purblind vision.

The language of the Gita is not so difficult but one should rise above the intellect to intuition to evoke the Divine Guidance. Different people interpret the verses differently. That is natural because all differences arise from the degrees which the self within has unfolded. Essentially, we are all equally capable of attaining the Truth, but there are stages of evolution. It has been Gandhiji's endeavour to reduce to practice the teachings of the Gita as he understands it.

"If God guides him" writes S. J. Chander, "then why did he commit the Himalayan blunder * * *? The explanation to my mind is as simple as his action is bewildering. This happened twenty-one years ago. Firstly, he had not done enough Bhakti to evoke full Divine guidance, or his devotion was not deep enough to enable him to interpret the Divine messages. Secondly, in his one-pointed zeal for "Swaraj within a year," he thought that the country was prepared for the fight. * * * At long last, the Chauri Chaura riots showed him the error of his way and without caring for the feelings of his followers and the ridicule of his opponents, he, like a man, admitted the error, took the blame on himself, * * * and started preparing for the future fight through self-purification as embodied in the constructive programme." Who knows whether or not, this move delayed Swaraj for an indefinite period! But the greatest strength of Gandhiji lies in frankly admitting his errors without caring in the least for unpopularity. He is ever since striving every moment of his life to become one with God by serving his fellowmen and expiating our sins by inviting penances.

There are many beautiful and inspired thoughts and I doubt not that the reader will profit by its perusal considerably.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

MODERN POTTERY MANUFACTURE: By H. N. Bose, M.Sc. Published by Ceramic Publishing House, Bhagalpur. Pp. 481. Price not mentioned.

Apart from the antiquity of the uses and manufacture of clay products in India, the various kinds of pottery utensils have come to occupy a position of indispensable necessity to every Indian home. Besides, with the uses of fire bricks and other stone wares in building houses, sanitary fittings, and in arts and architecture, the pottery industry has today come to occupy an important position in the economy of the country. It is therefore in the interest of the future progress of the industry that the industrialists and manufacturers should be well acquainted with the new development in the scientific processes. In this handy volume, Prof. H. N. Bose of the Benares Hindu University presents the modern theories of the pottery industry with practical data of the various branches of this subject. The special feature of the book lies in the various practical formula using Indian materials, incorporated in it which have all been experimented by the author himself in laboratories. The author describes in details the scientific processes beginning from the clayey mud to the glazed finished products in a clear and easy manner. There is no doubt that the work will find a place of honour amongst our scientific literatures.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

HOW TO WRITE MATRIMONIAL LETTERS: Dewan's Publications, Lahore. Pp. 92. Price Re. 1-4.

The title of the book is explanatory of its contents.

BOMBAY MURDER: By S. K. Chettur. Publisher: G. A. Natesan & Co. Pp. 242. Price not mentioned.

A delightful volume of crime novel, it cannot fail to interest the reader by its variety of characters and its clear and gripping narrative. Mr. Chettur reveals himself not merely as a master of the craft but also as a keen student of human affairs, with perspicuity of judgment and breadth of vision. His description of the high life led by Giriya, the Deputy Chief Engineer and of his associates of St. Raphael's court grips one's atten-

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tion from the beginning. His murder in his own room heightens the curiosity of the reader; and the subsequent denouement absorbs the reader's attention.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

GAYATRIRAHASYA OF APPAYADIKSITA :
Edited by K. Visvanathan. Published by Bharati Bros., Bombay.

This is a treatise on the philosophical interpretation of the *gayatri* mantra which is to be daily muttered by every Brahmin. The mantra, it is asserted, refers to the Absolute Brahman. The treatise consists of 24 stanzas with the author's own commentary thereon. The editing is not quite up to the mark. The large number of printing mistakes betrays lack of proper care so essential in all works, especially in scholarly undertakings.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SAMAJIK CHUKTI BA RASTRIYA ADHIKARER MUL-KUTHA : *By Nanimadhab Chaudhuri, M.A. To be had of D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Double Crown 16. Pp. 186. Price Rs. 2.*

Literature is enriched not only by original productions but also by translations. Translation is a difficult task and good translation of a great book is in the nature of an achievement. Those who take upon themselves the task of acquainting the reading public with the world's great books by rendering them into our own language do a great service to our literature. Though there is much to be done and there are still vast fields to explore, it is fortunate that Bengali literature is not very poor in this respect. *Samajik Chukti* is a Bengali translation from the original French of Rousseau's famous work *Contrat Social*. The author is well-versed in French and it is well that Nanimadhab Chaudhuri has gone direct to the source. Hence, *The Social Contract* in its Bengali garb of *Samajik Chukti* retains some of its original flavour. Precursor of the Romantic movement in life and literature and of nineteenth century idealism, Rousseau has been described as the father of modern political philosophy. "He is still revered or hated as the author who above all others inspired the French Revolution." According to him, goodness is inherent in man, nature made him happy, but society has deprived him and made him miserable. In his *Social Contract* he speaks of man's birth-right and inculcates the doctrine of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Rousseau is for universal suffrage. The *Social Contract* is an epoch-making book. Nanimadhab Chaudhuri's *Samajik Chukti* makes one of the greatest books in political philosophy available to Bengali readers.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

JHARNA-KALAM (THE FOUNTAIN PEN) : *By Sri Gopinath Nandi. Published by D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book consists of five stories and is named after the title of the first. One thing that particularly strikes the reader is that there is no love-story in this volume. This is something unusual, specially in modern Bengali fiction. Almost all the stories deal with lives of boys, school or college students, whose hopes and fancies, wiles and pranks, weals and woes have often been neglected by our story-writers. The author deserves thanks for his originality. Though occasionally one might come across a tendency to exaggeration, the stories are on the whole agreeable and entertaining.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

JAGARANI : *Published by Suresh Chandra Pal of Ananda Dham, 2C, Dhanada Ghose Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

NALANDA YEAR-BOOK AND WHO'S WHO IN INDIA, 1942-43 : *Edited by Tarapada Das Gupta. Published by Nalanda Press, 204, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Ordinary Edition Rs. 3 and Special Edition Rs. 5.*

The *Nalanda Year-Book* saw the light of day only last year. In this short space of time, it has been able to attract notice of publicists and the general public. The present volume is a special war edition. In addition to chapters on India's constitution, education, agriculture, industries, commerce, banking, insurance, political organisations and several other subjects, a rapid survey of events in different theatres of the present devastating world-war has been given in this issue. It will prove useful not only today, but will serve as ready reference for the days to come. Sections, such as, "Who's Who in the World," "Dictionary of Political and War Terms," and "Who's Who in India," which have been enlarged and brought up-to-date, are also very useful. Our congratulations to the Editor and the Nalanda Press on their bringing out such a neat volume in these troublous and hard times.

JOGESHI C. BAGAL

MOTION PICTURE YEAR BOOK OF INDIA :
Compiled and Edited by B. V. Dharap. Published by Motion Picture Enterprises, 15, Sardar Griha, Bombay 2. Pp. 344. Price Rs. 5.

The importance of motion pictures as a medium of entertainment, education and propaganda need not be overstressed. But how far motion pictures have contributed to society as a medium of education and instruction and to what extent it has succeeded as an industry, in spite of its dependence on imported materials and machineries, needs evaluation. But for a survey such as this, detailed information about the industry in all its aspects is essential.

The publication under review seeks to supply this need. The facts and figures compiled for this volume from official reports and other sources and from other information, such as production, distribution, censors, non-theatrical and educational films, imported films, exhibition, taxes, law, imports of films and machinery, etc., will be found useful by those who are in any way interested in motion pictures. But we sadly miss in the book one very salient point, i.e., the amount of national wealth that is drained out of India by the large number of foreign films and the steps taken by Indian concerns to meet the competition of foreign companies who have opened their own show houses in this country.

SOUREN DE

THOUGHT-RAY : *By Biman Chandra Bose, M.Sc., M.A., B.L. Published by Pravash Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., "Biman Panthi" Publishing House, 2/B, Scott Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 only.*

The reviewer's job is not always pleasant. And I confess, I find it difficult to call the book under review a book of 'poems.' At the outset, the reader just like myself will be impressed by the foreword of Mr. Justice Biswas and the appreciation of Sir M. N. Mukherjee. But after going through the book from cover to cover if he read the foreword and the appreciation once again he will undoubtedly find them giving out different meanings.

JOGESHI CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

The book contains an account of the travels of Paramhansa Swami Keshavananda Mahabharati, popularly known as Pagalbaba and of the life-sketch of some of his disciples who under the guidance of their revered Guru made immense sacrifice for the uplift of humanity and for the welfare of society. It contains a foreword written by Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee.

The Swami advises the Hindu community to bear always in mind that it is one and undivided and that the Hindus should always remain united.

The book places before the public the Hindu viewpoint of life.

JITENDRANATH BOSE

HINDI

BAIJU KI SUKTIAN (PART I) : *By Baiju. Published by Thakur Arjun Singh, Editor, the "Prakash," Rewa. Pp. 46. Price annas five only.*

This is an unusual book. In it a village poet has poured out his soul in form of songs. These have the scent and smell of Mother Earth and the medium employed is Hindi as spoken by the people of Baghelkhand. The native tropes and idioms pressed into the service of his self-expression are picturesque and pregnant with meaning. The poet's *forte* appears to be subtle humour of a charming and chaste kind. The glossary at the end is a great help in understanding the folk phraseology and patterns of thoughts. The publisher is to be congratulated on his discovery of a poet, "half hidden from the eye" as Wordsworth said of simple-hearted, plain Lucy.

SWASTIKA : *By Nirankar Dev Sewak. Published by Hindi Pracharini Sabha, Bareilly College, Bareilly. Pp. 120. Price annas ten only.*

A collection of fourteen poems, in which the poet's soul seems to cry out that as the world is fleeting and full of the "fret and fever of life," he would, like Shelley, very much wish to learn from the bird, soaring in the sky, the secret of freedom from the chains of corroding cares and consequent fragrant felicity. On the wings of his imagination he takes the reader up into a region, rich in 'dreams.' Is this escapism or illumination?

G. M.

MARATHI

MARATHYANCHYA RAJYAKATHA : *By Govind Sakharam Sardesai. Published by K. B. Dhavale, Bombay. Demi 8vo. Pp. 207. Price Re. 1.*

The study of history is apt to prove tiresome, as it entails a comprehension of the multifarious events which go to make up a consecutive unity. But solitary incidents from it which can stand independently and become both interesting and instructive, are much more likely to grip the attention of young students who are on the threshold of the monument of history. Mr. Sardesai, the famous historian has, in this book, undertaken the task of offering to the young readers 21 interesting stories, dialogues and events from Maratha history and who could be better able to perform it as happily and satisfactorily as he? The stories selected by him have been so strung up as to present a complete chronological picture of the Maratha Empire from the earliest times of Shivaji, right up to the hoisting of the British Flag on Shanwarwada, the royal residence of the Peshwas in Poona. Each of the stories illustrates either an event which changed the course of the historical current or the mental make-up of the principal characters who gave it a conscious turn. All these stories exemplify the merits or demerits of Maratha character and will surely create a wholesome enthusiasm in their

readers to undertake the higher study of the subject. The book, therefore, deserves to be appointed as a text in the primary and middle schools and we draw the attention of educational authorities concerned, to this suggestion.

D. N. APTE

TELUGU

TEACHING OF THE MOTHER-TONGUE IN TELUGU : *By R. Narayana Rao. Published by the Educational Publishers and Booksellers, Bellary. Pp. 274. Price Re. 1-4.*

This elaborate treatise is written by the author according to the new syllabus of 1940 of the Madras University. The author aims at a less artificial relationship between a child and its work and points out how best a language can be taught to the youngsters on a sound scientific basis. He has analysed carefully the different methods of teaching, including Dalton System and Montessori System, giving out their respective merits and demerits.

This book proves to be of immense help to teachers and others who are in the educational line.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

(1) NIVAPANJALI, (2) MAHIRAMAN : *By Dr. M. O. Suraiya, Jogeshwari. Printed at the Versey Printing Press, Andheri. Velvet bound. 1942. Pp. 60:80. Price Re. 1-8 and Rs. 2 respectively.*

Dr. Suraiya is a Muslim but he has come in such close contact with Hindus and cultivated such a love for the Gujarati language, specially verse, that his efforts in the direction of providing verse literature in Gujarati deserve special recognition. His grand-daughter Miss Kulkarni has translated Wordsworth's "We are Seven" into Gujarati verse and the book has passed through five editions. *Nivapanjali* is a translation made by Dr. Suraiya of Gray's *Elegy*, a tolerably good rendering. The second book, whose title means, "The Sea" contains reprints of four translations, one from his grand-daughter's pen and the remaining three being from his pen, viz., of Goldsmith's "The Hermit" and "The Deserted Village" and "Gray's *Elegy*." The special features of the books brought out by him are their *krishnak* get-up and the opinions secured exclusively from educated Gujarati young ladies, mostly graduates, whose photographs embellish the books and render them attractive.

MODH MAHODAYA RAJAT MAHOTSAVA : *ANK : Edited by Raj Ratna P. T. Adalja, L.T.M. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1942. Pp. 330.*

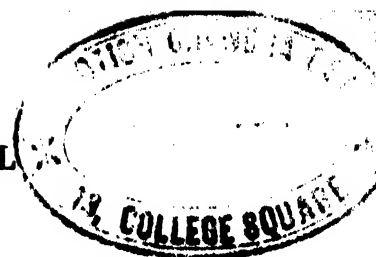
Modh Mahodaya is a monthly magazine and mouthpiece of the Modh Bania caste, the caste to which Gandhiji, Sir Purushottamdas and many other persons known in this side of India belong. The magazine no doubt handles caste matters and thus its scope of usefulness is restricted, still in its own way it has produced good results. This bulky volume brought out in memory of its having rounded the corner at twenty-five years of its existence comprises a sort of directing and Who's Who in the caste and in addition contains contributions from various writers, women and men from amongst the caste on all conceivable subjects. There is an article on Burma from one who has lived there and then evacuated under difficult circumstances. There are verses also of a sort. In spite of its modest efforts, the issue has been so well edited that its usefulness will live long.

K. M. J.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

Suggestions for Its Improvement

By SMARAJIT DUTT, M.A., B.T.



"No educational system can do its duty either to the society or to its pupils, if it has not a clear perception of what it is aiming at, what it is setting out to teach, and what things it considers its citizens ought to know; otherwise what we teach will be both pointless and wasted."

declared Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, as the President of the 15th All-India Educational Conference, held at Lucknow.

Education has been very aptly defined to be "preparation for complete living." Education is not a principle but a process—a living process like the growth of a tree or the unfoldment of a flower, and as such it should not, and cannot be treated in water-tight compartments. So before entering upon a close examination of the system of Secondary Education in Bengal, it will be worth our while to make a brief survey of the present position of the Primary Education, in this province, whereon the former is based. Without an efficient system of Elementary Education, Secondary Education is bound to be retarded and can at best have but a stunted growth.

The following facts and figures have been collected from *School Education in Bengal*, published by the Government of Bengal, Education Department.

Throughout the whole province there are at present 64,000 Primary Schools, of which only 9,853 are of the U. P. standard, located in 8,500 villages, and over 54,000 are of the L. P. standard, distributed over 28,347 villages. According to a recent Educational Survey, there are 1,10,000 villages in Bengal. And according to that computation, about 70,000 villages in the province are without a school of even Lower Primary Standard. Besides, the teaching in these L. P. Schools is neither good nor sufficiently prolonged to ensure literacy. An L. P. School is thus contributing nothing towards the solution of the problem of Primary Education. But even in the case of the 9,853 U. P. Schools, there is an enormous wastage, as is shown by the following distribution of pupils :

Infant class	21
Class I	6.5
" II	4.5
" III	2
" IV	1.5

Thus only 1.5 out of 21 or about 7 per cent of the pupils receive any material benefit from Primary Education. The actual position is that apart from a few Primary Schools, controlled by local authorities, Mission Schools, and the Primary Sections of Secondary Schools, the Primary School organisation of today is of very doubtful value.

Looking from another stand-point, we may find that the quality of teaching is far from being satisfactory. For 64,000 schools there are 88,000 teachers or in other words the average number of teachers per school is 1.4. How can such a poor number cope with as many as 3 to 5 classes ?

The approximate cost of maintaining these 64,000 schools with 88,000 teachers is Rs. 80,00,000 or Rs. 7/8/- per teacher including Rs. 3/- per month from fees and other sources. But whether this is actually received or not is doubted by all who are familiar with the state of affairs in village schools. The only assured income which a primary school teacher receives is what is paid, though not always regularly, from public funds, averaging about Rs. 4/8/- in municipal areas and Rs. 3/8/- in rural areas. Naturally, it is not possible to get either a well-qualified or a contented teacher on this starving pay.

As regards curriculum, the less said the better. In the present system schools often dull and blunt the curiosity and enthusiasm of the boy. They find him mentally alert, eager and adventurous, and leave him bored, listless and incurious. Far too many subjects are taught and they are unrelated, so that the curriculum is without unity or purpose. It is remote from the boy's life and interests, and therefore beyond his comprehension. The curriculum is designed for the scholar, and the interests of the ordinary boy are neglected. A little boy of 7 or 8 entering his primary school can talk from a limited vocabulary on subjects which interest him. He can read tolerably well. He is ripe for training in his own language for introduction to the natural world around him for all kinds of direct experience in making and doing, in experiment and adventure, and all these things can be correlated and given direction and meaning, if

training in Speech, Reading and Writing is made the end in view. But athwart the path of his natural development there are soon to be thrown shadows—English, Arithmetic, Hygiene, the whole of Indian History, the whole of World Geography, etc., etc. In the time available only an outline of such a big body of organised information is possible, and that through the Lecture Method—the most inefficient and useless for this stage, and from teachers whose academic career has probably reached not higher than class VIII or IX of a high school, mostly untrained, without any idealism or personality, without enthusiasm, pitifully ill-paid and sore discontented. The results of the failure to understand, and the cramming of a jumbled mass of facts into the boy's mind are far from being merely harmless. A further blow is given to his already rapidly waning self-confidence, and the thought begins to grow in his mind that he is not very clever and will never be good at books. This is the really damaging thing in the

Let us now pass on to the system of present system.

Secondary Education. We see the same sorry sight and we hear the same sad tale told over again. The staff of which the bulk of the population of the Secondary Schools is made cannot offer anything more heartening. The groundwork being so loosely laid, the superstructure cannot but be unreliable. The condition of the Secondary Schools in Bengal is simply depressing. The ideal by which the system is dominated needs a radical change. It is an admitted fact that there are three fundamental defects in the present system :

1. It is too literary or bookish, the secondary syllabuses are based on the "liberal arts"—legacy from the Middle Ages. Their "cultural" or "disciplinary" value is more academic than real.

2. It does not prepare for a career. It does not lead to any particular vocation after eleven years of education. A young man has to spend the best part of his energy in passing examinations and when he comes out, he finds he has scarcely enough energy left to carry on, and that what he has learnt is not of much help in his worldly struggles.

3. It keeps the boy divorced from his environment and trains him for a somewhat artificial life. As Sir Percy Nunn opines, "Educational Movement everywhere emphasizes social sensibilities and corporate activities, only because these sensibilities and activities are necessary to the more complete types of indivi-

dual life." So the aim of education is pre-eminently social adaptation. Real education consists in the development of attitude of good citizenship and in the inducement of pursuits, intellectual or manual, creative or appreciative, for their own sake with joy and pleasure after school life. But this double aspect which is the pronounced implication of the Spencerian definition has sadly failed of its purpose.

But what appears to us to be the most glaring defect of the present system is that it is dreadfully examination-ridden. Fear of tests and examinations is one of the tortures that make school work a nightmare to many children. Among the causes of the child's fear are threats of teachers to give hard examinations or warnings of the consequences of a poor examination result. The fear of disgrace, the ridicule of playmates, the displeasure of parents and invidious comparison with brothers or sisters all tend to accentuate the evil. The result is confusion of thought, inability to remember, pre-occupation with the idea of failure, and the almost inevitable dislike to school work.

"The efficiency of a school," says Mrs. Susan Platt at the Elsinore Conference before the Examinations Enquiry Committee, "is judged by its success in the examinations, by the number of scholarship boys and girls it produces. Official comparisons are too often made between school and school. The competition, therefore, between school and school is acute. For the teacher promotion or demotion too often depends on his prowess in turning out artificial products. Enlightened methods, the delight in experiment and discovery, the glory and joy of work fade into distance, and he becomes a drudge with the fear of losing his job ever before his eyes."

Thus there is little wonder that the Matriculation Examination dominates Secondary Education. In fact, it has been its bane. All efforts centre round passing the Examination—willy nilly. Acquisition of knowledge and culture have been relegated to the background, and Examination reigns supreme. Notes, Successes, Short Cuts and Made-Easies have flooded the market; and students think it sheer waste of time to go through the prescribed Texts. If you like to introduce anything new, the class will say, "That will not be set in the examination." Pupils read carefully only those portions of their books, from which questions are likely to be set; and they often ask the teachers to select such 'important' passages. "The reputation of a teacher depends on his success in spotting questions," as playfully remarked by Khan Bahadur Maula Buksh, late Asstt. Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education, Bengal.

Now what are the causes that have led to this disquieting situation? How could Matriculation Examination have such a paralysing influence on Secondary Schools? Mr. Hampton, Principal, Secondary Training College, Bombay, says:

"In England and America university entrance requirements have long had a cramping influence on the development of Secondary Education, and efforts are being made in these countries to break down the forces of conservatism and to free the schools from all University entanglements."

The University provides courses of higher studies, and the Matriculation Examination is but a test of the fitness of the candidates for entrance upon those courses. Thus it is clear that the University is expected to fix its own standards of admission and to conduct its own entrance test. These functions are not mere privileges but rights which the University must continue to prize highly and to guard zealously. But it is an open secret that the chief source of Indian University revenue is the Matriculation Examination fees and sale proceeds of the Texts of its own publication. To augment the fee-income it is but necessary to lower the Standard so that the affiliated colleges may have a crowded enrolment. To justify its own existence as the Sacred Seat of Learning, and not merely an examining body, a University must be well-financed. And if the State is not solvent, and if the people are conservative and parsimonious, where else should it look for its blood? This we understand too well. But certainly there is no justification of why it should expose itself to the charge of "commercialism" or "trafficking" in youth.

No doubt, under pressure of public opinion the University has introduced the Revised Regulations. But even these will not meet the situation. Besides, they are open to criticism. The most important feature of the Revised Regulations is the vernacular medium. Instructions will be imparted in the vernacular. Questions are to be answered in the vernacular. But the questions are to be set in English—not excepting those in the Major Vernacular! Why? Economy! Essays and substantives of unseen passages in English which were the only reliable test of the candidates' knowledge of English are conspicuous by their absence from the New Syllabuses. Mathematical terms are to be learned both in English and in Bengali. Otherwise the boys will have to fare ill not only in Examination, but also in the higher studies. On the other hand, the Bengali terms which will be acquired with considerable labour will be totally

forgotten, as they will fall into disuse during the college career. But what is more crushing is that 5+2 or 7 (seven) papers are replaced by 9+1 or 10 (ten) papers. Thus the new Syllabuses will put the candidates to much greater hardship than at present. In fact, they will fall out of the frying pan into the fire.

Taking advantage of this helpless situation, a number of unscrupulous publishing and book-selling agencies have pandered to this forced mercenary policy of the University. They have hired and also encouraged many so-called educated men. They have provided leading strings permanently to cripple the spontaneous mental growth of the student population who are no longer required to exert themselves. Everything is done for them, and thus the true purpose of education which is the gradual unfoldment of latent faculties is woefully frustrated.

There are two other causes which have largely, though not directly, contributed to the keeping up of this sickening situation. The industrial backwardness of the country is solely responsible for the non-existence of a well-organised and efficient system of Vocational Education on parallel lines like the continuation schools and technological institutes of Japan and the countries of the West. It is a pity that qualified men equipped with expert specialised training in foreign universities to their utter dismay find themselves at sea on their return to India. They are compelled to rot and vegetate, finding no fields nor scope for the proper application of their talents.

Society also is to be held no less responsible. Infatuation of the University Certificate has quickened the rapacity of the Dowry System which is undermining the social fabric. 'The self-immolation of Snehalatas and the ruining of families have hopelessly failed to open the eyes of young Bengal.'

And the bitter consequences of such a deplorable state of things are now much in evidence. It is visited with the retribution of Nemesis. Matriculates now apply for the post of a village constable or a durwan, while graduates commit suicide, being unable to stand the agonies of a hungry family!

I need not dilate any further on this melancholy spectacle. Now, the question is, what may be the means by which Secondary Education can be improved? The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in his report on Public Instruction for 1933-34, remarked:

"But no completely satisfactory solution of the problem of Secondary Education in Bengal can be arrived at until there is more unified control, much larger grants

from public revenues, and complete agreement between the public and those responsible for the Education of the Province as to the necessity for a radical reorganization and redistribution of its Secondary Schools."

The entire scheme of reconstruction is put here in a nutshell. But we need not despair. We are optimists. If the resolution is once formed and the work begun in right earnest, "there shall be no Alps," to use the language of Napoleon. The first determined step should be to constitute a Board of Secondary Education with powers to exercise full control over the Secondary Schools. This Board should be autonomous like the University and must be representative of all interests. The curricula and syllabuses should be so framed as to meet social requirements and the actual needs of life. "Vocational training in the ordinary schools as a part of or an alternative to the general courses," is bound to fail of its purpose. What the pupils need more than culture or anything else, on leaving schools, is bread. It should, therefore, be the aim of Secondary Education to give them, among other things, ability to earn a decent and respectable living. So a mere creation of a vocational bias will not do. Separate vocational schools should be established at each stage—Primary, Secondary and Higher with provision for a wider field of choice and these will run parallel with the schools for general education. These vocational schools again will be of no avail, if there is no simultaneous industrial reconstruction in the country, and if the industrial magnates do not co-operate. Gladdening signs of assurance in this direction are now visible on the horizon. There should also be, as noted before, Continuation Schools and Institutes of Technology for better equipment and specialization. Majority of the student population will be diverted to these industrial schools, while only those who show special aptitude for arts will undergo a course of general education, and be admitted to the higher studies at the University. If these industrial schools are conducted on Wardha principles, they may be 'self-supporting' in the Wardha sense.

The conduct of the Matriculation Examination should be left in the hands of the University, as it has every right to select properly qualified candidates for admission to the colleges affiliated to it. But more reliable methods of examination should be introduced. The results of the Matriculation Examination should be supported by a close scrutiny of school records and by the application of mental tests. This arrangement will, no doubt, mean a considerable shortage in

the income of the University. But the State and the people should volunteer to help the University out of this financial stringency, so that it may be able to conduct the Post-graduate studies and researches with efficiency.

Other ways of improving instruction in Secondary Schools should be to avoid indiscriminate admissions and promotions, to discard, as far as practicable, collective teaching and to adopt a plan of work calculated to give freedom to pupils to study by themselves and to proceed at their own pace, based on the Supervised Study plan. The day should be divided into the morning and afternoon sessions, especially in view of the deterioration of health of the student community living in a tropical country. A poor meal snatched in hot-haste, followed by a double quick march—in some cases from a distance of 3 or 4 miles—to attend school in time, cannot but lead to a gradual breakdown. There should be periodical medical examination in each school which should maintain health records for each pupil. Games and sports and other forms of physical exercise should be so organised as to suit the constitution of the boys. Extra-curricular activities, such as Games and Sports, Debates, Recitations, School Magazine, Common Room, General Knowledge, Personal Cleanliness, Scouting, Bratachari, Red-Cross, Excursions, Brotherly help, Exhibitions of handicrafts should be organised on the basis of House System. Over attendance, punctuality, academic achievements there should be inter-House competitions. Points should be awarded in each and every activity. The best House should have a place of Honour Board. The upper walls of the Assembly Hall may be painted in different colours to represent the different Houses and the badges of the respective Houses will have the same colour. The Board of Honour will remain in the possession of the winner House and will be hung on its particular wall of the Assembly Hall for a period of one year.

Thus and thus alone can a true corporate life be built up in the school society. The boy becomes dyed with the colour of the society in which he is steeped. He may not realise the full meaning of the system, but he realises, however dimly, that he is incorporated in a society which is organised for a good purpose, that he cannot remain indifferent to it and that he must play his part in it. Thus experience is his teacher, and the lessons of this best of teachers sink and soak into his nature, and without his being aware of it, enter into his brain and blood. Hence the discipline of the school system works

upon the active principle of his nature and assists him to build up habits which ultimately harden into character.

Every attempt should be made to enlist the sympathy, goodwill and whole-hearted co-operation of the parents, guardians and the local public. School exhibitions, annual sports, prize-days and other suitable occasions should be utilized for the purpose. Opportunities should be given to teachers to conduct educational experiments in the light of their training and experience. The teachers are now handicapped by the times which are now out of joint and by the prevailing system and want of initiative and opportunity. Their professional training, no doubt, broadens their outlook, but in their actual sphere of work they feel themselves woefully helpless. After their return from a course of training they perforce fall into the same stereotyped groove and the benefit of training is lost upon them.

When all is said, the only guarantee of a good school is a succession of fit persons for the office of the teacher. This is the crux of the whole problem—how to secure teachers of the right stuff. In the first place, the evils of migration should be counteracted. 'The rolling stone gathers no moss' goes the proverb. When classes pass quickly from hand to hand, the responsibility is dispersed over a number of individuals. So it is no wonder that the teacher loses heart and works perfunctorily. How can the nomadic school master acquire any real *esprit de corps* in relation to his colleagues or his successive schools? Secondly, the status of the teachers should be improved. The low esteem of the teaching profession is responsible for the fact that many, though they will take it up for a time till they can find some other employment, never dream of making it their life's work. Others drift into it only because they cannot find anything better to do. In neither case can there be any real heart for the work.

Let me now conclude with some of the pertinent queries, which Principal Seshadri put be-

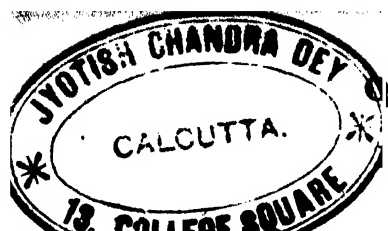
fore the Third Punjab Teachers' Conference, in the belief that they would give to the teachers much food for thought.

Have you any suggestions, for instance, for making examinations better tests of intellectual efficiency and culture? Have you devised some means for taking stock of the daily work of the pupils instead of assessing it only by periodical tests in the year, and have you visualised the possibilities of eliminating examinations altogether? Has your soul thrilled with rapture of poetry and great literature and have you communicated at least some of it to those who have looked up to you in the class room? Have you found it possible to reconcile the needs of discipline with the ebullition of native impulses? Have you thought about the various means by which the task of leading may be made a pleasure and not a task, as is often the case, to the discredit and even want of efficiency of our educational system. Have you really been such an embodiment of intellectual exercise and aspiration that your example has made a profound impression on the lives of those entrusted to your care? Have you striven your best, even within the routine existence to keep abreast of the ever accumulating knowledge in your subject? Can you honestly say at the end of your lives that you have done your best for keeping the torch of knowledge undimmed, at least in that little corner of the earth where your lot has been cast?

I wish I could say 'yea' in response to all these queries. But it is true that no teacher can be a paragon of all virtues. The teacher knows, if he is conscientious, that he is only a torch-bearer lighting the path to the ideal of Truth and Goodness, which he also has been seeking to realise. Much is gained if he faints not nor flags in his quest.

"No man," said Stevenson, "can do as well as he teaches. For we are all like St. Paul in this that we see better things than we are able to attain to. We cannot therefore hope to be seen doing what we teach, but we must be seen trying to do it, even we shall teach it well in so far as we are trying hard."





OBJECTIONS TO HINDU CODE BILLS

By SANAT KUMAR ROY CHOUDHURY

Ex-Mayor, Calcutta

II

Coming to the provisions of the Bill for Regulating Intestate Succession.

Clause 2. Definitions :—It seems that we are to forget our Sashtric definitions about Sapindas and Sagotras and Samanodakas and adopt a new test for finding out the heirs of a Hindu.

The doctrine of Pinda upon which the Daybhag system is based in matters of inheritance and marriage is at a stroke of pen substituted by blood relationship.

Atmabandhus, Pitribandhus and Matri-bandhus will no longer trouble us; there is only one class of Bandhus in the Bill.

For thousands of years the fundamental theory of Hindu marriage was *gotrantar*—initiation of the bride into the gotra of the bridegroom, but this idea must be put aside by all Hindus because the proposed Bill directs that a woman shall not by reason of her marriage be deemed to have lost the gotra of her father, she will continue to be an agnate of her father. In spite of the plenary powers of the Legislature it may well be doubted whether the Hindus will meekly submit to this wanton outrage on their sentiments and religion. Though the Hon'ble Member-in-charge and the Legislators may not think so, a Hindu if he feels that his cherished and time-honoured religious sentiments are being outraged is capable of as great sacrifices, as those whose personal laws the Legislature dare not touch for fear of creating an unrest in the country.

2 (e) :—The definition embraces all those who are governed by the Hindu Law of succession and will therefore include those converts to Mahomedanism who still retain the Hindu Law as their personal law, as also Jains, Sikhs and others who are by custom governed by the Hindu law of succession.

It would be rather hard lines on communities who have voluntarily agreed to be governed by a system of law which they knew and approved of, to ask them to be governed by an altogether different system into which the previously existing Hindu Law is being converted by this amendment. These non-Hindus have never demanded nor been consulted about any amendments and in justice and fairness they should be excluded from the operation of the proposed Bill.

2 (f) Related :—only legitimate kinship is recognized by the definition proposed. This is unexceptionable from a moral point of view, and may possibly discourage improper relations between the sexes. But we must not forget that we are legislating for community which has since the days of the Smritis condemned the sinners but tried to do justice to the innocent offspring by providing a share for illegitimate sons of Sudras. What is the reason for depriving them of a benefit they have been enjoying for ages? If there was less of sexual immorality in countries or amongst people who scrupulously debar illegitimate children from succeeding there would be some ground for the innovation. Far from that being the case sexual morality is much higher amongst the Hindus of India than amongst any other nationals or communities.

2 (h) Son :—Although the Law is being codified presumably for the reason that the public and the lawyers do not want to consult the Smritis and texts in this definition we are again referred to the Hindu Law. We are not told where the same is to be found. The Smritis will gradually fall into disuse if the Legislation achieves its objects and the Hindu Law will be sought for in the Code and nowhere else. Keeping the Smritis alive and in use would frustrate the very object of the Bill.

2 (i) :—Stridhana has been made to include property got by inheritance, or partition (with sons and the like) or in lieu of maintenance. The object seems to be to give the woman unqualified power of transfer over the property. Here again our Legislators should pause and consider whether in the circumstances attaining in our society—we are not speaking of the upper and enlightend classes who form an insignificant proportion of the Hindus—it is desirable that such power should be conferred on women. So long as the special protection for purdanashins is necessary, and women do not come out and acquire the habit of dealing with others unaided this power is likely to do the greatest disservice to the Hindu society.

Coming to concrete examples (a) the share of a daughter will in many cases be worth very little, and incapable of enjoyment by itself. It may also be that the daughter living miles away from her father's residence and property will not be able to exercise acts of ownership

over such property. The result will be partition and sale, and introduction of hostile or incompatible elements in the ownership, constant friction and ultimate impoverishment and loss of property itself. At a time when modern civilized Governments are attempting to stop subdivision and subinfeudation, this Bill if made into law will accelerate those evils. It will no longer be possible for the Hindus to retain economic holdings, which is the basis of agricultural prosperity.

(b) Widows remarrying were divested of their inheritance under the Hindu Law. They will no longer be subject to that disability as the clauses 18 and 19 show. Unless the amendment be meant for speedy extinction of the Hindus the rule of Hindu Law should be made stricter. In Bengal where change of religion forced or voluntary by Hindu married women is an everyday occurrence the proposed enlargement of rights will encourage the neighbouring communities to prey upon Hindu women not merely for the sake of increasing their number under the guise of religion but for the sake of monetary gain also. Situate as the Hindus are today in Bengal, helpless, apathetic and disorganized, it would be a positive menace to enlarge the rights of Hindu women in inherited property.

Definitions :—The effect of different kinds of adoption is detailed in the Explanatory clauses but we are not told what formalities must be observed for a valid adoption or whether a Bengali Hindu can adopt in the *Daya mushyasa*, or *kritrima* form or whether a *Dwij*a can adopt his daughter's son.

Clause (3) :—Exclusion of Hindus governed by *Marukrakkateyam* or *Aliya Santana* is really exclusion of one set of usages and customs relating to inheritance. There is no reason why customs and usages relating to inheritance in other parts of India, *e.g.*, the Punjab, the U. P. and other localities which are at variance with the rules generally prevailing should not have equal consideration. The broad distinction, it may be said, is that the Laws exempted are based on the matriarchal system, but all customs and usages when analysed will be found to be based on some distinction or other with the general rules.

Regarding the *Nambudris* they used to be governed by the *Mitakshara* modified by customs. Then Legislation took this case up and now in matters of succession and marriage they are governed by Acts of the Indian and Madras Legislature. Nevertheless there seems

to be no valid reason to exclude them from a scheme intended to be of universal application amongst the Hindus.

In so far as the Bill seeks to give a uniform set of laws to all Hindus in the matter of succession and inheritance it is welcome and a great aid to the consolidation of Hindus and this utility should not be marred by excluding any sects of Hindus.

Our criticisms are, and mostly will necessarily be in opposition to the provisions of the Bill, but that is not because we do not appreciate its good points, but rather we want the Legislature to proceed on the acknowledged doctrines of the Hindu *Smritis*, and to take up matters regarding which the Hindus or any section of them are feeling difficulties.

Clause (3) introduces into the Hindu Law the distinction between reality and personality. This is the result of the operation of Private International Law upon the Laws of Inheritance proposed. Hindus resident in British and non-British India did not up till now feel this distinction as Hindus in India. British and non-British had no separate systems of Law governing their inheritance, though the rule enunciated must have been operating on properties of Hindus outside India.

Clauses 4 & 5 :—As exceptions are being made in favour of different sections of Hindus in the Bill itself there is no reason why a general set of rules of inheritance cannot be enacted, allowing at the same time local usages to operate as exceptions allowable under the law.

The benefit of such a scheme will be that people will not feel the alteration of their laws, and any section of Hindus or castes or tribes may at any time decide to drop their customs and usages if they feel inclined to do so. The Legislature may even provide machinery for their doing so by a petition to the Legislature. Thus gradually all the Hindus may come to be governed by the same set of Laws at some future time. It will also ensure the application of the natural principle that there should be no change without a demand for the same.

5. Clause I (i) :—We have already formulated our objections to the daughter being made an heir along with the son, and to the enlargement of the woman's limited estate.

It appears that in the matter of inheritance of daughters the following considerations arise :

(a) They being the father's children are entitled to inherit as much as the sons.

(b) They require property for their marriage and maintenance till their marriage and in some cases even after marriage.

(c) Admission of daughters as heirs will tend to subdivide properties into minute fractions and to create uneconomic holdings.

(d) It will lead to sale of holdings and introduction of undesirable elements in the ownership.

Of these points (b) is the most important.

To reconcile all points of view, if the law must be amended provision should be made by enumerating unmarried daughters as heirs and also destitute daughters. As pointed out in the memorandum there are undoubted difficulties in the way of defining destitution but nevertheless it can and should be done. The other daughters do not need to be made heirs of their father, and should not be given any shares.

Most noticeable is omission of the widow of a predeceased son from the list of enumerated heirs. If the condition of women in Hindu households is to be bettered by making them heirs, a widowed daughter-in-law should be given a share by statute, and included in class I (1)

In the list of enumerated heirs some are included who were no heirs previously and given precedence over others. On the whole the scheme is a well thought out one, and subject to the remarks about the daughter made above and placing her before daughter's son may be generally accepted.

7 (a) :—Seeing that one of the main objects of the Bill is to improve the condition of women one gets a shock when provision is made for all the co-widows to take only one share together. It may be urged that this is a punishment for committing bigamy but when they were married the laws did not prohibit polygamy.

However the provision continues the existing Law.

7 (d) :—The daughter's share has been made into half the share of a son. If relief is to be given there is no reason why she should not get as much as a son. If Smritis are to be followed the share ought to be $\frac{1}{4}$ th or $\frac{1}{8}$ th as stated in the memorandum. The half share given to the daughter looks as if in this matter we are copying the Mahomedan Law.

11 :—It is necessary to define the words Hermit, Vanaprastha, Yati or Sannyasi and Brahmachari in a codification of the laws of Inheritance. And this omission should be supplied.

12 Stridhana (rights over) :—If inherited property is excluded there is nothing to be said against such a provision. In fact the clause enumerates the rights which were possessed by a Hindu woman over her Stridhan under the Hindu Law.

13 :—Clause (a) and explanation will not be necessary at all if the old rules of Hindu Law about property inherited by one or more widows from the husband is left untouched.

This provision has been rendered necessary because of the innovations introduced in the Bill and the enlargement of the woman's estate.

There seems to be a defect in the drafting.—A co-widow is not entitled to her deceased co-widows' share by survivorship under the Bill. She is not enumerated as an heir; under the Bill she is an agnate not of her husband but of her father, nor is she a cognate. Yet in the explanation the impossible event of her succeeding to her co-widow is provided for.

Clause (b) :—The heirs and order of heirs are a departure from the law as prevailing in Bengal.

It favours the daughter unduly, for while in the father's property, the Bill provides, the daughter will share along with the son, in the mother's property the son will not share jointly with the daughter nor get anything unless there is no daughter's daughter, or daughter's son.

One could have understood the placing of the son in this clause as a measure to compensate the daughter for her exclusion by the son in case of the father's property but as it is there is no justification for this favouritism.

The theory of spiritual benefit is being replaced by one of nearness of relationship, but the basis of blood relationship is not adhered to, when the husband and husband's heirs are placed before the mother and father and their heirs. In fact whatever may be said of the placing of the husband the placing of the husband's heirs before the mother and father is wholly unjustified.

We would however suggest that a rational list of heirs based on nearness of relationship be made as a general rule operative only when there are no local usages to the contrary with liberty to drop the usages and customs to any section of the Hindu community which desires to do so.

Clause 18 :—Since the Legislature is punishing immorality to the extent of depriving Dasiputras of any share in their father's property and even maintenance it should have provided for overruling Keri Kolitani's case and the divesting of a Hindu widow who becomes unchaste. There is a good deal of feeling amongst Hindus on this point and the Smritis speak of the widow enjoying the husband's property keeping his bed unsullied. The change would have been welcome.

Clause 20 :—Disqualifications—Although one agrees that deformity or incapacity should not deprive an heir of his share, yet for the purposes of the society no property should go to one who cannot manage, and in whose hand the

property is likely to be destroyed. The best way out is to give to lunatics, idiots, deaf and dumb people a strict life estate as understood in English Law with reversion to his children and other heirs.

CHHATTISGARHI FOLK-SONGS

By S. C. DUBE

IN the dull and dreary life of the depressed and the oppressed poor—folk-songs play an important part and occasionally lighten their burdens, cheer up their hearts and impart mirth and enjoyment to their unsavoury existence. The Chhattisgarhi folk-songs are rich in fancy and poetic conceits and stand secure and apart as a class by themselves. Their lighter vein is sometimes crossed by a sudden outburst of spicy and penetrating observations on life as they know it and such as are bound to disturb deeply the most philosophic mind.

The five south-eastern districts of the Central Provinces are known as Chhattisgarh—the land of thirty-six forts. When this portion was thinly populated, and not connected with the rest of the world by railways or other means of communication, there lay vast stretches of land available for the plough and even crude and primitive methods of cultivation brought sufficient remuneration for the cultivators' labours. As the pressure on land increased with the development in the means of communication, the peasants were required to maintain themselves on a comparatively smaller area; consequently they got poorer and poorer day by day, and are getting so still. The average Chhattisgarhi farmer today is very poor, and it is difficult for him to get even his two normal meals. Despite this dreadful state of affairs, the poor farmers do not lack in their love for art and music. They too sing and dance in their leisure; and it is this music in their life which keeps up their spirits to fight out poverty and keep themselves engaged in the hard increasing struggle for existence. In moments of distress folk-songs provide for their joys and sorrows. They are of various types.

1. *Dadaria*.—The shortest but the sweetest, and the most popular is the Dadaria song, which in its two simple lines—one of which is often only for tuning—conveys some eternal aspect of human life. People may sing it in fields and forests, mountains and rivers; women may sing it when they sit by the fireside; a pretty young

girl may even sing it to her lover in privacy. Love is the central theme of this song, and it goes to the credit of the young men and women of Chhattisgarh to be able to converse in it at times. Here are a few representative examples of Dadaria :

- (i) When you smoke a Chongi,*
It burns little by little.
My love ! in your remembrance I am gradually burning.
- (ii) The house is broken and its roof is destroyed;
He was to return within a couple of days.
But it is long since, that I have not seen him,
O friend.
- (iii) I do not know what I did unconsciously.
• My love ! I do not even like my food in your absence.

2. *Karma*.—Karma is a classical aboriginal dance and is one of the most scientific non-Aryan Indian dances. It is a splendid sight to watch it, when Madart† and Chhaddit are being played and a suitable Karma song is being sung like other aboriginal songs. The Karma songs are very sweet and express the sentiments of love. In older Karma songs there is a philosophic reflection towards life. Here are some of them :

- (i) We are born on this earth to live,
And so shall we pass our life merrily and playfully,
For how many days more are we to survive ?
Life is short and much may not be anticipated.
How shall we escape,
When death comes over our head ?
- (ii) Shall I be able to meet my sweet-heart ?
Who knows !
I adorn myself with ornaments,
Dress my hair beautifully,
And admire my beauty in the mirror.
But only God knows,
If I shall be able to meet my sweet-heart !
- (iii) The cat goes from this roof to that;
We are foreigners
People of a far distant land.
Today let us love each other with all our heart,
For tomorrow awaits separation,
And I have to depart with a *Rān* Ram for ever.

* A village smoking pipe made of tendu leaf.

† Musical instruments.

3. *Nachouri*.—‘Nacha’ is the common-place popular folk-dance of Chhattisgarh which together with the music consists of many humorous dramatic dialogues and sweet songs. Nachouri songs are sung to the accompaniment of this dance. Every line is repeated twice by the main singer and is followed by chorus and dance. Here is a typical popular love-nachouri :

O Sister ! My sweet-heart is in some distant land ;
Neither he writes a letter to me,
Nor he sends me a word.
For whom should I apply *mehndi* ?
For whom should I dress my hair ?
And for whom should I cook rice and vegetables ?
My sweet-heart is in some distant land.
O Sister ! I do not like my father-in-law's house—
When my sweet-heart is in a far distant land.

4. *Sua-Geet*.—The prime Diwali attraction in rural Chhattisgarh is the Sua-dance of the Chhattisgarhi women. A batch of about twelve young women comes. The leader, the first in the line, has a basket full of the golden paddy of the recent crop, with a pair of earthen parrots in it. With the opening line they divide into two groups. While the first batch sings, the second bends down and begins clapping and dancing, and while the second sings, the first in its turn bends down and dances. The bulk of these songs concern women themselves and, in general, are pathetic. Here is an example :
I have come here from my father's home for the first time.

O Sweet-heart ! Why are you going out leaving me alone ?
With whom shall I play ?
With whom shall I eat ?
And how shall I console my heart ?
Plant a *tulsi* in the court-yard,
And console your heart with it.
If you find it green,
Imagine your husband engaged in trade ;
And if you find it yellow,
Think that he died in the war.

5. *Danda-Geet*.—Along with the Danda-dance, Danda songs are sung during the Diwali only, by the *raot* caste, which by tradition has secured monopoly of this dance. Most of the Danda-songs have an air of religious preaching, but some of them are beautiful love songs, which charm the people when sung with proper pause and Jhunjuniya dance. Here is a typical love Danda-song :

O God ! I never knew,
That I would feel the pangs of separation so much !
My father is in Ratanpur, and father-in-law in Orissa,
And between the two parts is the Kochi river !
Today I am what the rice plant is without water.
Father-in-law is suffering from Tijera and his daughter
with fever,
...and my Dewar is laid down with Kharjartra,

Today I am what a leaf is after falling from tree.

* * * * *
The legs of the cot are broken,
And now it is useless.
Gori has lost her lover,
And she weeps till the dawn.
O God ! I never knew that I would feel the pangs of separation so much !
A court-yard without a tree,
And a village without a dog are lonely.
A woman without her lover weeps till the dawn.
O God ! I never knew that I would feel the pangs of separation so much !

6. *Marriage Songs*.—Any introduction to Chhattisgarhi folk-songs will be incomplete without a few words on the marriage songs. It is a pathetic scene to see a Hindu girl leaving her parents' home for ever to have her own with her husband. Except a few traditional songs, most of the Chhattisgarhi ‘Bihawgeet’ are pathetic. Many of these songs contain the lofty ideals of the glorious past, and many of them are the sweet-sour stories of heroic women who lost their lives remaining perfectly faithful to their lords. Many of the marriage songs explain, in a simple but vivid style, the feelings of the bride at the time of her separation from her parents. Here is a marriage song of the ‘Dewar’ tribe :

The *baratis* are standing under the neem,
And the bride, with her lord, is going round the marriage-post ;
Musical instruments are being played.
O Beeram ! The girl is going round the marriage-post with her lord.
Baratis are standing under the neem ;
Mother ! Under the bar are the bride and bridegroom.
Amongst five brothers there is one sister.
Oh Mother, she will go away with her lord today.
Father and mother are unhappy.
But the Bhawaj indeed is happy.
Oh ! Do not send her this year ;
You may send her next year.
“Get a *nath* for my nose,
Mother I will go away in a dola.
Get a *litri* for my ears,
Mother ! I will go away in a dola.
Get *pairi* for my legs,
Mother ! I will go away in a dola.
There is a lemon tree in my lord's house,
And all birds return to it in the evening,
I grew upto youth at my father's home in happiness,
But now my pride shall be shattered to pieces !”

In a short sketch like this it is difficult to say even a few words regarding the bigger songs, folk-lore and ballads of Chhattisgarh ; but it is certain that through the few songs given above one can visualize a faint picture of life in rural Chhattisgarh, and can at least understand that human heart is everywhere the same, and its workings are indetical in a peasant and a prince ; even a woman from the aboriginal tribe can express the pangs in her heart at the separation of her husband.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Clash of Colours

There is one Race the world over,
And that Race is named Man;
Nursed at the breast of the same Mother Earth,
The same sun and moon are our comrades.

SATYENDRANATH DATTA

The problem of the immediate future is that of the colour bar which is well called the sinister bar by Miller Watson whose article on the subject appears in *The Aryan Path*. Extracts from the article are given below :

In ancient times a man's illegitimate descent was symbolised on his escutcheon by a device called the bar sinister. This sign proclaimed to the world the man's irregular birth and barred him from certain rights and privileges. In the modern world there is a much more truly sinister bar—the Colour Bar—which would deprive a man of rights and privileges for no other reason than that his skin is not of the colour assumed to denote superior birth.

It is difficult to discover just when the Colour Bar came into existence. It certainly did not exist in the Roman Empire or in Egypt and it is not strongly alive in Mediterranean countries even today. It seems that the self-styled Nordic races, the Germans, British, Americans, and to a lesser degree the Scandinavians, were the discoverers of this sinister weapon of oppression.

At the present time many nations are fighting for what they hope will be a Brave New World. But is this Brave New World to be only for the white races ?

Is the sinister bar of colour still to deny happiness and liberty to the coloured races while the whites live in an Arcadia ? No.

The common man in Britain forgets or he does not know that in South Africa a Negro must pay taxes but cannot vote; must pay to make pavements but dare not walk upon them; must walk under conditions little different from those of slavery; and is constantly reminded in a thousand different ways that he is an inferior being—because his skin is dark in colour.

Would the Indian problem have been more easily solved if the colour bar had never existed?

Yes, is the only answer I can find to that question.

How often have I heard since Britain went to war with Japan expressions such as "yellow devils" and "yellow bastards"! This opportunity to condemn and to despise a man because of his colour is never lost to the evil mind in Nordic man.

If yellow is the colour of barbarians why is Britain allied to the "yellow Chinese" ?

This sinister bar tries to separate the white American from his dark-skinned brother. Even the Federal law which recognises the equality of the Negro does not protect the latter from the lynching party and tendentious State laws.

Until the colour bar is gone there is no hope for peace and goodwill. War will come again even if the white peoples have settled all their differences.

The Russian Campaign

The New Review observes :

The leading feature of the battle in Southern Russia lies in the contrast between the self-reliant courage of the troops and the unreliable strategy of Marshal Timoshenko. Timoshenko has been decidedly outmanoeuvred by von Bock. von Bock successfully combined feint and surprise with the best *Blitz* methods; whilst feigning at first a direct bid for Stalingrad, he prepared his Caucasus campaign, cut a breach at an unlikely place, the Lower Don, and through the gap launched his mechanized divisions southwards. He took serious risks and made little of geographical data on which classical strategy is based, but he succeeded in a vital battle. For a time the wedge he had driven into the Russian line was only fifty miles broad though as much as one hundred miles deep. The western side of his wedge, hinged on Rostov, was lengthened and forcefully swung westwards so as to jam the Russian forces against the shore of the Black Sea, whilst mechanized divisions made a bold rush for the Caucasus range.

The eastern side of the wedge was then shortened and bent eastwards so as to be driven between the Don bend and the Volga, a few motorized troops being detached towards Elista and Astrakhan. In the meantime the Russian forces which had been left in the Don bend were threatened by the troops which fought their way near Kalach; not only was Stalingrad approached from the North West and from the South West, but a vast army astride the Don river was embarrassed with a gigantic encircling movement. The battle for Stalingrad is not yet decided and its fate will be a matter of available reserves; in the Don-Volga region supply difficulties appear to be equally severe for both sides if we consider the length of the Nazi communications and the losses in transport on the Russian side; it is what could be called a point of logistic equilibrium, as the Tobruk region was in the Libyan campaign.

Kosciuszko

In the course of an article on the *dharma* and ideals of Poland in the Poland number of the *Theosophist* Wanda Sokolowska writes about the great Polish patriot and hero—Kosciuszko :

It was not until the calamity of the first partition unexpectedly fell on the country that the people were

awakened and at last ready to accept radical reforms, which led to the famous Constitution of May 3, 1791. If the first partition of 1772 could be ascribed with at least some justification to the moral decay of Poland, the second and the third were the direct result of a powerful movement of regeneration of the whole nation. Many foreign countries gave expression of approval and praise to the Polish achievement, Edmund Burke congratulated her in a parliamentary speech, but Empress Catherine of Russia who hated all liberties asked for the immediate repeal of the Constitution, sending her troops into Poland. In spite of the heroic and frantic fight of the small Polish army defeat was inevitable, and the second partition took place.

Similar also was her armed defence against three assaulting powers, in the so-called Insurrection of Kosciuszko, 1794. He was the last great man of free Poland, worshipped by the nation as no one before him ever was, being the living embodiment of her highest ideals. He united in whole-hearted co-operation all, from King to peasant, appealing to the deepest of the nation. He called peasants to arms, and this was in itself an epoch-making event, nowhere practised before. Nobles and burghers, peasants and gentry, in complete equality and brotherhood signed the act of adhesion to the Insurrection, renouncing all privileges which hitherto had divided them.

Volunteers from all classes flocked under Kosciuszko's banners.

The famous peasant "Reapers," armed with scythes, with a hero-villager Glowacki at their head, achieved miracles of valour; the shoemaker Kilinski organized a regiment of the lowest classes of the Warsaw burghers, and a Jewish battalion was spontaneously formed for the defence of the capital. The Jews adored Kosciuszko and called him "the messenger of God." Warsaw withstood a 54 days' siege by powerful armies, the Russian and the Prussian, and repulsed them victoriously.

Kosciuszko as Chief of State, with unlimited powers placed in his hands by the nation, issued the famous decree of Polaniec, still enlarging the May Constitution, granting the peasants freedom of movement, reducing by half their obligations, extending the protection of the State to the farms of the villagers, whose fate, although never so deplorable in Poland as in other countries, was still bad enough to provoke anxiety and plans of extensive reforms in the minds of the best patriots.

He was indeed great with the greatness of the whole nation.

His character, touching sublimity, was a pure channel for the Deity's power.

Kosciuszko's Insurrection ended in apparent failure, and the last partition of Poland followed. And yet it was also an invisible victory; the spiritual power it strengthened in the nation was such that it sustained her resistance, will for and faith in Freedom for all the future generations. It was an achievement equal to the Constitution of May 3rd—a surety of Poland's inner independence even in outer slavery, of the regaining of full independence in the future. Both were inspired by the Genius of the nation.

Robert Bridges and His Conception of Beauty

In the course of his article on Robert Bridges in *The Twentieth Century* Debabrata Dhar observes :

There is that in Bridges' work which has not been heard in English poetry since Shelley died, the note of Joy. With it, and supporting it, is an intenser perception of beauty than any of the English poets has shown us since the Romantic movement fell into its Victorian decay. Though the sense of Beauty ever present, intense and transient, drifts over all his work, it expresses no thrill of wonder, no strange apocalypse of Beauty; merely a wistful surmise or ecstasy so faint that unless we listen carefully to his tones we may miss it. It is a distinctive feature with Bridges that he spins out a utilitarian motive for Beauty. He focuses Beauty on the shimmering canvas of humanity with the fixed conviction that

Beauty is the prime motive of all his excellence,
His aim and peaceful purpose;.....

It would be interesting to compare Bridges' conception of Beauty with that of the great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, who created a sensation by his magnificent theory on the essence of Beauty.

It is rather curious that Bridges does not care much for Beauty as it is, in its essence. Bridges looks upon Beauty as something out to do its part in the spiritual upliftment of humanity. Consequently, though Bridges shines as a great humanist trying to seek the anodyne for human misery even in the subtle, tantalizing realm of Beauty, as an interpreter and a devout worshipper of the impenetrable mystery of Beauty his position is much lower than that of philosophers like Kant, Schlegel and Eancroft.

Kant's study of the aesthetic experience starts off with an analysis of its unique characteristics.

The judgment of taste is, first, disinterested. This does not mean that a beautiful object is uninteresting; on the contrary, it interests us profoundly, but merely that it awakens in us no desire, moral or sensuous, to do anything with reference to it other than to contemplate it and enjoy it. It does not arouse our appetites, nor call forth our moral approval or condemnation, but merely delights us in being what it is. We look upon beauty as though it were objective and possessed of a character of its own, and as though our aesthetic judgments might be true or false. Yet beauty, unlike truth and goodness, is not objective in the sense of being susceptible to analysis and proof. By this view, Kant dissociated himself from explanation of the beautiful, current in his day—the sensational—which identified it with the sensuously pleasant, and the rationalist, which regarded it as the object of confused thought. The aesthetic experience is unique, Kant insists, however hard it may be to describe it accurately. "It is the feeling of purposiveness without the idea of purpose."

Man's happiness, Bridges thinks, is his loving response to the beauty of Nature, and so he should drink deep of the inexhaustible stock of beauty which Nature provides without an appeal to Reason or to Intellect.

Bridges wants Man to have Beauty undisturbed by the rulings of Reason and intellect, because he believes that Beauty is the highest of all those occult influences that through the senses wakens spiritual emotions in the mind of man. This is, indeed, a great contribution to the realm of Aesthetics on the part of

Bridges; but, all the same, like sentiments were already voiced by different continental philosophers of different ages.

Tukaram

In a meeting, held at the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, Prof. M. D. Altekar, lectured under P. E. N. on the seventeenth-century Tukaram, one of the glorious line of Marathi poet-saints. We quote from *The Indian P. E. N.* :

The lecturer at the outset placed Tukaram chronologically and in the school which Dnyaneshwar or Dnyandev had founded. Tukaram's dates were almost certainly 1608-1650. He was thus born nine years after Eknath's death and Shivaji was only about twenty years old when Tukaram died.

Tukaram was born a few miles from Poona of well-to-do parents whose grocery trade he inherited at an early age. He failed in business. A great famine carried off almost all his family. His second wife was a Xantippe. In any case, Tukaram seemed to have plumbed the depths of misery, which many of his *abhangas* reflected.

The earlier poet saints deserved to share with Ramdas, the great Shivaji's preceptor, the credit for the sturdy, self-reliant mass mentality in Maharashtra that had made Shivaji's achievements possible. There was nothing of the weakling about Tukaram, for example.

Tukaram denied the efficacy of the ascetic's saffron robe for producing knowledge. To obtain salvation one had to give oneself entirely to God and to devote oneself to the service of humanity.

For a long time the God Vithala, whose image is at Pandharpur, was the object of Tukaram's ardent devotion, but at last he could write :

All has become light and all darkness has disappeared; There is all joy and there is no feeling of pain, Because I realise that what I called Vithala is really Brahm.

He came finally to see that appearances were only that, through which one must try to reach what was behind them.

Brotherhood in Islam and Hinduism

The brotherhood of man, although intellectually recognised by all just and thoughtful people, is yet one of those subjects that are hopelessly ignored in ordinary life. Writes Dr. M. Hafiz Syed in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The religions of the world aim at purifying the human heart and bringing it nearer to God; but people, in their indifference, do not study their own faiths. This is why they act against them. I take the liberty of quoting from the various scriptures of the Hindus and Muslims.

The oldest of the known religions of the world is Hinduism. All the sacred scriptures of this ancient faith contain clear and unmistakable references to the brotherhood of man.

In the third chapter of the Bhagavad Gita, we read the following : 'Having an eye to the welfare of the world also, thou shouldst perform action.'

In the *Manu-smriti* we read the following : 'He who befriendeth all creatures, his name is Brahma.'

'He who thus seeth the Self in all beings, by his own self,—he realizes the equality of all, and attaineth to the supreme state of Brahma.'

Again in the *Isha Upanishad* we read : 'He who seeth all beings in the Self and the Self in all beings,—he hateh no more.'

The Holy Koran teaches : 'O you who believe, let not one people or nation scoff or laugh at another people or nation; perchance, they may be better (in the eyes of God, i.e., possess greater potentialities of doing good) than the scoffers.'

And the Prophet Mohammad said : 'No man is a true believer unless he desireth for his brother that which he desireth for himself.' 'He, who is not affectionate to God's creatures and to his own children,—God will not be affectionate to him.' 'Who is the most favoured of God? He from whom the greatest good cometh to His creature.' 'The best of men is he from whom good accrueh to humanity. All God's creatures are his family; and he is the most beloved of God who trieth to do most good to God's creatures.'

'Do you love your Creator? Love your fellow men first.'

From these quotations it is abundantly clear that none of the great religions of India ever taught anything anti-humanitarian or encouraged intolerance or persecution.

Mind Over Body

Relaxation is one of the most urgent needs of modern life. It is preliminary to rest. Julius Gilbert White observes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

Rest begins with the mind. In order for the body to secure proper rest, the mind must be at rest. Rest must first be mental. The mind should be at ease, calm, and reposed. Many people in this age maintain a constant nervous tension which is very destructive of vitality. There should be at least periods of entire relaxation and repose. The Orientals could teach the Occidentals many valuable lessons in this matter.

One who is highly nervous should take a few minutes during the day for complete relaxation. In fact, he should train himself to do his work with a calm, serene state of mind rather than under a nervous tension. By so doing he will live many years longer.

Not only are periods of rest and relaxation good for the body and mind; they are also uplifting and ennobling, if we lift our thoughts above the sordid things of earth.

Grenville Kleiser has said : "Cultivate silence and stillness. You grow your best thoughts in times of solitude and meditation. To continue to grow and accumulate useful ideas, you must have frequent periods of mental and physical relaxation. Beware of the modern tendency to hurry and waste. Cultivate quietness, poise and deliberateness."

It should also be borne in mind that amusement is not relaxation, nor a substitute for it, but may be, indeed, opposite to it. Many amusements excite the nerves and lead to greater tensiety rather than to relaxation.

Relaxation is a state of mind by which you have decided to lay aside for the time the things which trouble you, and take a little time to rest and recoup your vital forces.

Just as we learn to take on responsibility, so we must learn to lay it off, temporarily. One of the helpful things to do is to close your ears to life's annoyances and open them to the voices of nature.

The patter of rain on the roof, the rustle of leaves by a gentle breeze, the murmur of a babbling brook, the songs of birds, the smell of grass and earth and flowers, the odour of pines, honey, and fruits, the waving of fields of grain, are some of Nature's many voices calling us to relaxation and repose. But the mightiest influence of all is a clear conscience, a knowledge of having lived each day in the interest of humanity and the service of God; for, having done our duty, we may rest in the kind care of Him who watches over all.

Rest is often the therapy needed to increase the mysterious vital forces which carry on the wonderful life processes, from digestion down through the list of every organ and gland and their functions. In many instances a few days' rest in bed would be of great benefit.

Science and International Politics

Science and Culture quotes from *Nature* :

"By modern use, science has come to signify natural philosophy, or verifiable knowledge acquired by observation and experiment. When its field of work is thus defined, there is an impermeable membrane between science and politics. The partition is dissolved when science—the domain of reason—is defined as systematic and formulated knowledge in all fields of human understanding—natural, moral, social and political. At all stages of civilization, these factors have determined the conditions of human life in varying degrees; and in modern times scientific knowledge has been the chief element in the constitution of man's outlook and the greatest power for social and political action.

"The view that the sole function of men of science is to study and discover natural facts and principles without regard to the social implications of the knowledge gained can no longer be maintained. It is now widely acknowledged that science cannot be divorced from ethics or rightly absolve itself from the human responsibilities in the use of its powers in economic or political planning. Men of science neglect their duty if they continue to retain the monastical habits which society commonly assigns to them, and are content to remain isolated from the structure of civilisation built up from materials provided by them. It is their obligation as citizens to assist in the establishment of a rational and harmonious social order out of the welter of human conflict into which the world has been thrown because the powers they have released have not been rightly used in the services of mankind as a whole"—so writes Sir Richard Gregory, Bart, F.R.S., in his article on "Science and International Politics."

The Changing Spectacle

The history of the changing world has always been a very interesting study. In his article in *The Twentieth Century* Ramesh Mohan observes :

The 18th and 19th centuries saw the rise of political consciousness among the masses.

The French Revolution snapped the cords of custom and convention, put an end to privilege and indulged in the bloody orgies of the Reign of Terror

on principles of rationalism, with Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as its catch-words. The theories of state propounded at this time did away for ever with the idea of anointed kingships and made the states purely secular institutions. The writings of philosophers—French and German, undermined the foundations of empty traditions and looked with scepticism on long accepted tenets. An era of Romanticism in poetry and literature burst forth in rebellion against conventional morality and detached objectivity pouring forth strains of passionate feeling and worshipping at the altar of beauty and loveliness. The rapid progress in the field of science and the evolutionary theories, reduced man to a mere scientific phenomenon and held all his actions to be prompted by biological necessities. The divinity of man crumbled to pieces.

In such an atmosphere surcharged with curiosity and disbelief, the 20th century began with insense scepticism in the field of thought and narrow materialism in that of action.

Religion was regarded only as a fashion with respectable gentry. Gods were occasionally laughed at and man did not flinch from boldly questioning the validity of their existence. For long religion and religious faith had manifested itself in mere forms and formalities; now even the form was in danger of extinction. But then came the Great War of 1914, at that time regarded as the most terrible catastrophe in the history of humanity. The lust for power and the fervour of nationalism mobilised the forces of man's intelligence in the field of science for the purpose of killing men and destroying all that he had as yet achieved.

Humanity was suffering from the convulsions of intense agony and saw no way out of this horrible calamity.

Even innocent and peace-loving nations, in spite of themselves, were forced to jump into this blazing holocaust and perish without a trace. These were curious times. Men of piety and devotion were becoming cynics and cynics were turning votaries of faith. Nothing could be expected from the powers of man. An implicit faith in some latent force of virtue was a natural necessity to keep up the drooping spirits of the people. The Allies very sincerely declared to the world that they were fighting for the principles of justice—to end war for ever—to make the world safe for democracy, to establish a reign of peace all over. In these times when men seemed to have lost faith in everything, a sort of religious optimism for the moral end of the world seemed to fill a large part of humanity with its fervour. At the close of the War there seemed to be a universal disgust against the evils of mechanical progress and there were hopes of a future world order based on principles of peace and happiness, harmony and freedom. But very shortly such hopes proved vain delusions. The greed and vindictiveness of the victorious sought to trample the vanquished to utter disgrace and humiliation and the Treaty of Versailles brought about a settlement charged with mutual suspicion and dread. The League of Nations soon proved a fiasco, and in no time the subdued nations came forward to join the scramble for loot and unbounded competition for power and aggression. The Treaty of Versailles naturally became a scrap of paper and the world again blazed forth into an international conflict much more fierce than before. The same sad story, perhaps in a very bitter form this time, repeated itself.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Law and Democracy

Discussing the problems of Labour and the Law in *The Catholic Herald*, James P. Rowland goes on to define Law and Democracy by the way :

Law, in its essence, is a dictate of reason established and promulgated for the common good. Law, in its purpose, directs men in the course of conduct toward their ultimate end. Law aims neither at the prevention of all vices nor at the promotion of all virtues. It aims at the establishment of harmony in the social order to enable men to work for their salvation. Virtue is attained not through law but through the exercise of the free will in the choice between good and evil.

Democracy, in its essence, is a government which is selected by a free majority and which respects the inalienable rights of a free minority. It is a government by consent and not a government by will. It is a government by law and not a government by men. It is reasonable rather than arbitrary in its processes. It has no end different from the end of the people who constitute its society. It can, like the individuals, attain the highest public virtue or it can succumb to the lowest vice.

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The Chinese Press

Hsiao Chien observes in the course of his lecture (as published in *The Asiatic Review*) delivered before the China Institute in London :

Although one year before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Central News Agency of China established a branch office in Tokyo for promoting understanding between the two countries, no Chinese News Agency had ever existed in Europe or America up to last December. But on December 1, 1940, with the announcement of a British £10 million loan to China, the first Chinese News Agency in the West was founded in Fleet Street in London. Two months later the second overseas office of the C. N. A. was opened in New York.

Although the Chinese Press did not become subscribers to *Reuters* service until the outbreak of the last European war, the importance of foreign news in the Chinese Press has been ever increasing. Today thousands of words are being cabled every month giving the picture and events of Britain and America as seen intimately by the Chinese, while part-time correspondents like myself had been writing in greater detail by air mail about the various aspects of life in the democratic countries in the midst of a gigantic war.

We have been recently honoured by a number of distinguished journalists from Britain and America, such as the visit last September of the party of seven, headed by Mr. Louis Howard, of the famous Scripps-Howard Chain, representing the leading newspapers in the U. S. A. Wherever they went they were cheered by our people as "great sympathisers," a war-time expression in China for all foreigners who cared to pay us a call—quite a contrast to the words "ocean devils" in the days of the Boxers. But still more important than such fleeting visits are the correspondents of many British and American papers stationed in China. They share our hardship on earth and raids from the air.

On May 15 this year, the school of Journalism, University of Missouri presented its annual prize for this year to *Ta Kung Pao*. The prize in the past has been given to very few foreign papers. This honour is really shared by China as a whole and it is a clear indication of the growing world interest in, as well as recognition of, the progress of the Chinese Press.

The Philosophy of China

In an address delivered by Dr. H. H. Chang in the Temple of the Universal Spirit, Ananda-Ashrama, California, on the occasion of Sri Ramkrishna birth-day celebration, which appears as an article on China's contribution to world unity in the *Message of the East*, he expounds the philosophy of China in contrast with that of India :

All systems of philosophy admit the duality of man's nature. We have, in each one of us, the law

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live and the law of Nature. Between these two we feel as though there is an eternal conflict. How are we going to reach the Divine?

The Indian solution seems to be the only possible solution. Desire appears to be the element in us which undermines all our effort to reach the ideal. Therefore, in order to reach the Divine the only logical means is to do away with desire. The devoutly religious people of India feel that the body is nothing, the Spirit is everything; thus, since desire is the root of all evil, they would strike at the root. That is why we have seen in India mortification of the flesh as an expression of religious devotion. I admit, that, to me, is alien. The Chinese are not like that. Our philosophy is founded on the principle of harmony. Desire is the root of all evil. That is a principle which is accepted not only by the Hindu leaders but by all other religions. Yet the solution the Chinese philosophers have offered is typical of the Chinese mentality.

The Chinese hold that it is only when desire dominates your personal life that you lose your soul. Let desire take its proper place with the exercise of the will. This requires a much stronger spiritual effort and is the basic principle of Confucianism, of practically all the systems we have in China.

By and large we have three dominant types of thinking. We have what is known as Taoism, which is indigenous to China and represents one aspect of the Chinese mentality as fully as Confucianism represents the other aspect; and along with these two, we have the strong influence of Buddhism: three different systems of thinking and religion existing side by side.

Bahaism and its Mission

In his article on the Basic Principle of Truth in the *World Order*, Shoghi Effendi, guardian of the Bahai Faith and author of *The Promised Day is Come*, points out the prerequisites of Bahaism and its mission in the present-day world:

Indeed, the essential prerequisites of admittance into the Baha'i fold of Jews, Zoroastrians, Hindus, Buddhists, and the followers of other ancient faiths, as well as of agnostics and even atheists, is the whole-hearted and unqualified acceptance by them all of the Divine origin of both Islam and Christianity, of the Prophetic functions of both Muhammad and Jesus Christ, of the legitimacy of the institution of the Imamate, and of the primacy of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles. Such are the central, the solid, the incontrovertible principles that constitute the bedrock of Baha'i belief which the Faith of Bah'ullah is proud to acknowledge, which its teachers proclaim, which its apologists defend, which its literature disseminates, which its summer schools expound, and which the rank and file of its followers attest by both word and deed.

THE MISSION OF BAHAIISM

The chief idols in the desecrated temple of mankind are none other than the triple gods of Nationalism, Racism and Communism, at whose altars governments and peoples, whether democratic or totalitarian, at peace or at war, of the East or of the West, Christian or Islamic, are, in various forms and in different degrees, now worshipping. Their high priests are the politicians and the worldly-wise, the so-called sages of the age;

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their sacrifice, the flesh and blood of the slaughtered multitudes; their incantations outworn shibboleths and insidious and irreverent formulas; their incense, the smoke of anguish that ascends from the lacerated hearts of the bereaved, the maimed, and the homeless.

Contrasting with, and irreconcilably opposed to, these war-engendering, world-convulsing doctrines, are the healing, the saving, the pregnant truths proclaimed by Bah'ullah, the Divine Organizer and Saviour of the whole human race—truths which should be regarded as the animating force and the hall-mark of His Revelation: "The world is but one country, and mankind its citizens."

The Panoramic View of Kashmir

The reader has first to swallow the bitter pill offered in the following remarks by the white gentleman in *The Catholic World* and then enjoy the magnificent beauties of "India's Paradise," the panoramic view of which is depicted next:

With such marvellous natural beauty all around them, it is all the more amazing that the Kashmiris themselves should be so filthy. They work, eat and sleep in the same clothes and never change them until they almost literally rot off. The women especially

with their long loose tunic, baggy pantaloons and matted unkempt hair make a very unpleasant picture.

* * *

The most conspicuous landmark in Srinagar is a hill, called Takht-i-Suliman, on the top of which is an ancient Hindu temple that dates back, according to some authorities, to 220 B.C. The hill rises to a height of one thousand feet, and when I saw it for the first time, lit up at night, I knew at once that my penchant for climbing high places would give me no rest until I had surveyed the vale of Kashmir from the top of Takht-i-Suliman.

The magnificent panoramic view that rewarded my climb was well worth the effort. Below me lay the entire valley, so extensive that it appeared to be a vast plain hedged in on all sides by impregnable mountains. In every direction towered lofty ranges with shifting masses of puffy white clouds concealing the higher peaks. In from the darkly wooded foothills spread a bright carpet of yellow mustard and emerald green rice fields. And across the length of the valley floor, like a gigantic serpent basking in the sun, stretched the gleaming river. As it flowed through the town, it was straddled by seven picturesque wooden bridges, and on either side huddled the shops and houses, with here and there the pinnacles of a Hindu temple or the minarets of a Mohammedan mosque dominating the scene. Close by on another eminence reared the massive stone walls and turrets of Akbar's fort, frowning down on the town in front, and on the placid waters of Dal Lake behind. On the far eastern shore of the lake glistened the white walls of the palace of the Maharaja, and farther around to the West spread the magnificent gardens of Nishat and Shalimar.

Standardised Man

Under the above caption *The Inquirer* writes in part :

Exploration of the community-sense which has arisen in many minds leaves a deep impression of the ills wrought by standardisation. The urban dweller has become stultified in various ways. He is in a large measure the product of the industrial upheavals of the last century. Thrown together into large areas of population, lacking obvious impulses to create or to explore, man has steadily sunk into a dull characterless average. It is one which lacks colour or individuality. It enshrines a crude majority of public opinion upon the main issues of life. The average becomes a dictator in the sphere of manners or morals. Conviction gives place to convention. Independency of action is inhibited by the herd instinct encouraged.

The way can only be opened to progress when the idea of standardisation is overcome.

It has been the weakness of the industrial era that it has led to over-specialisation. Man stands within his own small sphere of interests. He is encouraged to restrict himself to them. The desire to create is frustrated. He is isolated from a wide circle of contact. The result is that he becomes narrowed in thought or interest. His environment leads him to accept ideas of the world as fixed within certain limits. He is set under

authority. The State becomes a paternal entity in his thinking. It commands him to obedience. Upbringing or background lays upon him a series of political ideas which promise to withstand peril of change. The churches likewise encourage a similar view of authority. It is the duty of the individual to accept without question the demands made upon his intellectual activities through creeds or confessions of faith. It is likewise his place to obey the dictates of a governing body which lays down conditions of membership and assumes control over his spiritual faculties. State and church combine in an onslaught against individuality. They accustom the mind to a motionless concept of government and to the need for law.

It is clear that, in many urgent details of living, law and government are vital necessities.

Even Mill was forced to admit that there are limits beyond which individual liberty cannot be allowed to go. It is necessary to provide expedients which may make social life possible and may check disharmony. But this is a very different matter to a claim for abiding and fixed authority. Physical science enforces the lesson that flux and changes are a part of life. Life changes both in details and in the pressure of outward things which are brought to bear upon it. Psychology affords a reminder that man has been over-bold in claiming to be the captain of his soul. His innermost being is not exempt from the conditions of constant motion. The past is ever wrecked against the rocks of the present. It can only exist in the uncertain qualities of a fleeting memory. The individual soul is more akin to a river than to a ship.

The recovery of modern man can only come about if authority is allowed to give place to individuality and liberty.

A truly democratic state is one within which opportunity for this freedom is a common possibility.

Tibet

We make the following extract from the *News Review* :

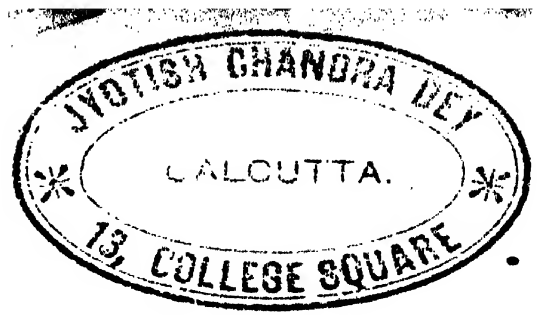
Vast, half-explored and sinister Tibet is known to the average Briton as a land full of mountains, forests, lamas, and unkempt fakirs who have not washed for 50 years, but that does not keep them from posing for the *Geographical Magazine* in all their crapulousness.

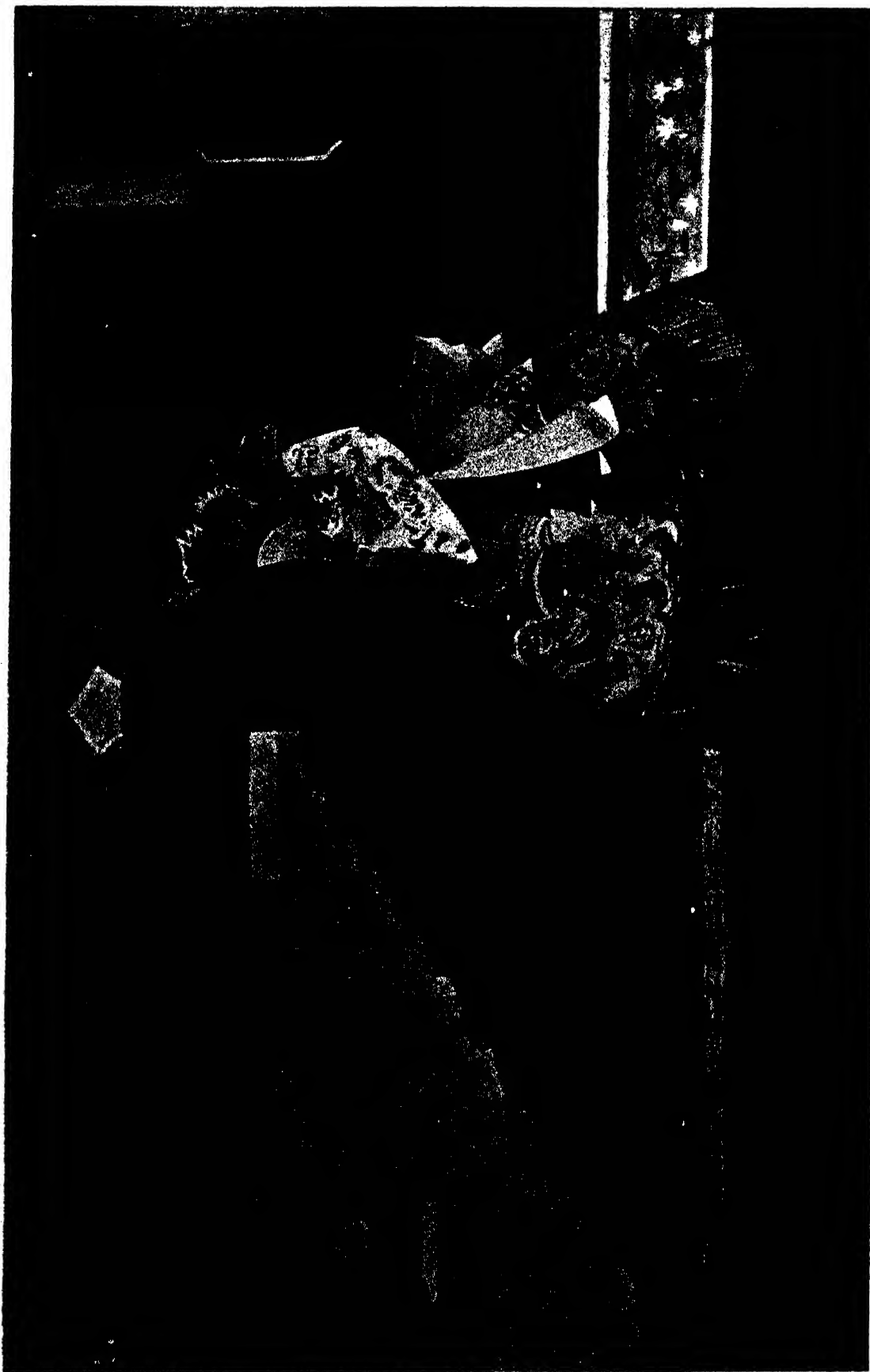
To the cunning Japanese, who have not, like some improvident Westerners, forgotten about India, Tibet is a gift from God to the deserving Axis, a paradise for enterprising political crooners whose signature tune is "Asia for the Asiatics."

In conveniently inaccessible monasteries there are some "monks" who have pre-occupations other than Buddhist theology. Throughout Tibet runs a chain of short-wave radio stations broadcasting Axis propaganda over millions of square miles in the Far East.

Most powerful of these stations is Radio Himalaya, situated somewhere near the sacred city of Lhasa, crackling with eagerness to promote the utmost disquiet in British-Indian relations.

Alive to this danger are the Chinese authorities, who have arrested numbers of bogus Tibetan lamas in North Burma, and sent a strong demand to the Tibetan authorities for a clean-up.





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NOTES

Much Ado About The Really Nothing That "Asiatic" Is

When we read in Mr. Amery's Caxton Hall speech of the 29th September last, that he had said that "there is no such thing really as an Asiatic," we had (and still have) on our table a quarterly called *The Asiatic Review* (July, 1942, 57th year). If there is no such thing really as an Asiatic and if *The Asiatic Review* does not treat of Asiatics and Asia, what does it treat of? We had also, and still have, on our table three recent numbers of the *Asia* magazine of New York. If Asiatics and, by implication, Asia do not exist, what does *Asia* concern itself with? We have heard of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, of Bengal, etc., and remember to have seen some of their publications. What are they all about, if Asiatics do not exist?

There have been and there still are some busybodies who think that the anti-Asiatic laws of the United States of America and of the British Dominions of Canada, South Africa and Australia are unjust. Mahatma Gandhi and his comrades carried on a passive resistance movement against some such laws in South Africa and suffered much in consequence.

As Asiatics do not exist and never existed, the past and present anti-Asiatic laws were and are undoubtedly bad dreams!

"Asiatic" A Mere Illusion or Māyā

When a famous English author cynically observed,

When Bishop Berkley said, there was no matter,
It was no matter what he said,"

he could do so without any fear, because Berkley, the philosopher, did not wield any power over men. He could only formulate a theory of idealism or *māyā*. But when Mr. Amery gives a fresh instance of illusion, he is not to be trifled with. For a mighty man is he, is Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India. One may be sure that when he observes that "there is no such thing really as an Asiatic," he has the power to demonstrate that all Asiatics, past, present and future, and their habitat, the continent of Asia, are illusory phenomena. If in spite of such demonstration any one insists that their existence has been a matter of positive experience for milleniums, the mighty magician of India Office may be able to make them vanish into thin air by some incantation that he alone knows.

"The Sheer Anarchy of the 18th Century in India"

The second paragraph of Mr. Amery's Caxton Hall speech of the 29th September last runs as follows:

I need not go into the amazing story of how in the sheer anarchy of the 18th century in India, at times under the menace of French aggression, the local agents of a British trading concern found themselves compelled progressively to take over an ever-widening field of authority. In the end, when that authority had covered the whole of the vast Indian sub-continent, in fact became an empire, Parliament here found itself obliged to assume ultimate responsibility for its security and good government and exercise a limited regulating and controlling influence.

It is not our contention that in India in the 18th century there was no anarchy anywhere for a single day or week or month. What we say is that anarchy was not the prevailing condition, just previous to the establishment of British rule, in those parts of the country in which the East India Company succeeded in establishing their supremacy and that the establishment of their supremacy was not in the least a philanthropic endeavour. Greed and the need for making profitable trade secure, and the desire for domination led the Company to seek mastery over territory.

When the Company became masters of Bengal, Murshidabad was bigger and wealthier than London and its bankers and other men of business were not less opulent than their fellows in Britain. Such prosperity could not have been born of anarchy. Similar things may be said of some other parts of India when they came under the rule of the East India Company.

Brooke Adams writes in his book, *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, that it was the Bengal "plunder" that gave England the cash by means of which the various machines invented by Englishmen could be brought into use and mercantile transactions on a wide scale made possible, which brought about the industrial revolution that gave Britain an advantage over the rest of Europe.

"The influx of the Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital not only increased its stock of energy but added much to its flexibility and the rapidity of its movement. Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous; for all the authorities agree that the "industrial revolution," the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760. Prior to 1760, according to Baines, the machinery used for spinning cotton in Lancashire was almost as simple as in India; while about 1750 the English iron industry was in full decline, because of the destruction of the forests for fuel. At that time four-fifths of the iron used in the kingdom came from Sweden.

"Plassey was fought in 1757 and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, in 1776 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the power-loom, and, chief of all, in 1764 Watt matured the steam engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralizing energy. But though these machines served as outlets for the accelerating movement of the time, they did not cause that acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded, but in motion. Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient

for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together. Possibly since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder, because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor. From 1694 to Plassey (1757) the growth had been relatively slow. Between 1760 and 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious. Credit is the chosen vehicle of energy in centralised societies, and no sooner had treasure enough accumulated in London to offer a foundation, than it shot up with marvellous rapidity. The arrival of the Bengal silver and gold enabled the Bank of England, 'which had been unable to issue a smaller note than for £20, to easily issue £10 and £15 notes and private firms to pour forth a flood of paper.'—*The Law of Civilization and Decay*, pp. 263-264, quoted in Digby's *Prosperous British India*, pp. 31-33.

So much wealth could not have been found in a country in which anarchy prevailed. The officers of the Company, known as Nabobs, amassed vast wealth by various unjustifiable means. Clive was one of these Nabobs. He became rich beyond the dreams of avarice. He could have become richer and is said to have declared that he was amazed at his own moderation in not grabbing more than he did. Could these Nabobs have extracted such vast wealth from a land subject to anarchy previous to their own operations?

British Rule in India "Native to the Soil" !

It will serve no useful purpose to examine and expose Mr. Amery's speech point by point. It is full of half-truths and misleading statements, on only a few of which we shall make some comments. Said he :

Nevertheless, what is called British rule in India, is essentially an institution native to the soil of India. It has been created by British leadership profoundly influenced by British conceptions of standards, above all by the conception of the reign of law which is the foundation of our liberties. But at every stage in building up the vast structure, Indians have played their part, and in the last generation an ever-increasing part, both in civil administration and the fighting forces.

At this moment, 11 out of 15 members of the Governor-General's executive are Indians. Ministries which control administration in five great provinces with a population of some 100 millions are Indians responsible to elected Indian legislatures. The same was the case, and would be the case today in the other six provinces, but for the decision of Mr. Gandhi and the so-called high command of the Congress Party which forced the Congress ministries of those provinces to go on strike in order to embarrass the Central Government.

PART INDIANS PLAY IN ADMINISTRATION

Fully half the senior administration services and an overwhelming majority of subordinate services are Indian. The Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian army, a more recent development, is proceeding steadily and has already justified itself in action. Nor should we ever lose out of sight the fact that the government of a quarter population and nearly half the

area of India has throughout remained entirely in the hands of Indian rulers, who are protected by treaties loyally observed on both sides, are an essential part of the fabric of the Indian empire of today, and an indispensable element in the entirely self-governing India of to-morrow.

British rule in India is not at all an institution native to the soil of India. It has been imposed on India by Britain. The constitutions under which India has been successively ruled by Britain have been manufactured in that country by Britishers, not by or with the consent of the people of India. Take the present constitution. It is not the kind of constitution which any party in India or any of the so-called delegates to the so-called Round Table Conferences wanted—it is an entirely unwanted constitution. The Joint (Parliamentary) Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform which recommended the kind of constitution which India should be given wrote in their Report, Volume I (Part I). paragraph 41 :

“Indeed, we recognize that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend.”

The structure or system of British rule in India was not devised by Indians. Whenever Indians have had anything to do with it, they have played a subordinate part. What imperial power in the history of the world ever lacked servants, tools, or subordinates among the people of the countries ruled by it to carry out its will? Every part of India which has come under British rule had to be brought under subjection by force or fraud or both on the part of the East India Company.

The eleven members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are not representatives chosen by the people and sent to it by them. They are nominees of the Government. Even if that Council had been composed entirely of Indians similarly nominated, they would not have constituted the cabinet of a National Government.

The five provincial ministries have very limited powers. And such is the respect in which they are held that the Central Government did not even consult them before declaring India a belligerent country. Those in Assam and Orissa dare not face the legislatures of those provinces. The Bengal ministry could not prevent the imprisonment without trial of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, or even his detention outside the boundaries of Bengal. As another little example showing the great powers, responsibilities and range of information of a provincial ministry, take the following :

Placing facts regarding ‘machine-gunning’ at Ranaghat before the Bengal Legislative Council on October 2 last, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Home Minister, said that there was an army reconnaissance and they mistook some of the coolies working on the railway lines as members out for sabotage and a few shots were fired. Fortunately, there were no casualties. Far from this being done at the instance, knowledge, consent or connivance of the Bengal Government they came to know about the incident itself day before yesterday when a telegram came to them in the ordinary course, containing the information. “We know nothing,” Mr. Huq said, “and we are not expected to know anything as regards reconnaissance flights by the R. A. F.”—*H. S.*

The late Chief Minister of Sind, Mr. Allah Bux, recently gave up the titles conferred upon him by the Government by way of protest against that Government's policy in India and was dismissed by the Governor of that province.

It is well known that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, with his colleagues and other leaders has been making efforts to secure for the country self-rule and a national government on the lines demanded by the Congress. On the 14th October last the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote in its leading article :

It is not only in Sind that the farce of responsible government has stood thoroughly exposed. On the 10th of this month we published a report from our Special Representative at Delhi which shows that the situation in this Province is not different from that of Sind. The Bengal Premier is reported to have written a long letter to the Governor in August last stating that “he had been reduced to a non-entity” and that “the Administration in Bengal was being carried on in an autocratic fashion by the Governor and officials of the Permanent Services over the heads, and in most cases behind the back, of the Chief Minister and his Cabinet colleagues.” One of his demands was “the restoration of full powers to the Ministry under Provincial Autonomy.”

The report has not yet been contradicted, and we may therefore assume that it is not without foundation.

It is entirely false to say that the provincial Congress ministries which resigned were *forced* to do so by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress high command. Every one of the ministries which resigned was in complete agreement with the principles of the Congress party according to which the resignations were tendered. The object of the resignations was *not* to embarrass the Central Government, but to uphold the right of the people to determine whether India was to be a belligerent country or not. The Central Government could have easily rectified its mistake by getting its decision approved by the Central and Provincial Legislatures, for they, like the people of India, have been against the Axis powers all along.

Whatever the number of Indians in the senior or subordinate services, British rule is

British, *not* Indian, for the Indians in service do not determine the principles and policy of the Government—it is Britishers who do it.

The pace of the Indianization of the officer ranks of the Indian army is such that these ranks will never be thoroughly Indianized.

Assuming, without admitting, that the five provinces which are at present under Ministries and the Indian States which are under Indian Rulers enjoy Indian Self-rule and also assuming that Self-rule enjoys the approbation of the British Government, what prevents that Government from extending Self-rule to the whole of India by bringing the whole country under a National Government? If the parts can be self-ruling, why not the whole?

Mr. Amery's "Difficulty" In Spite of His Admission

Mr. Amery has at last admitted that freedom is the demand not only of the Congress but of all parties and communities in India. But he persists in thinking that it is difficult to meet that demand. Says he:

Indians of all communities and classes and princes no less than party leaders in British India are equally anxious that India should govern herself free from all external control. The difficulty lies in finding a system of government under which the various complex and profoundly divergent elements of India's national life can both govern themselves in such fashion that no one element should be in a position to oppress another and yet retain substantially that unity of administration and law which has been built up in the past.

This difficulty is a British imperial creation. Complex and profoundly divergent elements of national life are not a monopoly of India. They exist, for example, in the United States of America and U. S. S. R. (Soviet Russia). In spite of that fact, however, these two large and powerful States have systems of stable government maintaining unity of administration. Where there is a will, there can be a way. Britain does not want that India should be free. So all sorts of difficulties are either imagined or exaggerated or created.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Misrepresented

Says Mr. Amery:

No imposed constitution, least of all one imposed by one element or party in India upon the rest of India, can live.

Yet that is in essence the aim of Mr. Gandhi and a handful of his associates who control the Congress party machine.

This is false. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress want a national government of all

parties and a constitution for India to be drawn up by a constituent assembly representing the principal elements in its national life.

Has India Greater Affinities with Europe Than With Asia?

Mr. Amery observes:

Ah, but it will be said: 'What has India to do with Europe and South Africa and Australia and New Zealand. She is part of Asia and a natural development of the future is "Asia for Asiatics" and that it is towards China or Japan that Indian natural affinities will lead her.' I believe that will be a profound mistake. There is no such thing really as an Asiatic, and of the great racial and cultural divisions of the old world, India's racial origins and historical and political associations and traditions have linked her from the days of Alexander the Great through the long centuries of Muslim infiltration and the subsequent two centuries of British influence far more closely with the world of Europe and the Middle East than with the fundamentally different history and outlook of the Mongolian Far East.

Above all, British influence on India's legal and political thought, not to speak of the use of the English language as a common medium of intercourse between Indians of different home languages, all make association with countries of British tradition easier and more natural for Indians. Add to that the sheer practical difficulties of immediate disentanglement from the existing connection in defence and administration and it would seem as a mere matter of practical convenience and advantage that by far the best policy for India during the period before she can afford to stand alone is to retain her association with the free partnership of the British Commonwealth.

Mr. Amery, like other British imperialists, want to have it both ways. They do not want that India should have a free democratic government. Therefore, one of their stock arguments has been that democratic governments or parliamentary governments of the British pattern are not suited to Asiatic or oriental countries like India, whose peoples are essentially different in character from Europeans—particularly from Britons. Even the Liberal statesman Lord Morley said that the Canadian democratic fur-coat would not suit India.

Another thing which British imperialists do not want is any close tie of friendship between India and any powerful Asiatic country. It is quite probable, if not almost certain, that China will emerge victorious from the Sino-Japanese war and that post-war China will be a power to reckon with. If China and free India become allies, Britain will not be able to exploit either. But these countries have been friends for more than two milleniums and their ties of friendship are being strengthened. So it has become necessary for British imperialists to argue that the people of India have no racial or other affinities with Mongolian peoples but have such

affinities with Europeans—particularly with Britons !

We do not deny Indians' racial and cultural ties with Britons and other Europeans. In fact the world over, all peoples are essentially one. To make people forget racial and other distinctions and bring about a synthesis of all national cultures are among the ideals of the Visva-Bharati, founded by Rabindranath Tagore.

While we recognise our European affinities, we recognise no less our Mongolian affinities, both racial and cultural. British anthropologists, like Risley, have spoken of the people of some parts of India as Mongolo-Dravidian.

Europeans are in the habit of making too much of Greek influence on India consequent on and subsequent to Alexander's invasion of a part of the Panjab. A full and impartial account of the mutual influence of India, Eastern and Southern Asia, Indonesia and Australasia has still to be written. Dr. Kalidas Nag's *India and the Pacific World* is a notable contribution in that direction.

No Indian nationalist would object "to retain her (India's) association with the free partnership of the British Commonwealth," provided it was really free and a partnership with equals. But Indian nationalists feel that it would be neither, and therefore it is that Bertrand Russell has written in his article contributed to the last June number of *Asia* :

"Indian nationalists object to partnership in the British Commonwealth of self-governing nations, but would probably not object to partnership in an international alliance not specially British, particularly if the alliance were divided into regional groups and India belonged to an oriental group."

He is right.

If, instead of saying that "there is no such thing really as an Asiatic," Mr. Amery had said that "there is no essential difference between Asiatics, Europeans, Americans, Africans and Australasians, human nature being fundamentally the same all over the world," he would have been right. But that would not have suited his purpose;—it would have been an admission that Indians can easily link themselves with the Mongolian and other people of Asia as well as with peoples of European extraction.

India More a Burden Than An Asset ? !!!

India's present Secretary of State is an unconscious humourist of no mean order. He argues that "India might well be more of a burden than an asset" !

Looking at the matter from the narrower viewpoint of this island alone, it would, I admit, be difficult to

argue that the moral obligation to help India in time of danger is not likely to involve a far greater strain upon our whole defensive organisation and our foreign policy than would be compensated for by India's military help or by the additional trade we might possibly get from such preferential advantages as India might concede our trade. From that narrower standpoint the association with India might well be more of a burden than an asset and we might have a good practical reason for telling that we wished to be quit of her.

On the other hand, if we look at the matter from a broader viewpoint of the commonwealth as a whole, taking into account the interests of other British territories in the southern hemisphere as well as interests in the Middle East there is a much stronger case for arguing that India as a member of the commonwealth partnership would probably balance and in the long run, if not firstly, will contribute as much as she would receive.

If it really be the sincere conviction of Mr. Amery and other British statesmen that "India might well be more of a burden than an asset and we might have a good practical reason for telling that we wished to be quit of her," what offence did Mahatma Gandhi commit by telling Britain to quit India ?

Mr. Amery has spoken of the future. But what of the past and the present ? Does he deny that Britain has derived untold billions from India and her international position is due to a very great extent to her possession of India ?

Reading Mr. Amery's speech we felt inclined to exclaim, "Do pray be quit of India."

Taraknath Das's Open Letter to Bertrand Russell

India Today of New York for June, 1942, contains an open letter to Bertrand Russell from Taraknath Das. Regarding the partitioning of India, Dr. Das says in it :

You apparently approve the partitioning of India as provided for in Cripps' plan. I regard it as unwise and unjustifiable from the standpoint of geography, politics or evolution of regional states. Would you support the separation of the Province of Quebec from Canada should the French Catholics insist upon it ? Would you approve the partitioning of China to appease Chinese Moslems if they should wish for separation ? Would you approve the demand of the Moslem states of Soviet Russia to further a Pan-Turanian movement by secession from the U. S. S. R. ? British Liberals like yourself, Sir Norman Angel and others regularly oppose balkanizing Europe, but seem unconcerned about balkanization of India, a move that will aid the cause of Pan-Islamism. It is strange that Cripps, who opposed the partition of India idea in 1939-1940, should support it now merely to appease a certain Moslem element in India.

Regarding disagreement between Cripps, Nehru, Azad and others, Dr. Das observes :

The disagreement between Cripps, Nehru, Azad and others, on the question of conducting the war activities in India was due not only to the past British policy of

disarming India and not allowing her to gain any experience in national defense, but also to the attitude of the British Tories who even today do not want Indians to develop an Indian National Force—India People's Army—under Indian direction, for fear it might undermine British military control of India.

Dr. Taraknath Das corrects Mr. Bertrand Russell on some other points also.

You assert that at the time of British conquest of India "there was no Indian national feeling; the rulers, who were themselves largely foreign Mohammedan conquerors, were for the most part corrupt, inefficient and tyrannical." This statement is likely to be misinterpreted by the uninformed. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the national feeling in India was not very different from that which then prevailed in most of Europe. The modern conception of nationalism and national unity (which is becoming somewhat out of date) did not develop among Germans and Italians until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Many western political scientists mistakenly hold that the Chinese and Indians lacked patriotism or national spirit because they failed to check western aggression. The fact is that both India and China, being much larger in area than all of Europe except Russia, and not having a strong centralized government, people there devoted their civic efforts in a more limited area, and often failed to present a united front against the aggressor nations, as is the case today in parts of Europe. At the time of British conquest of India the rulers were not "largely foreign Mohammedan conquerors." There were powerful Hindu kingdoms—such as the Marhatta Confederacy—and Sikh states in India. And by this time the Moslem rulers of India were not aliens, but Indians, in the same sense as the descendants of William the Conqueror, four centuries after the conquest, were British and not foreigners. To be sure there were tyrants in India, but none more tyrannical than the British Empire-builders of the time—Clive, Warren Hastings and others.

Why have the British been able to hold India with very little force? Dr. Das answers:

Professor Russell, you think that the British have held sway over India with very little force, because the Government commanded the respect of the people. But the truth of the matter is that the principal factor behind British supremacy in India has been the complete and deliberate disarmament of the people and the effective use of mercenaries, so that the conqueror always had the overwhelming power to crush any uprising.

Regarding American intervention to end the deadlock in India, Dr. Das writes:

I am very happy to see that you think that the Government of the United States should intervene and induce the British Government to open further negotiations with Indian Nationalists. I doubt if this will come to pass for: (1) The All-India National Congress will not agree to have any negotiations with Britain unless the latter agrees in advance to acknowledge Indian Independence. (2) While the public declarations of American statesmen—Vice-President Wallace, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles and others—about "people's war, racial equality and world freedom" are very encouraging, in practice the United States believes, as Pearl Buck pointed out in her article in the *New York Times* of May 31, 1942, that "Britain owns India,

Britain is our ally and it would be silly to interfere (in Britain's affairs) in India." (3) The British feel that the more American air-force, tanks and soldiers arrive in India, the less they will need Indian support to defend India against the Axis. The British will prefer that the United States Government send a million or more Americans to defend the Near East, the Middle East and India, instead of raising a People's Army in those places.

As regards the kind of international alliance which India of the future should form Professor Das expresses his own opinion as follows:

I have been for a long time an advocate of an Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese-Russian Alliance. Such an alliance may serve as a better foundation for a New World Order; but such an alliance cannot be effective unless freedom for India is recognized by the Anglo-American Powers. There is no doubt that China and Russia are for Indian freedom. The longer the British Government, with the silent consent of the United States, refuses to accord freedom to India the more the Chinese and Russians will, for reasons of future balance of power, begin to doubt the sincerity of war aims of the Anglo-American Powers.

Unless the Anglo-American statesmen recognize the urgency of the situation in India, there may develop future possibilities of formation of a formidable Asiatic bloc against the Anglo-American Powers. There may arise an Indo-Chinese-Russian understanding, in which even Japan, for her own survival, may throw her lot. The future of the world lies not only with the Anglo-American Powers, but also with the peoples of Asia, primarily China and India. China, for her own survival and for the freedom of subject peoples of Asia, will have to press for Indian freedom. Anglo-American statesmen must not ignore India. They must understand that ignoring India's claims for freedom with equality means courting the distrust of China with all its bitter consequences.

"Not Quitting India Under Any One's Orders"

In the course of his reply to a full-dress debate on India in the House of Commons on the 8th October last Mr. Amery said: "We are not quitting India under any one's orders. It is we who wish India to go forward with our goodwill to build her future under her own leadership."

We, too, do not desire that Britain should be compelled to quit India under any one's orders or under compelling circumstances like those which left Britain no option but to beat a retreat from Burma and Malaya. Let Britain recognise realities and be just in her dealings with India. That will be good for herself as well as for India. What is to be deplored is that even after defeat in Malaya and Burma any Englishman holding a responsible position should continue to keep up a tone of imperialistic arrogance.

Hindu Mahasabha's Appeal to Political Parties To Force England To Take The Initiative

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution expresses the opinion, "that the statements of the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India and the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to the members of the special committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi make it clear that the British Government have no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the formation of a National Government in India."

NEW DELHI, Oct. 6.

"The Hindu Mahasabha," the resolution proceeds, "put forward the national demand in order to convert this war which was imposed on India by the British imperialists into a genuine people's war to effectively organize the national defence of India during the present crisis. The failure on the part of Britain to respond to this national demand and the policy of blind repression which is being relentlessly pursued convince the Working Committee that the Government want to utilise and exploit the present situation in order to suppress the forces of nationalism in this country."

MOBILISATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

"The Working Committee calls upon all Mahasabha organisations throughout the country and all sections of nationalists who are interested in the emancipation of India to mobilise public opinion on an intensive scale for carrying on a mass campaign in order to preach and propagate the demand formulated by the Hindu Mahasabha which can truly be called the national demand."

"The Working Committee appeals to all political parties in India to co-operate with the special committee appointed by the Hindu Mahasabha so as to force England to take the initiative in solving the deadlock."

"That having regard to the satisfactory progress made by the special committee in establishing contact with the various political parties and leaders and in mobilising public opinion in this country, the Working Committee while re-affirming its resolution of 31st August, considers it desirable in the larger interests of the nation that the negotiations and discussions with the political parties should be continued by the special committee who should submit its final report within a month and calls upon the Hindu sanghataniists throughout India to keep themselves in readiness to respond to any call that may be given by the Hindu Mahasabha in accordance with the aforesaid resolution."—A. P.

Resolutions of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference

The following resolution was passed unanimously at the plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference at Bombay on the 5th October last :

"The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference takes strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the press by the Central, Provincial and local authorities since August 8 last. Government's failure to utilise the

machinery of previous consultation before bringing the new restrictions into operation was a clear violation of the Agreement known as the Delhi Agreement arrived at between the Standing Committee of this Conference and the Government of India.

The number and nature of restrictions vary from province to province and there is in consequence lack of uniformity as regards procedure. In many cases the restrictions are used not only virtually to stultify the Delhi Agreement but also to deny publicity to statements and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activity. The conference has also noted several instances of press advising and censorship of factual news which can only be regarded as perverse. Compulsory press advising and scrutiny give Government officials power to control at every stage not only the publication but even the character of factual news. The Conference affirms its adherence to the terms of the Delhi Agreement and to the procedure and machinery evolved in the course of the last two years.

SUPPRESSION OF NEWSPAPERS

The Conference views with dismay the suppression and suspension of publication of a number of newspapers as a result of the new restrictions and the manner of their operation. The fact that newspapers find it difficult to perform their duties to the public increases unrest throughout the country, multiplies the force of rumour and is a direct aid to enemy propaganda which can point to the disappearance of newspapers as proof of an oppressive regime.

Even in war time the Press cannot abdicate its responsibility as the guardian of public interest and of the rights of citizens. At the present juncture when the Legislatures are not functioning in most provinces and owing to penal restrictions public opinion cannot express itself fully and extra responsibility is thrown on the Press.

The Conference is of opinion that it would conduce to a removal of bitterness and resentment if the order promulgated by the Government of India on August 8, 1942, which is still in force in some provinces and the orders issued by certain Provincial Governments imposing precensorship of news relating to the "mass movement" or the disturbances and other restrictions are withdrawn and a new Rule issued by the Government of India under Defence of India Rules 41 (1) (A) embodying restrictions on the lines set out in Press Notice No. XIX banning the publication unless released to the Press by Government of such reports of interruptions to roads and railway communications, acts of sabotage, strikes or interruptions of work in factories chiefly engaged in producing war materials as are of military value to the enemy.

PRE-CENSORSHIP OPPOSED

The Conference is opposed to any scheme of precensorship. Newspapers should be free to publish without previous scrutiny objective accounts of any incidents in connection with the "mass movement" or disturbances. The Conference, however, considers it necessary that Editors should exercise restraint in the publication of such accounts and should avoid the publication of anything which

- (a) incites the public to subversive activity :
- (b) conveys suggestions or instructions for illegal acts :
- (c) is an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation regarding excessive use or misuse of their powers by the police, troops and other Government servants or

the treatment and condition of detenus and prisoners; and

(d) retards the restoration of the public sense of security.

Deliberate departure on the part of any newspaper from the general policy laid down in this resolution may be dealt with by the Provincial Governments in consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees.

The resolution was moved by Mr. S. A. Brelvi of the *Bombay Chronicle* and seconded by Mr. Stephens of the *Statesman*, Calcutta.

Mr. Francis Low of the *Times of India*, Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and Mr. Devadas Gandhi of the *Hindustan Times* supported the resolution.

It is to be noted that the resolution was adopted *unanimously* at a conference of both Indian-owned and Indian-controlled newspapers and British-owned and British-controlled newspapers.

Among the resolutions adopted at the conference on the 6th October last were the following :

The Conference then passed three resolutions given notice of by members. The first resolution emphatically protested against the "system of censorship on incoming and outgoing messages being worked in such a manner as to render the presentation of a balanced picture of the situation to India extremely difficult. In the opinion of the Conference censorship should be limited strictly to news and statements of military value to the enemy."

The second resolution protested against the inordinate delay in the transmission of Press messages and urged the Government of India to take immediate steps to remove congestions on the telegraph lines with a view to expediting transmission and delivery of Press messages.

Mr. Wendell Willkie on Need of People's Support for Victory and for Peace

CHUNGKING, Oct. 7.

Mr. Wendell Willkie on Tuesday summed up the opinion he encountered in his present tour of thirteen countries by saying that the people wanted the United Nations to win the war and get on the offensive now but in varying degrees doubted the readiness of the leading democracies to stand up and be counted for freedom for others after the war. "This doubt kills their enthusiastic participation on our side," he said :

"Without the real support of the common people, winning the war will be enormously difficult and winning peace nearly impossible.

Even the name "Atlantic Charter" disturbs thoughtful men and women I have been talking to. Do all those who signed it, these people ask, agree that it applies to the Pacific? We must answer this question with a clear and simple statement where we stand.

No foot of Chinese soil should be or can be ruled from now on except by the people who live on it and we must say so now, not after the war.

We believe it is the world's job to find some system of helping the colonial peoples who join the United

Nations' cause to become free and independent nations. We must establish ironclad guarantees administered by all the United Nations jointly. Some say these subjects should be hushed until victory is won. Exactly the reverse is true. After the war, changes may be too little and too late."—*Reuter*.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie is quite right.

States' Subjects Support Congress Demand Of Freedom For India

SRINAGAR, Oct. 1.

"The nine and a half crores of Indian States' subjects support the Congress demand for immediate freedom," says Sardar Budh Singh, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, in the course of a statement regarding Mr. Churchill's recent statement about India.

Sardar Budh Singh points out that in all leading States Congress Committees, Praja Parishads, National Conference Committees and such other political organisations wielding great influence among the masses and demanding the establishment of responsible system of Government are functioning and adds : "As Indians their (States People's) demand is the same as that of the Congress and such other political organisations. In the Jammu and Kashmir State, the National Conference and other organisations do not lag behind in supporting the Congress demand. The proof of it was supplied by the hartal and public meeting of August 23rd."—*U. P.*

Hindu Mahasabha Contradicts Mr. Amery

NEW DELHI, Oct. 2.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Doctor B. S. Moonje, Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, Hony. General Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, Members of the Mahasabha Special Committee, in a cable to Mr. Sorensen, M.P., London, say :

"Mr. Amery's reply to your questions in the Commons yesterday that he had received no representation for legitimate communication with Congress prisoners for political negotiations evaded the issue. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha, while maintaining that initiative for settling political deadlock must come from British Government resolved on August 31, to make earnest attempt to bring about solution of present deadlock and to make final efforts for Indo-British settlement on honourable terms. A Special Committee was appointed to mobilise public opinion and negotiate with leaders of principal political parties, Mahasabha move was welcomed all over India by Press and public and its Sub-committee succeeded in establishing contact with leaders of principal non-Congress political parties and in creating overwhelming unanimity of support behind Mahasabha demands. When our efforts reached a stage which demanded an interview with Gandhiji, a request was made to the Viceroy which was turned down. It is inconceivable that Mr. Amery was unaware of these facts. Viceroy's refusal to grant permission even to a Provincial Minister of the Crown to meet Gandhiji shows the Government's desire to obstruct settlement instead of taking initiative to promote it. Trust these facts be placed before the Commons to

expose deliberate attempt to mislead the House regarding true Indian situation. Mahasabha expects the Commons will give lead to British Government and its agents here to adopt helpful attitude."—A. P.

India Not Britain's Domestic Concern But the Business of All the Allies, Says Pearl Buck

According to recent reports, Miss Pearl Buck, the eminent American writer and Nobel Laureate, has been impressing upon her countrymen the importance of the settlement of the Indian problem in the interest of the United Nations. Her views, as expressed in the following lines, which are extracts from an article contributed to *New York Times Magazine*, will be read with interest:

It is unwise when Americans today say that India is not our business. Too many short-sighted Americans say: "Britain owns India, Britain is our ally. It would be silly to interfere with India." Silly for the short present, perhaps, but very wise for the long future!

The truth is that India has become the business of the Allies, and is no longer the possession of any country.

Our American soldiers are being sent there in unknown numbers. They can go as soldiers of Empire or as soldiers of freedom—these are the two alternatives. If we cannot prove to India that our soldiers are there for freedom, then India will believe they are there for Empire.

Is this anti-British? No, in the truest sense it is pro-British, for in England, too, there are many who believe this and who speak out their belief with urgency. When we in America speak for justice and fairness toward India we are not lonely voices, English voices are speaking the same words with greater fervor. I need only call attention to such English magazines as *The New Statesman*, for example and especially to the issue of Feb. 28, 1942, to show how Englishmen think that India can be a great asset to our Allied cause if we are wise enough to use her.

But we are losing our best chances when we encourage the attitude which has given full attention only to the imperial point of view toward India modified and enlightened even as it was in Sir Stafford Cripps, and when we deny equal attention to the statements of Indian leaders giving Indian points of view.

We are losing our chances with India when we allow the slighting comments of ignorant radio speakers and newspaper columnists to go unchallenged—comments, for instance, which lump together all Moslems as though the All-India Congress did not also represent Moslems too, as though the very President of the Congress were not himself a Moslem; or comments which decry the so-called "pacifism" of India, which is not pacifism at all, but the brave determination of a people to resist Japan in the way they know best, since arms have not been allowed to them.

Our ignorance of India is playing straight into Japan's hands and Hitler's. We must for our own sakes try to understand India now. To condemn without understanding is too dangerous for us.

China In Sore Need of Air Support and Heavy Armaments

LONDON, Oct. 2.

Doctor George Yeh, the Chinese Minister of Information speaking at an Overseas League Luncheon in London today (Thursday), said China was sorely in need of air support and heavy armaments. He had seen divisions of 25,000 men wiped out in less than two hours. Their losses had been tremendous. China had had to put five to eight men against one Japanese. Everywhere there were widows and orphans. One could no longer ask a woman how her husband was in case the answer was one of silence but after five years of struggle they were united in the firm conviction that Japan could not win.—*Reuter*.

For promoting the cause of world freedom and in their own interests America and Britain should lose no time to help China in the directions pointed out by Doctor George Yeh.

George V And VI Standard Silver Rupees And Half Rupees to Cease to be Legal Tender

NEW DELHI, Sept. 30.

The following Press *communique* has been issued: By virtue of a notification issued today by the Government of India, Finance Department, George V and VI Standard Silver Rupees and Half-Rupees will cease to be legal tender from May 1, 1943, although they will be accepted at all Government Treasuries, Post Offices and Railways Stations till October 31, 1943.

Thereafter, and until further notice they will only be accepted at the offices of the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

This marks the final stage in pursuance of the policy of the Government of India progressively to replace the standard silver coin by the new coin with the security edge in order to minimise the use of silver for coinage purposes and to check counterfeiting. There are ample stocks of the new coin.—A. P.

This means that the new rupees and half rupees are to have little intrinsic metallic value of their own. This is likely to lower the international exchange value of the rupee.

Student Exchange Between China And India

CHUNGKING, Oct. 1.

'The Chinese Government and the Government of India are to exchange scholarship students to promote closer Sino-Indian cultural relations', it was officially announced here today.—*Reuter*.

CHUNGKING, Oct. 1.

Chinese University graduates may in the near future, pursue advance studies in India and Indian students may come to China on an exchange basis. Details of such a reciprocal plan are being negotiated between the Chinese Ministry of Education and the Indian Government educational authorities. The question of Sino-Indian exchange of scholarships was brought up when the Educational Commissioner with the India Government, Mr. John Sargent, visited Chungking last

May. The plan is bearing the first fruit, as an invitation has been extended by the India Government to the Education Ministry to select ten Chinese College graduates for advance study in India. The Education Minister, replying to Mr. Sargent, has accepted India's invitation, at the same time extending a similar invitation to Indian students.—*Reuter*.

We are glad that the Chinese and Indian Governments have taken a hint from what Rabindranath Tagore wanted to do in connection with the Visva-Bharati and had already begun to do years before his death.

Proposed Hindu Mahasabha Deputation To The U. S. A.

NEW DELHI, Oct. 2 (Delayed).

"The Hindu Mahasabha wants to send a deputation to the United States, because we have been unable to impress on the British Government the necessity of forming a National Government in India," said Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha in an interview.

He continued, Britain kept on saying it was impossible without unity in India. The American people are thinking through the English Press that Britain promised India full freedom, but Indians were not united. The fact is the Mahasabha approached almost all parties and communities and produced a united national demand of the Hindus, a large section of Muslims, Christians and many other parties, who united and demanded immediate independence. That means India should immediately be recognised as an Independent State. We want only recognition now.

The Hindu Mahasabha President further said that Indians recognised the fact that they were not able to develop an army immediately. Therefore during the war let there be a National Government and let the Commander-in-Chief be left free to deal with military matters. On these points a united demand has been made, but still Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery in their latest speeches refuse to recognise Indians as independent nationals and refuse to transfer power. This shows Britain does not mean to grant freedom to India. India expects, therefore, the public of the United States, which are now concerned much in Indian affairs owing to the necessity of fighting on a united front, ought to exercise moral influence and make the British recognise Indian freedom and transfer power to a National Government to be framed by united Indian parties led by the Hindu Mahasabha.—*U. P.*

This idea of sending a deputation to the United States of America is worthy of all support.

Servants of India Society Demands Transfer of Real Power

NEW DELHI, Oct. 1.

The Council of the Servants of India Society at a meeting here with Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President, in the Chair, passed a resolution expressing deep concern at the situation that exists in the country. The resolution condemns the disturbances that are taking place in different parts of the country, especially the organised destruction of means of communication which are vital for the defence of the country. It feels, however, that

the Government whose policy has created a deep feeling of frustration and resentment in all political parties must bear in no small measure the responsibility for the serious deterioration that has taken place in the political situation. Violence has to be suppressed; but, exhibition of authority alone will provide no solution of the problem which faces the Government and the country. Provocative speeches like that of Mr. Churchill only aggravate a dangerous situation.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE REQUIRED

"In order to bring about a psychological change required for the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the prosecution of the war, it is necessary for Government to make the people feel that the war is being fought not for the maintenance of British domination in this country but for the attainment of the freedom of India and of other countries which are the victims of Axis aggression. India should cease to be treated as a subordinate branch of the British Government and immediate steps should be taken to establish a national government which, subject to the strategy laid down by the War Cabinet and the responsibility of the commander-in-chief for the conduct of the war, will control all matters including those relating to defence and will be treated as a cabinet whose decisions shall be normally binding on the Governor-General and in order that consultations may take place between various parties for the formation of such a Government, it is necessary that both the Government and the Congress should revise their policies. The Congress should call off the mass movement started by it and the Government should release the Congress leaders. Britain can secure the whole-hearted co-operation of the people and give effective help to the allies not by increasing the British troops in the country but by declaring her willingness to trust the people and transfer real power to their hands.

"Notwithstanding the steps taken by the Government to prevent the publication of news relating to excesses committed by the authorities in suppressing the disturbances, serious complaints on the subject have reached public men which *prima facie* require investigation. The Council, therefore, urges that an impartial enquiry should be held into the matter."—*A. P.*

*"Wartime China As Seen By Westerners"**

When Shanghai fell in 1937 China suffered staggering losses. The losses mounted as one by one the coastal cities passed into Japanese hands, even though, profiting by the Shanghai experience, industries and institutions established branches in the interior where they sent copies of important documents, irreplaceable data and much equipment, moving there entirely as the need arose. To quote Mr. J. Kennard in one of the most interesting articles in this book :

"Japan wiped out nearly the whole of the Central Government's sources of income by taking over the customs, by occupying the ports where nearly all of China's industries were located, and by dominating North China which produced much of the salt."

Cotton factories were lost, chemical industries were swept away. Work in soap factories,

* The China Publishing Co., Chungking.

woollen mills, iron works, paper mills, rubber processing works, ice plants, dyeing and printing works stopped abruptly. Many printing presses were destroyed. Private fortunes disappeared. The cost of living soared. The best of China's higher institutions of learning were on or near the coast, a total of 73.2% of all educational facilities. They lost their buildings, some of their libraries, much of their equipment. More than one country has gone under faced with less.

Then came the magnificent comeback of the Chinese. The immemorial urge to conserve united with the realisation that to do so progress was necessary created a rallying force that has literally remade the nation, overcoming all difficulties. In 1941 there were 114 colleges, universities and technical schools as compared with the 108 of 1937. There were 20,000 more students in them. The number of students in middle schools had risen by 200,000 and that of primary schools more. The great potentialities of visual and aural education in a country of mass illiteracy have been realised. The cinema, the radio, the drama, the poster and music are all being given their due share in the creation of an intelligent, critical public opinion and in strengthening the morale of the people.

Free China has, in 1942, at least as many journals as the whole of China had in 1937 and they are all printed on made-in-China paper, whereas formerly foreign paper was used. In addition to papers printed on regular printing presses there are many which are lithographed, mimeographed, or written by hand and pasted on walls. The radio and wartime drama (plays enacted in the villages by travelling groups of students) are used in the dissemination of news. In spite of higher prices newspaper circulation is steadily rising.

In 1940 West China had 1,354 industrial plants, including over 300 machinery factories with sufficient supplies of iron and coal. Mr. Kennard writes of the Szechwan province :

"The province of Szechwan now has over 700 industrial plants registered with the Government. These factories include 100 machine works, 37 power plants, 16 alcohol distilleries, 12 paper mills, 18 match factories, 90 cotton weaving and spinning factories, 7 blanket factories, 34 tanneries, 12 flour mills, 54 printing plants. The largest, the China Development Corporation, with a capital of \$120,000,000 national currency, includes four machinery factories, and an electric plant, iron and steel works capable of producing each month 50 tons of steel and 100 tons of fire bricks. One of the largest iron works is the Yu Hsin which has been moved from Shanghai to Chungking. The Szechwan Cement Company turns out 10,000 barrels of cement a month. The Chung Hwa Company produces each month 120 radio

sets. The China Opel Electric Plant has a monthly production of 300,000 electric bulbs and 2,500 electric fans. The large use made of alcohol for motor fuel has called for many new distilleries, the largest of which can produce 1,000 gallons of 95% alcohol a day. The textile industry has 384 units. Yu Hwa Cotton Mill, formerly of Hankow, weaves 1,400 bales (400 lbs. to a bale) a month. One silk company has a yearly yield of 3,600 piculs (about 400,000 lbs.) of raw silk. . . ."

China now manufactures her own chemicals and her own drugs. Much genuine creative work has been done in these lines, for scientists have been forced to use Chinese materials almost exclusively. Before the war scientific apparatus, medicine and so forth were easily obtainable from the West. This has meant much adaptation, research and the development of new techniques and skills.

Through industrial co-operatives the vast hinterland of China has been opened up and developed. There were 116,000 co-operative societies with a membership of 6,000,000 farmers in 1941. They have been instrumental in the Government policy of breaking up industry into small scattered units. They form nuclei for social, educational, and health activities. Many have been started by refugees with Government aid, some by disabled soldiers. Usually a small machine shop is set up first to provide tools for further production. The industries developed around it depend on the natural resources at hand and vary from blanket weaving to coal mining. They have made possible the mobilisation of women in the home for production purposes. What can be done is illustrated by the cotton industry. Irma Highbaugh in her article on the effects of the war on rural homes writes :

"Industrialists lost their factories with the fall of Shanghai when the nation most critically needed cotton for soldiers' uniforms and for gauze for medical supplies. They went into the rural areas of Shensi, Kiangsi, and Szechwan to start all over again. The result was greatly increased production in spite of greatly reduced facilities. Improved spinning wheels within the reach of the common villagers and rural families were introduced. . . ."

In one county of Szechwan 30,000 women are spinning at home and thousands more are weaving. The average earning is five dollars a week.

The working capital of these co-operative societies was provided by the banks, which are controlled by the four big Government banks. The banks have played a very important part in the rehabilitation of China. Their attitude cannot pass unnoticed. Mr. Simkin tells us in this book that :

"Chinese bankers realise that in a national crisis like the present a bank is far more than simply a finan-

cial institution lending funds in order to make profit for itself. It has a duty to perform in providing machinery to facilitate productive activities—agricultural, industrial and commercial—which will strengthen the people of the nation in their resistance against aggression.”

Let us hope that they continue this policy when peace returns once more to their land.

With the co-operation of the banks the National Government entirely overhauled its fiscal systems. Cut off from its former sources of income, it turned to grain collection instead of money as its chief source of revenue. Income tax yields occupied third place in 1940. Foreign loans have also helped.

The revenue of the Government depending so largely on the productivity of the land, agricultural improvement has been given much attention in the programme of reconstruction. Soil science, biological research, and agricultural experiments of all kinds have received a great impetus. Irrigation has occupied an important place. Land irrigated in 1941 amounted to 400,000 acres. Work under construction will irrigate another 200,000. Land is being classified according to its productivity and use and re-registered. As a direct result, grain production in 1941 increased by 25,000,000 bushels, vegetable production by 3,500 tons. Cotton increased by 11,000,000 lbs. and an additional 252,000 acres were planted with it. Silk and forest production rose proportionately and great advance has been made in the care of livestock. An expenditure of \$ 1,400,000 returned a profit of \$37,000,000 in one area.

The psychological and sociological effects of the war and the great westward migration have been profound. The development of a standard speech has made more progress during the war than in the previous decade or two. Many habits and attitudes have changed with the mingling of peoples from the different parts of China. In the great trek of schools and scholars, students, teachers, scientists, institutions and skilled workers into the neglected interior the Chinese have discovered their own people and their own country. The city-bred have shed their urban mentality and the villagers their provincialism. In discovering each other they have discovered themselves also.

This book presents to Western readers the story of the flowering of spirit that has resulted as seen through the eyes of Western witnesses in China. The articles are so chosen as to provide something of interest for everyone, from the layman and general reader to the business-

man, technician and missionary. Most moving in its simplicity and under-statement is the story at the end, “A Bride at Forty-Five.” Copies of the book are available at Newman’s Book Shop, Calcutta.

LILA RAY

Civic Administration in Ancient India

EXCAVATIONS AT NALANDA

Seals of office of rural and urban dignitaries of ancient India and inscriptions on stone and on copper plates which prove that the great Buddhist centre maintained contact with Java, Sumatra and other countries have been unearthed at Nalanda (in Bihar), once the site of a famous Buddhist university. A memoir (No. 66) just published by the Archaeological Survey of India describes the results of over two decades of continuous excavation on the site and the discovery of a series of remarkable stupas and monastic-buildings.

The clay seals show to what extent civic administration had advanced in India 1,100 years ago. A stone inscription of the 8th century refers to a warden of the northern marches (whose title, Tikin, suggests that he was of Tartar origin) who had made a religious offering at Nalanda. A record of over eleven centuries ago shows that a ruler of the Sailendra dynasty, whose dominions included Sumatra and Java, requested the Pala King Devapala to provide for the maintenance of a monastery which the Indonesian ruler had erected at Nalanda.

“Sir C. V. Raman on Bengalees”

The following is the full text of the leading editorial article with its heading which appeared in *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, edited by Mr. S. Natarajan, in its issue of the 22nd August last :

SIR C. V. RAMAN ON BENGALLEES

Last week’s *Sunday Chronicle* published what purported to be a character sketch of Sir C. V. Raman, the eminent Indian physicist, by Mr. Madan Gopal. In it, the writer without rhyme or reason introduced a venomous tirade against Bengal and Bengalees, which has no value whatever as a key to the life and work of his subject. The writer described his hero as a man of “strong likes and dislikes,” which no scientist should be, and to illustrate this trait in Sir Chandrasekhar, mentioned his antipathy to Bengal and Bengalees. He said :

“His (Raman’s) prejudice against Bengal, for instance, is very deep-set. He sees nothing good in Bengal and sincerely believes that the Bengalees have made no contribution whatsoever to the life of the country. In a mood of half-jest and half-seriousness he said to me : “Don’t you think they have, these Bengalees, some taint of Mongoloid blood in them ? At least I do. After the war when the provincial boundaries are re-drawn, it would be a very good thing if Bengal could be shunted out of India and joined to Burma. We in India would be a happier family.” He also believes that the Pakistan cry has been raised and backed up by the vested interests here.”

Mr. Madan Gopal himself says that these words were not spoken in entire seriousness. It was quite wrong of him to repeat remarks so wounding to the

feelings of over fifty millions of his countrymen, especially as every educated Indian knows that every statement in Sir Chandrasekhar's outburst is untrue, is, indeed, palpably false. Sir C. V. Raman when he speaks of "the taint of Mongoloid blood" in Bengali veins, strays from his proper field of Physics. His opinion on racial mixtures is worthless. He was indulging in a pseudo-scientific assumption solely with a view to invest his prejudice with an air of scientific precision. Why should an admixture of Mongoloid blood be a "taint", any more than an admixture of "Austroloid" blood which some anthropologists suspect in the South Indian? Lovat Fraser who reported a tour of Lord Curzon in East Bengal, wrote of the Pandits who presented an address in Sanskrit to the Viceroy, as resembling, in their ceremonial dress, ancient Romans more than any Indian people.

That the Bengalees have made no contribution to the culture and life of the country is so monstrous a mis-statement that it is incredible that it should have proceeded from any sane Indian. Even in Sir C. V. Raman's own field, Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose achieved a world-wide reputation before anybody heard of Sir C. V. Raman. And Sir Jagadish, unlike Raman, traced his own great discoveries to the inspiration of the ancient wisdom of India. Then in the larger sphere of life, Bengalee thinkers and workers have led the way for the rest of India—Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Tagores, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Ramakrishna Paramahansa. What province has produced such a fine galaxy of women leaders like Mrs. P. K. Roy, Lady Bose, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudarani and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu? Bengalees are said to be clannish but Bengalee women have married non-Bengalees and set examples of progressive womanhood in whatever part of the country they lived in. Bengalee scholars like Kalidas Nag, Benoy Kumar Sarcar, have taken as their field wide areas which were neglected by most other provincials. Speaking broadly, there have been more Bengalees with a world outlook than natives of other provinces. As for original ideas, it is enough to say that Swami Vivekananda had the largest following in Madras and Arabindo Ghose's Ashram flourishes in South India. But for these and other illustrious Bengalees where would India be today? In religion, in literature, in social reform, in politics, Bengal has been the vanguard of Indian progress. Sir Syed Ahmed said that the Bengalees were the only people of whom Indians might be proud. Gokhale many years later said that what Bengal thinks today, the whole of India thinks tomorrow. There is no province in India which has a prouder and fuller record of contributions to national life than Bengal. Sir C. V. Raman would be glad to see Bengal joined to Burma in the post-war settlement. Then, he thinks, India will be a happy home. Yet he is apparently opposed to Pakistan which rests on the same illusion. India without Bengal would be a nation without eyes and ears.

Sir C. V. Raman would be spending his days in the pensioned obscurity of a retired official but for the far-seeing patriotism and breadth of outlook of the great Bengalee, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. It was Sir Asutosh who drew to Calcutta the cream of India's intellect from all parts of the country and gave it the opportunity to make its contributions to world culture. One of the most touching tributes to Sir Asutosh at his death came from an Anglo-Indian. Sir Asutosh who was no ornamental Vice-Chancellor, saw from the young man's college work and examination papers that he had real talent. He provided him with a scholarship to

pursue post-graduate studies abroad. Sir Asutosh was not content with that. He saw him off at the Bunder and kept up a correspondence with him about his progress, amidst his heavy engagements as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and the greatest Vice-Chancellor of the largest Indian University. It is, to say the least, ungracious of Sir C. V. Raman to speak of the people from whom Sir Asutosh sprang and whom Sir Asutosh loved, in the terms in which he is reported to have spoken of them. We have been expecting a repudiation which we hope may yet be forthcoming. It is true that at present Bengal has rather gone into the back-ground. She has not yet recovered from the wounds of the Partition. Communalism has persisted even after the modification of the Partition, and hampered Bengal functioning in the full vigour of her genius. The Gandhian Congress, with its particularist and provincial ideas, added to her difficulties. But she is emerging out of her travail. The Hindu-Muslim question is being solved there on the basis of the common Bengali origin and culture of the two communities. Bengal has played a great part in the evolution of modern India and she has a yet greater part to play in shaping the country's future. It is a Bengali poet who was inspired to compose the beautiful hymn which all India has accepted as the National Anthem.

Two Important Discoveries By Professor Dr. M. N. Goswami

Two very important discoveries have recently been made by Dr. M. N. Goswami of the Applied Chemistry Department of the University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta, and have been patented. One relates to Cellulose acetate. It is extensively used for making cinematographic films, toys, artificial silk and for the preparation of varnishes. His process is entirely novel and the operational cost is much less. The second one relates to cold hydrogenation of soaps. This process which is also entirely new, enables any kind of soap prepared from any kind of oil and fat to be converted into good washing and toilet soap.

India Debates in the British Parliament

Recently there have been debates in the two houses of the British Parliament relating to India. Criticism of what the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Attlee, the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery, or the Under Secretary of State the Duke of Devonshire said in the course of these debates would be tiresome and unprofitable, as they said little that was new and little that has not been repeatedly examined and exposed in the Indian press.

U. S. A. and Britain Give Up Extra-territorial Rights in China

American and British citizens exercised their extra-territorial rights in China generally in the ports of that country. These ports are now under Japanese rule. Therefore, in giving up extra-territorial rights now Britain and America have given up little that is real. Nevertheless, as these rights were humiliating

and derogatory to China's political status as an independent country, her two allies have made a friendly and generous gesture which she has duly appreciated.

The effect of this gesture has been somewhat marred by the British announcement that Hongkong would not be returned to China. But here again the announcement has very little bearing on the realities of the situation. For, Hongkong being now in the hands of the Japanese, Britain cannot dispose of it in any way she likes until she is able to defeat Japan.

American and Chinese Extra-territorial Rights in India

The following *Associated Press* message has a rather melancholy and humiliating interest to Indians :

NEW DELHI, Oct. 26.

Under the Ordinance known as the Allied Forces Ordinance and the notification issued thereunder, Naval, Military and Air Force courts and authorities of the United States and China are empowered to exercise in British India in relation to members of these forces in matters concerning their discipline and internal administration all such powers as conferred on these courts by the law of the respective countries.

A further Ordinance provides that with certain exceptions no criminal proceedings shall be prosecuted before any court in British India against members of the Military or Naval Forces of the United States.

A *Gazette of India* (Extraordinary) publishes the United States of America (Visiting Forces) Act which gives effect to the agreement recorded in the notes exchanged between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America relating to the jurisdiction over members of Military and Naval Forces of the United States, dated August 6.—A. P.

The United States of America has given up similar powers in China and China has appreciated this gesture. But both are now given such powers in India and have obviously accepted them. Did they ask for these powers? Britain has relinquished similar powers in China, but now bestow such powers on the U.S.A. and China in India. All the three Allied Powers know that Extra-territorial rights are humiliating to the country where they are exercised by foreign citizens, and yet India has been subjected to this humiliation.

There are American soldiers in Britain, Ireland and Australia, etc. Do they enjoy extra-territorial rights in those countries?

"The Indian Problem is the Problem of the United States of America"

NEW YORK, Oct. 29

"India is our problem. If Japan should conquer that vast sub-continent, we will be

losers. In the same sense, the Philippines are a British problem. If we fail to deliver by force of arms the independence we have promised to the Filipinos, the whole Pacific world will be the loser"—said Mr. Wendell Willkie in course of a broadcast to the American people.

INDIAN PROBLEM

Mr. Willkie suggested that by silence on the part of the United States towards the problem of Indian independence, "we have already drawn heavily on the reservoir of goodwill in the East." Making it clear that his remarks were not intended to refer to the British Commonwealth of Nations, Mr. Willkie suggested however, that "British Colonial possessions are but remnants of the Empire" and there were millions of men and women within the Commonwealth "working selflessly and with great skill towards reducing these remnants and extending the Commonwealth in the place of the Colonial system."

Mr. Willkie added: "We must wipe out the distinction in our minds between 'First Class' and 'Second Class' Allies. We must send to represent us among all our Allies really distinguished men who are important enough in their own right and dare tell our President the truth."

The United States, Mr. Willkie added, consistently failed to send to the leaders representatives with authority to discuss the problems intelligently and take realistic steps towards their solution. No particular man of the Cabinet rank had been sent with special missions to Russia "to talk with M. Stalin" and he added that it was the British Prime Minister who spoke primarily for the United States in the last of such missions.

HARMFUL DISCRIMINATION

After describing what he termed as the "Reservoir of Goodwill" existing in the nations he visited Mr. Willkie asserted that the reservoir nevertheless was leaking "dangerously" through holes, not punched by Hitler but by us. One of those leaks was the "tragically small" amount of war material reaching the embattled regions of the United Nations. He warned: "If we fail to deliver to our Allies what they are entitled to expect from us or what we have promised them, our reservoir of goodwill will turn into one of resentment. We owe them more than boasts and broken promises. Failure to define clearly our war aims was also losing friends for us."

Mr. Willkie stressed the demand for a Second Front in Europe and asserted that the record of war to date was not such as to inspire "any sublime faith in the infallibility of our military and naval experts."

ALL-OUT ATTACK ON BURMA

"I reiterate that we and our Allies must establish a Second Fighting Front in Europe. I also hope that shortly we can put a considerable force in India for aggressive use in an all-out attack on Burma as General Wavell has urged."

MISDIRECTED CENSORSHIP

Mr. Willkie described as "misdirected censorship" the idea that non-military experts or persons unconnected with the Government should refrain from making suggestions regarding the conduct of the war. He declared, "Military experts as well as our leaders must constantly be exposed to democracy's greatest driving power—the whiplash of public opinion developed from honest and free discussion."—*Reuter*.

More than a dozen years ago the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America contributed an article to *The Modern Review* showing that India was not and could not be Britain's "domestic concern," but that all humanity was interested in seeing that India became free and independent.

Mr. Cordell Hull on Mr. Willkie's Broadcast

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.

Mr. Willkie's references to India in his broadcast resulted in questions being asked of Secretary of State Cordell Hull at a Press Conference today. Mr. Hull said that the United States Government, of course, was interested in the British Indian situation, which it was closely observing and watching for opportunities to give full attention feasible in the situation.

The Secretary of State asked for comment on Mr. Willkie's remarks about the United States' policy regarding India and replied emphasising that he was not commenting on Mr. Willkie or anyone in particular. He declared that he did not think there was much he could add to what he had said in the past regarding the United States' attitude to India and declared that while some Americans had something to say daily on some phase of the problem he thought it had been made clear already what the United States Government's attitude was.—*Reuter*.

"The Atlantic Charter Applies to All Humanity"

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.

President Roosevelt, asked to comment on Mr. Willkie's speech, dismissed it briefly by saying that perhaps the best thing he could say was to paraphrase the old cigarette advertisement which read "Not a cough in a carload," by saying that "There was not a controversy in the carload of speeches."

Told by the questioner that Mr. Willkie said that some countries he visited on the trip placed local significance to the Atlantic Charter because it contained the word 'Atlantic,' President Roosevelt replied, 'The Atlantic Charter applies to all humanity,' the President allowing the direct quote.

The President said he had nothing to add to the news already received from the Solomons, but there was a battle raging there, and as Col. Knox said this morning, the outcome was yet not clear.

After his meeting this morning with Sir George Gater, the President was asked what had been done in respect of Anglo-American co-operation in the Caribbean. Replying he said that the subject was under discussion for more than a year.—*Reuter*.

"Atlantic Magazine" Suggests Immediate Independence For India

WASHINGTON.

A constructive approach to India is one based on a joint decision by the United Nations as to their intention in the event of victory, says the "Atlantic Magazine." India must be part of the general settlement. "Only in this way can the legacy of history be broken," says the Magazine. It is no use America, China and Russia guaranteeing British sincerity. It is a matter of joint declaration.

"There can be no solution without coming to terms with the Congress. It is true that the Congress is not India, that it has no social programme or strong democratic basis and that it is backed in part by industrialists. But it is the only representative of real Indian nationalists and is accepted as such."

"Twenty years ago a similar British Government with American support backed the reactionary war lords of China as against Sun Yat-sen and the nationalist movement. Six years later they had to come to terms with the nationalists, not the war lords."

"Chinese history might help us now to see that it would have made more sense to imprison leaders of the Moslem League rather than the leaders of the Congress"—*Reuter*.

What has the mighty M.A. Jinnah to say to the last observation of the *Atlantic Magazine*?

British Army Officer Suggests Independence For India

NEW DELHI, Oct. 25.

"I am British and in India for the first time and I cannot help feeling that we have no reasons (except selfish ones) for withholding independence from India," says a British army officer in a communication published by the *National Call*.

"Although," he proceeds, "I have little knowledge of politics, I often wonder if we cannot do something concrete for India. Could we not give India complete self-government now with no British interference, but on one condition?"

"The condition would be that India would give a guarantee to prosecute the war effort with the utmost endeavour. In that case, she could be left entirely on her own and we could withdraw after the war. During the war the embryo of self-government could safely develop in the knowledge that there was sufficient armed might in the country to stop envious hands being stretched out, although it would in effect only be there for the duration and for our own reasons of strategy."—A. P.

Stuff About Congress Gandhiji On Which Britishers Are Fed

The London *News Review* for August 20 last just to hand contains the following paragraphs:

Additional points to remember in considering Gandhi's arrest last week are: (1) The Government of India has evidence pointing to the fact that certain members of the Congress Party were in direct contact with Japanese or pro-Japanese elements; (2) the Civil Disobedience campaign is financed by certain rich native

textile manufacturers who believe that a policy of intense nationalism would be highly profitable to purely Indian enterprises.

Mahatma ("Wise Man") Gandhi was not very wise this time. He committed to paper, in great detail, his plans for smashing British rule in India. These documents are now in the hands of the police.

Why has not the Government of India published the alleged evidence bearing on (1) and (2) ?

Why have not Gandhiji's alleged detailed plans "for smashing British rule in India" been shown in confidence even to a single Member of Parliament in Britain ?

"News Review" Pronounces British Policy Unsatisfactory

The London *News Review* of August 20 last, after adversely criticizing the Indian National Congress in connection with hooliganism and sabotage in India, finds fault with British policy, too :

But if the Indian National Congress was not above reproach, neither did the policy of the hard-pressed *Raj* give much cause for satisfaction. There seemed to be something wrong when the protector laid to manifest his protective solicitude by rapping his charges on the head entirely for their own good. It was not the sort of thing the conscientious British citizen liked to associate with the Empire on which the sun never sets.

Nothing could be more humiliating, more inspiring of hatred where only anger existed, than the whipping of offending Indians as if they were naughty school-boys.

If it was time for the National Congress to find a new policy, this was equally true of the British Government. Over and over again Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad and other leading Indians have pleaded : "Only give us something to offer the people, and we guarantee we can get their support. Only let them see that the Atlantic Charter applied to them, too, and that freedom will be their reward as well as yours when the war is won."

Nothing could be more calculated to incense and exasperate the Indians than to preach to them about the danger facing them from the Japanese. "We know," they reply bitterly, "it is us they are coming to kill. You can leave the country if the worst comes to the worst, but we will have to stay for the slaughter."

Lathi Charge on Women and Girls

The Guardian of Madras writes :

Shakespeare was never more inspired than when he pleaded for mercy. Law is law, no doubt; and all are equal in the eye of that dragon; yet even the dragon is transformed into a divine being when he tempers his blind work with mercy. It has been reported that women and girls in Bombay were subjected to lathi charge by the police. There is no doubt that the police are technically right. But there is something called a moral point of view which should always over-ride legal technicalities. In the interest of their own good name we beg the government to put a stop to this sort of thing. Even war cannot justify it.

A case is going on in which the girls who are charged for going in a procession against the orders of the authorities, have put in the plea that theirs was a mourning procession which is exempt from the rule. We await the verdict with interest.

Collective Fines

Collective fines on villages and towns are bringing much money into the coffers of Government and are perhaps hitting a few hooligans hard. But most probably the majority of them are left untouched, and most of those who have to pay the fines are entirely innocent of all offence. So, an untold multitude of persons are coming to harbour feelings of bitter resentment against the Government.

P. E. N. Books on Indian Literatures

The P. E. N. All-India Centre has planned to publish books on the literatures in Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Indo-Anglian, Kannada, Maithili, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu under the general editorship of Sophia Wadia. The second book of the series, namely, that on Bengali Literature by Annada Sankar and Lila Ray is just out. Besides the main body of the book the volume contains the Editor's Foreword by Sophia Wadia, Introduction by Ramananda Chatterjee, and Authors' Foreword by A. S. Ray and Lila Ray.

The book is divided into four sections : I.—Old Bengali Literature, by A. S. Ray; II.—New Bengali Literature, by A. S. Ray; III.—Anthology, by Lila Ray; IV.—Suggested Reading List.

The main body of the book contains the following chapters : The Background; The Vaishnava Poets; The Sakta Poets; The Buddhist and the Muslim Poets; The Ramayana, The Mahabharata and the Chaitanya Chronicles; Folk Literature; The Transition; Michael and Bankim; The Contemporaries of Michael and Bankim; Rabindranath Tagore; Contemporaries of Rabindranath; The Present Position.

The Publishers say :

"*Bengali Literature* by Annada Sankar and Lila Ray will greatly interest Bengalis but will be of even greater value to those outside Bengal, to many of whom, in India as well as abroad, new Bengali Literature means only Rabindranath Tagore and old Bengali Literature is hardly known at all. Bengali figures prominently in the modern Indian renaissance, and the better acquaintance with its treasures which this compendious study offers should further both Indian culture at home and India's standing in the world of letters."

THE UNITY OF INDIA

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

HAS India any unity? Is there an Indian people, as distinct from the inhabitants of this province or that? This is a question foremost in our thoughts to-day and it is a question that has never been absent from the minds of our thoughtful men at any time. Instead of giving a cut and dried answer to it, it would be wiser and more profitable to examine it in all its aspects before forming our opinion. Now, the unity of a people may be of three different kinds and proceed from three different sources, though all of them are often found to be combined, especially in the most stable nations of to-day. These three sources are (1) geographical, (2) historical and (3) cultural. The perfection of them is national, i.e., full political unity.

At the very outset, I shall lighten my task and shorten my encroachment on your patience, by dismissing race and religion from the popularly accepted list of forces contributory to national unity. Purity of race is a myth, and religion, when fanatically pursued, is a solvent rather than a unifying force in the modern world. Ethnologists are agreed that every existing race in the modern age is a mixed product, formed by the blending of various primary race elements, often of the most diverse kinds, such as the Negrito and the Aryan, in the same people of to-day. Even the most exclusive Brahman of the Panch Nad or Aryavarta of ancient Sanskrit literature cannot truly claim to have the undiluted blood of the Vedic invaders in his veins. In other provinces the fusion of races has been even more undeniable, as colour of skin, nasal index and skull-measurement—well-known facts of anthropometry, prove Negrito types have been discovered on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, among the supposed Mongolians and Dravidians; while a Negro element—not the blood of the present-day Negroes of America—has been detected among the progenitors of the modern Europeans. Unity of race must depend upon purity of race, but that is an illusion in the relentless eyes of science. The modern Prussians and Austrians are not the same race as the Germans so well described by the Roman historian Tacitus nearly two thousand years ago. Nor do the Prussians and Austrians though bearing the common name of Germans and speaking the same language, form exactly the same group. The *Times* of London a few years ago pointed out that the fusion of the

Scandinavian and Slavonic races along the southern shore of the Baltic produced the Prussian race which has developed marvellous efficiency. This characteristic we may contrast with the conduct of the easy-going, pleasure-loving but highly intellectual Austrians, who, too, claim the German blood.

Next religion. Within a limited sphere and in rather primitive times, religion has served to unite a people; but by this very fact, it has prevented the formation of a nation because where religion is the sole bond of political union, members of other sects cannot have any lot or part in the State, just as in the ancient Greek city republics foreign settlers and Helots (the indigenous aboriginal people) had no right of citizenship. Let us take India. If the country is to be parcelled out according to religion as the one and only one basis of polity, will Hindustan and Pakistan be enough? Where in these two divisions would you put Mr. Jinnah's expected grandson by the Parsi millionaire to whom he has married his daughter? So, you must have a Majusi-stan, in addition, where only Zoroastrians can have their true home, according to this theory. And you will have to go further; for the perfect location of the future grandson of Khan Sahib (the Frontier leader) by the Indian Christian officer to whom his daughter has been married, you must provide a Naziristan. As I am rather weak in mathematics, my imagination staggers at the prospect of the infinite number of permutations and combinations which will inevitably follow from making the State subordinate to the Church.

Indeed, history teaches us that religion has often been a force antagonistic to nationality. When not controlled by the State, it has divided the people of a country into two mutually hostile sections, each of which has looked to its brethren of the faith in foreign countries in order to suppress its fellow countrymen holding a different creed. In one word, religion is an international force and therefore diametrically opposed to nationalism as understood in pure politics. In the age of the Reformation in Europe, religion rubbed out national boundaries and at the same time split each nation into warring factions. The French Catholics formed the Holy League with the Spanish Catholics—who were the hereditary political enemies of the French monarchy, and these Frenchmen

invited Spanish soldiers to join them in slaying brother Frenchmen. The Scottish Protestant lords took the aid of the Protestants of England, against whom their forefathers had fought for centuries,—and why? Only to put down the Catholic Government of Mary Stuart, their legitimate national queen. In the age of the Wars of Religion a third party arose in France who anticipated modern thought and saved France from disruption and destruction; they were called the *Politiques*, or men who put the State above religion, and they rallied round Henri of Navarre. At the battle of Ivry, the Catholic antinational League sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of Henri IV, and the spirit which moved him modernised and saved France. Macaulay puts it very finely into the mouth of one of the King's soldiers in the hour of victory :

And then we thought on vengeance and all along
our van

"Remember St. Bartholomew" was passed from
man to man.

But out spake gentle Henry, "No Frenchman is my
foe;

Down, down with every foreigner; but let your
countrymen go."

Thus, religion is the very negation of nationalism, and it makes patriotism impossible.

Let us then consider the geography of India. If you look at a relief map of our country, or even a cheap school atlas in which elevations are represented by colours on a flatsheet, you will find that India as a whole stands isolated from the rest of Asia. On the north, north-west and north-east, she is cut off from other countries by the loftiest mountains in the world or the densest and most rugged barren hills and jungles. The deep sea guards our western and eastern flanks as between a pair of sharp pincers. Inside this self-contained area, no impassable mountain or raging torrent cuts one province off from another. Even before modern science had triumphed over physical barriers, by giving us rapid and easy means of transport, pilgrims, students, preachers, conquerors and adventurers had passed from one part of India to another, however remote, in safety and frequency. This we know from our history. In the coloured maps of India's physical features, you find one green field stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the foothills of the Afghan passes, and also down the Orissa and Madras coasts, showing that throughout this vast region, the ground never rises more than a thousand feet above sea-level. Calcutta is distant 1200 miles from Lahore by road, but the difference in elevation between

these two widely separated cities is only 900 feet, or in other words, you ascend only nine inches by advancing a mile. How can such a region be divided from the military point of view? The Konkan coastal plain is separated from Maharashtra proper or the Desh country, as it is technically called, by the lofty Sahyadri range, which has not been so lofty as to bar close intercommunication between these two tracts. The Hindus of Konkan have from ancient times spoken the Marathi language (a local dialect of it, but very easily understood) and followed the same religion and customs on both sides of the dividing hill. This shows that the hill was not impassable even before modern railways and motor cars made science triumph over Nature. According to an ancient myth, the Vindhya mountain stooped its head in order to let the North Indian coloniser Agastya pass on to the Deccan, and the Vindhya has not lifted up its head to bar the path ever since then. Before the Muslim conquest Kabul was the seat of a Hindu monarchy and Buddhist caves have been found in Quandahar and images and relics of the same faith in Afghanistan, central and northern. These facts negative the idea of a rigid provincial isolation by natural features before the coming of the English.

As a Chinese general on a recent visit to India remarked, "Japanese tanks can roll over North India from Calcutta to Lahore as smoothly as ivory balls over a green billiard table." And yet, how many modern political divisions separate these two capital cities!

It is true that climatic differences are sometimes very great between certain provinces of India, but they have not made the life of their peoples utterly different. If I may be permitted to appeal to my own experience: In mid December of 1940, I passed five days at Tanjore in the South of the Madras Presidency; and the heat was so great there, that at night I had to sleep without a shirt on my back. Immediately after leaving Tanjore, I passed without a halt through Madras and Bombay to Ahmedabad in Gujrat, and the cold was so intense that, in spite of the warmest clothing that I wore, in the early dawn my tonsils were inflamed and I bled in the nose. And yet, the food of the people at these two almost polar extremes of India was the same, I mean vegetarian (with the addition of wheaten bread to rice in the north) and the cooking, serving, etc., were the same; I felt no contrast in these matters at least. I am here speaking of meals in orthodox Hindu homes in both the places and not of the standardised

European meals in the railway refreshment rooms. You thus see that the provincial isolation of India can be exaggerated by theorists.

This geographical parcelment of India had been easily defied by our Sanskrit scholars who have wandered to Benares and Allahabad, Kanchi and Paithan, Nasik and Sringeri, Mathura and Badri-Kedar, in quest of Shastric knowledge,—long before railways and macadamised roads were dreamt of. Great preachers bent on world conquest, called *Digvijaya*, have passed from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas in the far-off past, before a single Muslim set his foot on the Indian soil. Missionaries of Buddhism, a faith that took its birth in India and here grew to fulness of maturity, traversed all parts of India and even went to Tibet, China, Burma, Ceylon and Indo-China. Thus the cultural oneness of India, at least in that age, was proved. Have we made a retrogression in the present enlightened century, in this kind of liberality of mind?

Next comes the unity that springs from history,—or when oneness of thought and life is stamped upon a people by oneness of rule and sameness of political experience. Mere autocratic dictation, the mere drawing of the administrative road roller over the rough surface of the people's heads, cannot grind them into true uniformity; at least such uniformity is not natural and does not last long. Historical unity comes best from the people themselves working the same type of administration and sharing the success and failure of it because it is the product of their own efforts. Such administrative unity was given to most parts of India by the Mughal Empire, whose gifts were :

(1) One uniform administrative system throughout all the *subas* or provinces of the empire; (2) one official language; (3) one uniform system of coinage and measures and weights; (4) an all-India cadre of higher public services, the officers being transferred from province to province every three or four years* and (5) the frequent march of large armies from province to province and deputation of inspecting officers from the Central capital to various cities in the provinces.

This administrative oneness of nearly three-fourths of the Indian continent gave an immense impetus to trade and travel between province

and province. The example of the 'Delhi Imperial Court also tended to create a cultural and artistic synthesis in India. The higher classes of society, like all Government officials, corresponded together in Persian, while a *lingua franca* called *Zaban-i-Hindavi*, the modern Urdu or Hindustani, was born for use among all the common people, and later (19th century) it took the place of Persian as the common official and cultural language in all North India.

Last and most potent of all the forces is cultural unity. During the two thousand years of Hindu and Buddhistic rule in India, in spite of political disunion and differences of language and customs, a uniform Sanskritic stamp was printed upon the literature and thought of all the provinces of this vast country. There was, throughout India in the Hindu age—as there is among the Hindu population throughout India to-day,—a basic unity of religion, philosophy, literary ideas and conventions, and outlook upon life. Coming still further down the course of centuries, we can broadly say that there has been achieved some approximation also in physical type and mode of life among the various foreign races that have lived long enough in India, fed on the same crops, drunk of the same streams, basked under the same sun and submitted to the same rule in their daily lives. Even the immigrant Indian Muslims have, in the course of centuries, received the imprint of this country and now differ in many essential points from their brethren living in other parts of Asia, like Arabia and Persia.

The Sufi or Pantheistic movement, in the days of Muslim rule in India, afforded a common platform to the more cultured and devout minds among the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike. For the lower ranks or mass of the population, the mediæval saints, like Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak were the common spiritual leaders, and made converts by the thousand among Hindus and the Muslims alike. This factor tended to relax the rigidity and exclusiveness of the old dogmatic faiths; *bhakti* or true devotion to God is the antidote to religious fanaticism, and it knits the rulers and the ruled together.

I shall now briefly summarise the conclusion of this survey and inquiry. The Indian people of to-day are no doubt a composite ethnical product, but they have all acquired a common Indian stamp and have all been contributing to a common culture and building up a common type of traditions, thought and literature. Even Sir Herbert Risley, who is so sceptical about the

* For instance in 1664, Shaista Khan was transferred as Governor from Poona to Dacca. Imagine the immense distance between these two capitals in those days of bad roads.

Indian's claim to be considered as one people, has been forced to admit, that

"Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. There is in fact *an Indian character, a general Indian personality*, which we cannot resolve into its component elements."

Whether all these striking elements of unity will culminate in the political unity of India, is a question the decision of which lies on the knees of the gods, and a patriot can only pray for it.

Address to the Rotary Club, Dehra Dun
September 16, 1942

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION AND AKHAND HINDUSTHAN

By RAJA NARINDRA NATH SAHIB

II

I now proceed to examine how far the Hindu majority in a single federation will influence the administration of autonomous provinces, including the provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority. The League has not yet framed the constitution which the League wants. But in any case, whilst there is a demand for independent and autonomous provinces, the new constitution will not impose new fetters on provincial administration.

Section 8 of the Government of India Act describes matters to which the executive authority of the Federation extends subject to the proviso that the said authority does not extend in any province to matters with respect to which the Provincial Legislature has power to make laws. Section 12 deals with the special responsibilities of the Governor-General. Corresponding to it is Section 52 which describes the special responsibilities of the Governors. These two sections cover many matters to which the Hindus and Muslims may alike object. But I think even the future constituent body would like to retain the special responsibility of the Governor and Governor-General for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the province or any part thereof and to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities. The control of the Governor-General on other provincial matters is left to his "individual judgment" and to the exercise of his "discretion" in which he is not in any way influenced, much less, bound by the opinion of the majority. An Act passed by the Provincial Legislature becomes law when the Governor assents to the Bill. But he may, "in his discretion," reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General (Section 75) and the latter may reserve it for the signification of His

Majesty's pleasure thereon (Section 76). Chapter IV of the Act deals with the legislative powers of the Governors. But in each case the Governor-General's concurrence is necessary who in issuing instructions or giving his assent acts on "the exercise of his individual judgment" (Section 90). Some members of the League have demanded that the residual powers of legislation should rest with the provinces and not with the Federal Legislature. Section 104 deals with the question of residuary powers. The Governor-General may empower either the Federal or Provincial Legislature to enact a law with respect to any matter not mentioned in any of the lists of the 7th schedule. But in the discharge of his functions under this section the Governor-General shall act "in his discretion." Even the Federal Assembly cannot exercise residuary powers without the issue of public notification which depends on Governor-General's discretion. The Provincial Legislature can pass a law with respect to any matters in the concurrent list (List III) and such provincial law shall prevail even if it is repugnant to the Federal Law or any existing Indian law provided such provincial law has been framed with the previous sanction of the Governor-General (Section 107, Clause 2). In conformity with Section 107, Section 108 (1) (b) and 108 (2) (b) lay down that if the Governor-General "in his discretion" gives his previous sanction, a bill modifying any existing Act, may be introduced into the provincial legislature. I may here point out that according to Section 86 of the Union of South Africa Act the laws passed by the Provincial Legislature which are called ordinances have no effect if they are repugnant to any Act of Parliament (the Federal Legislature for the whole of South Africa consisting of Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State). The Union of South

Africa interdicts an Act by the Provincial Legislature which is repugnant to an Act of the Federal Legislature. Section 109 of the Australian Act contains a similar provision. The Government of India Act allows such an Act with the previous consent of the Governor-General.

Before the Council of India was constituted and ever since upto 1909 many important legislative measures have been passed. These are the Acts referred to in Sections 107 and 108. The list is a long one but I may mention some of them: Indian Penal Code, Contract Act, Evidence Act, Specific Relief Act, Limitation Act, Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, etc. These are laws consolidating the varied provisions of common law in England. They are works of the best legal minds whose services were lent by England for the purpose of making these laws which are ideal codes admired by the whole legal world. They were not passed by a Hindu majority. Some of them were passed with the support of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Surely there must be some check imposed on the provincial legislatures' power to change them.

Part (XI) deals with administrative relations between Federation and the Provinces. Section 124 empowers the Governor-General to entrust either conditionally or unconditionally authority in relation to Federal matters to provinces and States. According to Section 141, no Bill or amendment which imposes or varies any taxes or duties in which provinces are interested can be introduced or moved in either chamber of Federation without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion. I fail to see how even under the present Act the Hindu majority in a single federation brings the Muslim provinces under a Hindu Raj.

CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION

The very genesis of the division of India being conflict between communities the disputes on the following points will tend to flare up into a civil war:

1. Foreign policy and defence.
2. Inter-provincial customs. Section 297 of the present Act will disappear. In fact, the author of the "Confederacy of India" in a note on page 216 says in clear terms that customs income can be raised by the levy of heavy duties on goods imported from Hindu India over the land frontiers.
3. General treatment of Hindu minorities in Pakistan and of Muslim minorities in Hindustan. Local contiguity will cease to be uniting link. It will be replaced by communal nexus. Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindusthan will invoke the help of their co-religionists in provinces in which they are respectively in majority. Muslim League proposes to protect

the Muslim minority in 6 provinces by "retribution," meting out to Hindus in 4 provinces the treatment which Muslim minorities receive in 6 provinces. Cow slaughter and music before mosque now lead to communal riots. They may in future lead to civil wars.

4. Currency and general monetary policy which each province may frame with a communal outlook.

I do not mind civil war if that is the only way of settling this communal question, but my fear is that it will induce some foreign powers in ascendancy at the time and waiting for the chance to invade India and enslave both communities in a manner more virulent than that in which they have been enslaved hitherto.

Mahasabhaists and most of the Congressmen are astonished at the position which Mr. Rajagopalachariar has taken up on the Pakistan question. I have not had the pleasure of meeting Rajaji, but I have heard of him spoken of as a politician of sterling merit and a man of high character and of superior intellect. He seems to be suffering from an obsession, which may be that of getting rid anyhow of the British or of warding off the invasion of Japan. He does not realise that the partition of India will intensify communal feeling both in "Hindusthan" and "Pakistan." Even if we are able to ward off the Japanese invasion now with the help of Allied nations (Britain and America), is there any guarantee that the Imperialistic ambition of Japan will not be rekindled? No one knows what the new world order is going to be. Wars may cease in future, but I consider this to be unlikely. If foreign invasions do not become impossible, Rajaji is giving his consent to a scheme which will be a prolific source of internecine quarrels inducing foreign nations to invade India. No one can form any idea of what the alignment of powers may be at the time and which side Russia or Germany may take. There may be another world conflagration. Rajaji has forgotten the whole history of India. Division of the country into small states facilitated foreign invasions.

MINORITY RIGHTS

The sponsors of Pakistan give assurances to Hindu minorities in 4 provinces that their legitimate rights will be fully protected. Sir John (now Lord) Simon thought that nothing but a spirit of toleration can achieve this object. A declaration of fundamental rights is to be found in many European constitutions, specially of the states which were created after the last world war. Fundamental rights cover a wide range, e.g., (1) personal and religious liberty, (2) right to assemble and form associations, (3) economic liberty, (4) equality. About 1

and 2 there can be no difference of opinion between Hindus and Muslims, but difference arises with regard to 3 and 4. Section 4 of the Nehru Report defines fundamental rights. I invite attention to only those parts which relate to 3 and 4.

CLAUSE (IV). "All citizens are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights."

CLAUSE (XIII). No person shall by reason of religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public office of power, or honour and exercise of any trade or calling.

CLAUSE (XIV). All citizens have an equal right of access to, and use of public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort.

The Congress formulæ accepted at the Karachi session in March 1931 is slightly different. It simply provides that no disabilities shall attach to any person by reason of religion, caste or creed in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and exercise of any trade or calling. Section 298 of the Government of India Act of 1935 appears to have been drafted on the lines of the Congress formulæ. It is in conformity with Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 and Section 96 of Act of 1919, though Section 242 (2) and Section 252 (2) and also para IX of the Instrument of Instructions issued to governors with the approval of Parliament allow deviation from the essential principles of Section 87 of 1833, Section 96 of the Act of 1919 and Section 298 of the present Act. Religious liberty and protection of culture find no place amongst fundamental rights defined. These seem to be covered by the general power vested in the Governor and the Governor-General for the protection of the legitimate interests of the minorities. So far as British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom are concerned, Section 111, reproduced below, is the ideal draft for the protection of minorities.

111-(1). Subject to the provisions of this chapter, a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any Federal or Provincial Law as—

(a) imposes any restriction on the right of entry into British India; or

(b) imposes by reference to place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence any disability, liability restriction or condition in regard to travel, residence, the acquisition, holding or disposal of property the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation trade, business or profession.

In *The Asiatic Review* for April 1941, I find a very interesting paper by Mr. Eddy, K. C., in which he has taken a very sympathetic view of the whole political situation of India at present. He deals with the question of the interests of

minorities, specially Muslims. He, like other British thinkers and writers, thinks only of minorities in the federation. He forgets that provincial administration covers a wide range of subjects and that there are four provinces in which the Hindus and not the Muslims form the minority community. He proposes two expedients for removing the fears "real or imaginary of the Muslims," a statutory provision for the inclusion of Muslims in the Federal Cabinet and another forbidding the passing of any law by any legislature discriminating against minorities. I quote his own words. Whilst dealing with the subject of specific statutory provisions against discriminating legislation he says :

"That could be done—once agreement had been reached by inserting in the new constitution a provision (i) that no law should discriminate against minorities and (ii) that any law passed or made in contravention of this provision should, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid. Whether an Act did or did not contravene this provision could be determined by a perfect impartial tribunal—namely, the Federal Court."

According to Section 8 (2) of Act of 1935 the exercise of executive authority coincides with the exercise of legislative authority both in the provincial and the federal sphere. Mr. Eddy is not aware that in the four Muslim provinces, the exercise of executive authority teems with discrimination against minorities. In the Punjab there is discriminative legislation also. In my address before the Deliberative Conference of Hindu minorities held in Lahore on 1st March, 1941, I have fully dealt with the subject. I need not repeat all that I said therein.

Personally I would be content if discrimination against minorities in law or in the exercise of executive authority is forbidden by the constitution. I am in full agreement with Mr. Eddy, K. C., that no discrimination prejudicial to minorities should be allowed. Discrimination in favour of majorities is apt to become an irrevocable privilege. In a democratic system of government a majority may claim to rule by the force of its numbers. But it cannot claim privileges and reservations on the ground of its being backward. If there is discrimination against minorities when those minorities constitute 46 or 44% of the population, is there any reason to hope that discrimination against them will cease when their numerical strength is reduced by 10 or 12% or more? The main object of increasing Muslim population in provinces in which Muslims are already in a majority is that civic rights of those provinces may be reserved for the majority community in the proportion of

their population so that the protest of minorities may become as ineffective as possible. Hindu majority nowhere wants reservation.

DR. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS

Dr. Ambedkar's work, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, deserves special notice. He has shown ability and industry in writing the book which I read last year. The Hindu and Muslim population in India is so interspersed that there is no part of India in which the population consists solely of Muslims or solely of Hindus. Some Hindus unconnected with the Congress have asked for redistribution of provinces. Pandit Nanak Chand in his evidence before the third Round Table Conference suggested that Ambala division might be taken away from the Punjab and added to U. P. or to Delhi and made into a separate province. If I remember aright a resolution favouring change of provincial boundaries was passed at a Session of the Mahasabha held in Calcutta in 1939. These Hindu advocates of redistribution take an extremely parochial view. They do not thereby support the division of India into two federations or unions. Dr. Ambedkar suggests exchange of population (page 109) and says that if such an exchange was possible between Greece and Turkey, why should it be impossible in such a large country as India. I say it is impossible because India is a sub-continent. The trend of Muslim opinion does not favour exchange of population. The anonymous author of the *Confederacy of India* says that the exchange of population is not in the interests of Islam (page 256). Malik Barkat Ali in his address delivered at the Pakistan Conference held at Lyallpur says :

"We certainly do not contemplate any wholesale migrations of populations, but there is nothing to prevent those Hindus and Muslims who may not like to live under Muslim or Hindu governments, to migrate to and settle under their own national governments."

Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah in the course of discussion on his paper on the political aims of Muslim India read at the meeting of the East India Association in London published in *The Asiatic Review* for April, 1942, says that the Muslim League "recommended the partition of India into so many Muslim compartments without exchange of population."

With a view to consider the possibility of exchange and the terms on which exchange can take place, I refer to the publication by the League of Nations on the Protection of Linguistic and Racial minorities. The convention

concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish population begins by saying :

"The Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Greek Government have agreed upon certain provisions."

I quote certain parts of these provisions which have a direct bearing on the question before me :

"Immovable property whether rural or urban belonging to emigrants shall be liquidated with certain conditions to be laid down by a Mixed Commission (Article 8), this Commission to consist of four members representing Greece and Turkey and 3 members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations from amongst Nationals of powers which did not take part in the war of 1914-18. The Mixed Commission shall have the duties of supervising and facilitating the voluntary emigration referred to in the present convention and of liquidating the real property of emigrants. It will fix the conditions of emigration and of liquidation of real property (Article 9). Funds shall be advanced to the Mixed Commission by the States concerned with a view to facilitating emigration and under conditions fixed by the Commission. The Commission shall advance to emigrants, according to funds available, the value of their real property (Article 11)."

"Hindusthan" is protesting against the partition of India and insists upon its integrity and unity being maintained. It would not therefore be willing to compensate Hindu millionaires in Pakistan. The very first condition, therefore, namely, that of agreement between the two countries would not be fulfilled. Land-owners would be unwilling to receive compensation in money. They would exchange estates for estates. The differences of the conditions of land-tenure in different provinces will raise difficulties almost insuperable. Muslim landowners in U. P. and Western Bengal own such huge areas that it will be difficult to accommodate them in Pakistan. Mahmudabad, Nanpara and Jehangirabad own very large estates in U. P. and I do not know whether the Punjab or Sind will be able to provide equally large areas yielding as much income as theirs in U. P. Exchange of population, therefore, is not so easy a proposition as Dr. Ambedkar thinks. It is in fact impossible as some of the Muslim publicists think.

Dr. Ambedkar expatiates on the differences that exist between Hindus and Muslims. He ignores altogether some incidents and cases of co-operation, mutual confidence and amity which we find at different periods of the history of India. Mr. Yusuf Ali in his book, *A Cultural History of India during the British Period*, gives a short account of the life of the poet Mir, 1724-1810, and quotes from an introduction to the biography by Moulvi Abdul Huq of the Anjuman-i-Taraqui Urdu, Aurangabad. I reproduce the following :

"In the life of Mir, we find a glimpse of many political and social facts relating to the period. It was clear that at that time there was no Hindu-Muslim question. What could be a worse period than one in which the country was a prey everywhere to selfishness, internal dissensions, plunder and slaughter, and the last stage of decay and decline had been reached? And yet the mutual relations of Hindus and Muslims were those of brothers among brothers. They fought and they united, but neither their friendship nor their hostility was based on distinctions of religion or community. This pest has come during their common misfortunes. All understand what it leads to, but are hopeless on account of their false pride. The Mir Sahib was in relations of trust with many Rajas. With what love and honour he mentions their kindness and consideration! Look at the nobility and goodness of Raja Nagar Mal. Disgusted with the high-handedness and inhumanity of the Jats, he boldly left the fort, but not without taking with him the twenty thousand households, Hindus and Muslims, he had settled there and who mostly relied upon him. Though the country was in a dreadful state of calamity and decay, and high and low, Nawab and Raja, were steeped in selfishness, and thought little of the consequences ahead, yet the old standards of social friendliness continued to hold sway. In combats or feasts, on occasions of sorrow or rejoicing, in affairs of business or pleasure, they had not the narrow views and intolerance whose reign we see today. Their age was not free from grave vices—ill-breeding, trickery, perfidy and treachery were not unknown among them. But at least their hearts were free from that great vice, religious intolerance" (page 25 of Mr. Yusuf Ali's book).

During Akbar's reign many of the Muslim savants knew Sanskrit such as Faizi, Abul Fazl and Abdul Quadir Badayuni. Sanskrit works were translated into Persian even under the Tughlak kings. Even after the reign of Akbar the spirit of conciliation which he introduced remained unaffected. Muslims wrote Hindi poems and some of them began with adorations to Saraswati and Sri Ganesh (see pages 16-17 of the Presidential Address by Dr. Tara Chand in the Mughal History section of the Indian History Congress.) Abdur Rahim Khani Khanan, son of Bairam Khan, and Usman Ghazipuri were renowned Hindi poets (see pages 289-299 of *Zamana* for June, 1942). Even after the intolerant rule of Aurangzeb it was Mahad Seindia who restored Shah Alam (II) to the throne whom Abdul Quadir Rohilla had deprived of his eye-sight and kingdom. In the battle of Panipat between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Marathas a Muslim General, named Ibrahim Gardi, whom Ahmed Shah tried in vain to dissuade, was in charge of the artillery of Marathas. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a conquering hero and made up a Sikh kingdom in the Punjab by his sword. One of his most confidential ministers and court physician was a Muslim, Faqir Aziz-ud-Din. In the first Sikh war the Fauji Khaz (General Ventura's force)

was commanded by a Hindu and the officer-in-charge of the artillery was General Ilahi Bakhsh. The Governor of Kashmir (which has a preponderant Muslim population) under Maharaja Ranjit Singh was Nawab Inam-ud-Din.

Our Muslim friends with whom partition is an obsession, sometimes argue that the complete subjugation of one community by the other will restore the former relations. If brotherly relations between the communities is the ultimate aim, the supporters of Pakistan ignore the reaction of one province over the others in a country in which religion is made the main uniting link. If civic sense and love of peace is likely to prevent them from internecine quarrels, why should not those noble sentiments be invoked now to prevent partition?

What has brought about the change and what is at the root of the evil? Dr. Ambedkar has not given much thought to this question. I am of opinion that the recognition of the principle that civic rights depend on caste and creed is the root cause. If everyone for the acquisition of his rights has to display his caste or communal label, how is it possible to infuse a spirit of nationalism or collaboration or co-operation? Mr. Amery advises us to think ourselves as Indians first and then of our caste or creed. I say now as I said on a former occasion, quoting a Persian couplet:

"You fasten me to a plank and throw me in mid-stream and then ask me not to let my clothes be drenched."

Lord Morley in 1909, while seeking the approval of Parliament to separate electorates for Muslims, which have since been extended to the Sikhs, remarked that it was not his intention to introduce Parliamentary Government in India. Mr. Yusuf Ali in the work from which I have already quoted makes the following remark about separate electorates:

"The foundation of the Muslim League in 1906 under the leadership of the Agha Khan and Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca (in anticipation of the Minto-Morley Reforms) and the creation of separate electorates for Muslims and Hindus under the reforms, isolated the Muslims from the general politics of India, and widened the breach between the two communities. The principle having once been introduced, the process of fission was carried further for other communities and interests and Indian politics became a chequer-board of unsymmetrical arrangement. We are not discussing the necessity or the merits of these arrangements, but noting their effect on the growth of political ideas in India" (p. 268).

In 1917, came the announcement that responsible government would be introduced in India, which has since been interpreted not only

as Dominion Status but as independence. I say that the recognition of rights on the basis of caste and creed and self-government are incompatible. I do not know of any self-governing country where civic rights are based on caste and creed. I do not wish to do away with this vicious principle by a stroke of the pen. It may, perhaps, be inexpedient to do so. I am not making a new constitution for India. It will be for the future constitution-makers to devise an equitable adjustment. Partition of India is the extreme form of separatism or isolation and is not adjustment of communal relations but their aggravation.

I do not deny that Mahatma Gandhi's efforts, as pointed out by Dr. Ambedkar, have failed in bringing about Hindu-Muslim understanding, but in my humble opinion this is due to the fact that union has been sought on the political platform without creating the necessary atmosphere for it. Mahatmaji, I know, holds very high views about religion. He is permeated with the spirit of the Bhagavad Gita, which is one of toleration. I need not remind him what Lord Krishna said about forms of worship, *viz.*, that he appreciates the spirit of devotion and love regardless of the form in which it is exhibited. Sir Mohammed Iqbal, who Sardar Iqbal Ali Shah calls the "spiritual father" of Pakistan, in a Persian couplet express appreciation of the spirit of devotion rather than of its form.

This was also the creed of Swami Vivekananda, which he preached all over the world. Why should not Muslims be induced to learn Sanskrit and Hindi by the award of scholarships and if necessary Hindus to learn Persian and Urdu? Several years ago I moved a resolution in the Punjab Council asking Government to set apart 4 lakhs a year for this purpose. It was opposed by Sir Fazali Hussain's government and fell through. The Congress ministries might have proceeded on these lines but they have given up office only after about two years' work.

Mahatmaji probably thinks that so long as a third party continues at the helm of affairs nothing can be done to create a spirit of nationalism in India. There is no doubt that the policy of Government has throughout been one of emphasising and accentuating divisions, but there is another side of the picture also. The presence of a third party is an urge to offer a united front. I revere Mahatmaji as the greatest apostle of non-violence after Jesus Christ and it, will certainly be a calamity for the human

race if circumstances come into existence which lead him to fast unto death, but I must frankly say that in his negotiations with the British he is implacable and intransigent to such an extent that his attitude is scarcely distinguishable from militancy. It is not reconcilable with that love of peace and ahimsa which he preaches. Dr. Tagore also could not reconcile Mahatmaji's advocacy of boycott with his creed of universal brotherhood and peace. In America and in England there is a widespread demand for the opening of a second front, but no one says to Mr. Churchill or to Mr. Roosevelt, "If you do not open second front we will rebel." I fail to understand how the Mahatma will succeed in a couple of days after the British withdraw or disappear from the scene in making a provisional government based upon understanding between Hindus and Muslims which he has not been able to bring about by his incessant work for the last 20 years.

Dr. Ambedkar also completely ignores the reactions which the partition of India will have on the ruling chiefs of Indian States. I am almost certain that princes who rule over a population professing a religion different from theirs will refuse to join the federation and as other princes also are reluctant to allow any interference with their autonomy, all of them may join hands and keep away from the federation though on different ostensible excuses. Diwan Bahadur Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar in a recent speech in the Praja Sabha supported the integrity and unity of India. I presume that in doing so he was giving expression to his master's views.

Dr. Ambedkar says that Muslims will never submit to a central government which is not controlled by them, for according to the Quran, all governments in which they have not complete control are Dar-ul-Harab for them. They want Dar-ul-Islam. He has not explained how for 150 years the Muslims in India submitted to British rule and control. He is probably not aware of another theory that a government which gives Muslims full religious liberty is "Dar-ul-Aman."

Mr. Jinnah in one of his recent interviews says :

"If Britain will take courage in both hands and give their decision in favour of partition, the Hindus will reconcile themselves after a few months."

I can say the same thing about Muslims. If Britain gives to India self-government without partition in which the claims of the majority community of 250 millions are not disregarded

or distorted, the Muslim will be reconciled to it within six months.

I have carefully read the extracts given by Dr. Ambedkar at pages 28 and 188 from Renan and Lord Bryce. The first impression of the reader, as I wrote to Dr. Ambedkar last year, would be that relying as he does on these quotations, Dr. Ambedkar was making out a case for the unfitness of India for Purna Swaraj. I fail to see how the conditions to which these extracts refer would be fulfilled by the partition of India and by making over the defence of the whole of the vulnerable parts of the country to a federation in which 250 millions of the population of the country are inadequately represented and are reduced to a small and insignificant minority having no effective voice in determining policy in matters in which they are vitally concerned. It is difficult to estimate the population of Hindus in Pakistan and of Muslims in Hindusthan after change of provincial boundaries, but I can safely presume that there will be no less than 20 millions of Hindus in Pakistan and about the same number of Muslims in Hindusthan. The figures given by Dr. Ambedkar at page 112 in *Thoughts on Pakistan* of Muslim population in British Hindusthan are not correct, as they are not reconcilable with the figures of Muslim population in Bengal given by him on page 119.

Sardar Iqbal Ali Shah in the paper to which I have referred before on the political aim of Muslim India refers to Sir Mohammed Iqbal as "the spiritual father" of the scheme of Pakistan. I knew Sir Mohammed Iqbal well and often came in personal contact with him. He was my colleague in the Punjab Council. He was undoubtedly a poet of a high order. He began with such poems as "Naya Shivala," "Hindusthan Hamara". He had, however, been under the influence of Nietzsche, a German philosopher, and the "spiritual father" of Hitler. Sir Mohammed Iqbal relapsed into an advocacy of separatism and isolationism, which was a necessary outcome of Nietzsche's philosophy. Hitler does not believe in local contiguity being the basic principle of altruistic circle in society. He wants all Germans, wherever they are, to be under the protection, control and supervision of the German Reich, as he thinks that German Kultur is superior to the culture of the rest of the world. The Muslim League equally disregards local contiguity to be the basis of union. Sir Mohammed Iqbal's advocacy of a separate

federation introduces for India duality of control specially of the defence, foreign policy, customs and currency, leading, as pointed out in the main article, to internecine friction and quarrel possibly culminating in a civil war. This duality is hardly compatible with the unity on which Islam and Quran insist. Sir Mohammed Iqbal did not realise the consequences of this division and in failing to do so he forgot the well-known text of the Quran which says that if there were two gods in this world heaven and earth would break.

I have not gone into the controversial question whether Hindus and Muslims form one or two nations. Dr. Ambedkar has laid great stress as already pointed out on the differences that exist between them showing that at least they are heterogeneous groups. I think, however, that assuming them to be two heterogeneous groups or nations, to keep them under one federation is a step towards unification and nationalisation. A study of the history of India shows that under the Mauryas and the Guptas when there was one central government there were no foreign invasions of any consequence, which became frequent and successful when India was divided into a number of sovereign states at rivalry with one another and incapable of co-operation. The partition of India, as rightly observed by Gandhiji, is vivisection of the body politic.

The War Cabinet should have realised that in referring to the possibility of two unions or federations they were tacitly giving recognition to the Hitlerian principle of making religion or race to be the basis of union and not local contiguity. The War Cabinet wanted all these matters to remain open questions to be settled afterwards. Sir Stafford Cripps wanted to please all parties, the League, Congress and the Mahasabha, but went away without pleasing any. My personal view is that it would have been better if no declaration had been made, referring to the possibility of more than one union or federation. The reaction which the creation of an independent and separate Muslim state in the North-West and North-East of India will have on Russia and China, countries which have a fair proportion of Muslims, can be better imagined than described. It is simply anomalous to think of more than one federation in India at a time when the best political thinkers are contemplating a world federation.

(Concluded)

'THE NECESSITY OF ENDING INDIAN POLITICAL DEADLOCK

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THE British Prime Minister in his statement before the House of Commons on 10th September has indulged in a series of misrepresentations. We can only say that in regard to the Indian situation his advisers are not representing the true state of affairs. It is utterly wrong on his part to attribute the present tense situation in the country to the Congress. The Congress never started the present movement, nor had the Congress leaders organised it before their arrest.

In the A.-I. C. C. resolution the Congress lays stress on "the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken. The committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that 'non-violence is the basis of this movement.' . . ."

Where then can we find within the four corners of the resolution passed by the Working Committee and endorsed by the A.-I. C. C. on 8th August the slightest trace of the Congress departing from the principle of non-violence? Where is the justification of holding the Congress responsible for leading the country to a violent revolution? It is a well-known fact that Mahatmaji has pledged his life and honour to the cause of non-violence, and Congressmen all over the country are his disciples in this respect. It was due to Mahatmaji's influence that the violent Revolutionary Movement has liquidated itself. It was he who said not long before that if the freedom of India is to be won by violence he would not have such freedom. He is the high apostle of non-violence in a world which is reeking of 'violate, violence and be violent.'

The Congress resolutions for many years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi had laid stress upon this fundamental aspect of non-violence in the achievement of India's independence. If Mahatma Gandhi and the respected leaders of the Congress, i.e., members of the Working Committee and of the A.-I. C. C. really wanted to eschew non-violence, and have recourse to violence, they would have without the slightest diffidence called upon their countrymen to resort to violence. Cowardice is not in the make-up of Mahatmaji and of the respected

leaders of the Congress. Subterfuge is unknown to him as also to them. It is Mahatmaji who has spiritualised politics as it were, who detests hide-and-seek policy in politics, who wants that everything must be fair and above board. Those who know his illustrious career can never attribute it to him that he professes one thing and practises another. Before his famous Dandi march he gave due notice of it to the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, laid before him all his cards and then initiated the salt campaign.

It is a well-known fact that Mahatmaji wanted to interview the Viceroy before starting the Movement; he also wanted to address letters to Chiang Kai-shek, Stalin and President Roosevelt. May it be pertinently asked why was he with all the Congress leaders put into jail immediately on the termination of the A.-I. C. C. session before he was allowed the opportunity of interviewing the Viceroy, and appealing to the heads of the United Nations? Would it have set the Thames on fire, if he had been allowed to do so? He would have certainly unfolded his plans to the Viceroy as also to the heads of the United Nations. And if the British Government thought that non-violence had been departed from, and violence had been taken up as a weapon, certainly Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery as also the Viceroy could have held Mahatmaji as also the Congress leaders responsible. Why was he not given the opportunity of unfolding his plans to be followed by the Congress? Mahatmaji's politics is absolutely clean and spotless, and under his guidance the Revolutionary Movement has effaced itself, and those who believed in violence as the only panacea are converts to his doctrine of non-violence.

The Congress ever since the beginning of the war has been demanding of the British Government to declare its policy in regard to India and other colonies of Britain, but three years have rolled on in vain and the British Government did not bestir itself in regard to the repeated demands till at long last on 8th August, 1940 came the declaration which had been condemned by all the parties as most unsuited to satisfy the aspirations of India. In March 29, 1942, came again the draft declarations of British Government's proposals better known as Cripps proposals. Sir Stafford Cripps, who, when he first came to India about two years ago on his

way to China, stayed with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as his guest and received spontaneous ovation of the students of Allahabad University for fighting the cause of India's freedom outside and inside Parliament. He professed great friendship for Congressmen and love for Congress politics, and the writer of this article had the privilege of interviewing him then. What a sympathetic attitude he had to India's aspirations can be easily estimated by his reply to the question which the author of the article put to him: 'What stands in the way of Britain's granting immediate freedom to India?' He answered, 'Nothing does stand.' Yet the same gentleman two years thence, when he had been elevated to the position of a Cabinet Minister, stated in the course of his Press interviews that even if all the parties in India agreed he would not transfer Defence to Indian hands. Surely office has narrowed his horizon.

A British politician once stated, "I am not afraid of political firebrands in the House of Commons. As soon as they enter the House of Commons they hiss and are extinguished." More truly can it be said of one who enjoyed the reputation of an ultra-radical man that when he became a Cabinet Minister his views underwent a great transformation and he ceased to be a radical and become a conservative in his outlook on India.

The irreducible minimum demands were put before Sir Stafford by the Congress. The Congress agreed to form the composite ministry consisting of men drawn from the principal parties in India to nationalise the Government of India and asked that the Viceroy should be stripped of his vetoing power. Were these proposals of a revolutionary character? Yet unfortunately none of these demands could be acceded to by the British Government. Could not through a convention, as was adopted in the provinces in 1937, the Viceroy be made to act on the advice of the members of the Executive Council? Scholars of Constitutional Law can definitely assert that this could have been easily done.

In the last A-I C. C. resolution, the Committee 'conveyed to the Russian and Chinese peoples' its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. . . . 'A free India will assure this success (the success of Freedom and Democracy) by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of war, but bring all subjects and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the World. . . . No future promises and guarantees

can affect the present situation and meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the minds of the masses. Only the glow of freedom can now release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people that would immediately transform the nature of the war.'

Is there the slightest trace in the aforesaid passages of pro-Axis sympathy or antipathy towards the United Nations? The Congress desired that to enable India to ally herself wholeheartedly with the United Nations, to fight the battle of democracy and freedom with unflinching valour India must be made free, not after the war, but immediately. The granting of immediate freedom to India would have assured the world of the sincerity of Britain in her professions of democracy and world-freedom, would have raised the United Nations to the highest pedestal of honour by showing to the world that they stand for equality and freedom of nations and as saviours of humanity. Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal and Maulana Azad and other leaders are among the greatest democrats of the world. By clapping them into prison Britain cannot by an inch improve her claim of fighting for world freedom and world federation. It has, on the contrary, given a handle to the Axis Powers to say that there is a world of difference between the practices and professions of United Nations. India was and is the touchstone of Britain's sincerity. If Britain had really followed the advice of Mahatmaji or still follows it now, India to a man will fight for the United Nations for upholding those high principles enunciated by the United Nations. India can still be an arsenal of democracy. One-fifth of the human race fighting for high principles and convictions would present an insurmountable wall of resistance to any aggressor. Surely the United Nations even now should step in and intervene in the affairs of India and tell the British Government clearly and unmistakably that there is nothing sinister in the Congress move for freedom, but that on the contrary the Congress was actuated by the highest altruistic motives in framing the resolutions. The Indian problem is no longer a domestic problem of Britain, for the United Nations are equally interested in infusing new spirit into 39 crores of Indians to defend their cause. Britain has erred. Let the United Nations rectify that mistake. Where Churchill has failed, let Chiang Kai-shek, Stalin and Roosevelt step in.

Mr. Churchill states that the Congress does not represent the whole of India. According to him, it is a political organisation built around a party machine and sustained by certain manu-

facturing and financial interests! In my opinion he is wrong also in this assertion.

Barring the Muslim League, which can perhaps claim the allegiance of only less than two crores of Mussalmans, the Congress holds its sway directly or indirectly over the rest of India. Within the Congress fold there are not merely manufacturers and financial magnates, but men from all professions, some of whom are highly cultured and respected by all communities. It also includes millions of peasants and labourers. Mr. Churchill's statement that 90 millions of Mussalmans in India are outside the Congress organisation, cannot be accepted as a fact.

The Momins in India, in the telegram which they sent a few months ago to the Secretary of State, definitely asserted that they represented about 45 millions of Mussalmans in India. Various influential Mussalman parties, such as the Jamiat-ul-Ulemas, the Khuda-i-Khidmatgars of N.-W. F. P., the Ahrars, the Shias, the Krishak Praja Party, the Azad Mussalman Party, are also outside the pale of the Muslim League. Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Prime Minister of Bengal, has definitely cut himself off from the Muslim League along with his followers and is now one of the accredited leaders of the Progressive Mussalmans, not merely of Bengal, but all over India.

Mr. Allah Bux, the Prime Minister of Sind, is also a Progressive Mussalman. He and his party do not at all subscribe to the Muslim League policy. The N.-W. F. Mussalmans are strong, virile nationalist Mussalmans banded together under the leadership of their great leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who think the Muslim League policy to be suicidal. Within the Congress itself there is a large number of Mussalmans highly educated and erudite with most nationalistic outlook on politics.

Mr. Churchill states further that there are 50 millions of the depressed classes, who according to him, differ radically from the Congress policy. But this is also wrong. Due to the benign influence and policy of Mahatmaji, they are ceasing to labour under any sort of social disability or inequality. They are regarded, as they regard themselves, as integral and vital portions of Hindu society, and are not at all against the Congress creed and policy. Mr. Ambedkar, the so-called champion of the depressed classes, is a self-styled leader having little influence over the majority of them.

Mr. Churchill further avers that the people in the Indian States, whose number, he estimates as nine crores, are anti-Congress. Has

Mr. Churchill forgotten the existence of various Congress organisations in the States, the annual convening of the people at conferences, which are presided over by Congress leaders? Has he forgotten also the facts that the demands of the people in the States for democratisation of the administration in the States received great and active support from the Congress?

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Allah Bux, Mr. Savarkar, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Jayakar, and almost all the influential people in politics, who are not members of the Congress organisation, are unanimous in their assertion that the Congress leaders must be released, and a national government must be formed at the Centre forthwith. Never in Indian history was there a greater degree of unanimity amongst all the sections of the people urging the British Government to transfer real power to Indian hands. Mere Indianisation of the Executive Council cannot be calculated to be a step forward, because the fundamental basis of the formation of a national government is that the representatives must be people's men and not nominees of the British Government.

• Mr. Jinnah may now well find himself in a forlorn condition. Many influential members of the Muslim League do not see eye to eye with him in his political views.

The Hindu Mahasabha recently passed a resolution, which is almost on all fours with the resolution passed by the A.-I. C. C., and Dr. Mukerji and other prominent members of Hindu Mahasabha, who had been touring over the country in order to gain the support of influential political parties to the setting up of a national government, have succeeded in showing to the British Parliament that the urge for political freedom is not confined to the Congress only, but is shared by all sections of the people in India.

Mr. Allah Bux, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, all repudiate the allegation that 90 millions of Mussalmans do not desire immediate independence of their country or are in any way less patriotic than any other community in India. Unfortunately the statement of Mr. Jinnah is not calculated to pour oil on troubled waters. He says that the Mussalmans are like a melon, whether the knife falls on the melon or the melon on the knife, it will be cut to pieces. Mr. Jinnah could have himself entered into negotiations with the Congress leaders and can still do so by which the position of the Mussalmans will be well secured for the future. He has poured venom

upon an organisation which embraces within its fold, not merely Hindus and Mussalmans, but Christians and also Sikhs, and men of all other communities, an organisation which has all along been trying to set at rest whatever suspicion might exist in Muslim minds, that in case India gets independence, their political rights, culture, religious customs all might be endangered. Repeated attempts were made to enter into negotiations with the Muslim League. The Congress even went to the length of asking the British Government to transfer power to the Muslim League, but Mr. Jinnah would have nothing to do with the Congress or any other party to come to terms. He should note carefully that the small number of Mussalmans who are his followers, out of 39 crores of inhabitants of this country, cannot block the way to independence. His boastful utterance that the Mussalmans have got 500 times more guts than the Hindus, and can give 500 times more trouble, comes easy from his armchair in Malabar Hills residence. Such words do not pave the way to a better understanding between Hindus and Mussalmans. He should know that he is not the only accredited leader of Mussalmans; strongly arrayed against him are the nationalist Mussalmans of Bengal, Sind and N.-W. F. P. under Fazlul Huq, Allah Bux and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan respectively along with the leaders of the Mussalman divines and other Muslim parties including the Momins. There is already a great rift amongst the Muslim Leaguers. Mr. Jinnah would do well to grasp the hand of friendship extended to him by the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sikhs and the Mussalman organizations other than the Muslim League even now.

All the political organisations in the country and all the political leaders of different parties are unanimous in demanding the formation of a national government immediately in India as also in the releasing of the Congress leaders. Even a section of the Europeans in Calcutta at a meeting adopted a resolution which is to the effect that the British Government should forthwith announce its readiness to transfer full powers to a national government of India and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Sir Reginald Maxwell has no right to castigate the Congress party as an enemy within. In the absence of any instructions or plan formulated by the Working Committee or the A.-I. C. C. connecting them with any violent movement, it is preposterous to hold the Congress organisation responsible for the present

disturbances. He would do well to remember that the Congress leaders were the heads of eight provincial governments only three years ago and they relinquished office of their own accord when they could get no assurance from the British Government as to their declaration of policy towards India on the outbreak of war. If any negotiation has to be carried on, if any government in India has to be formed, if any peaceful atmosphere has to be created in this country, it will be with the help of these ex-ministers, who are today prisoners. To create bad blood is easy enough, but to still the passions, and to induce a calm atmosphere is difficult. The prisoners of today will be again the ministers of tomorrow, and even the *London Times* has acknowledged the fact that no negotiation is possible without the Congress.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Aney spoke in the Central Legislature defending the Government policy. Their speeches lack in utter statesmanship and foresight. Sir Sultan Ahmed has stated that before the ink was dry on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution the whole of India was in flames, and the acts of destruction followed with lightning rapidity. He should have been candid enough to own that the disturbances broke out because of the arrests of Mahatmaji and the Congress leaders and not as a consequence of the passing of the resolution. He has applauded Cripps' proposals as great constructive proposals, and has tried to whitewash Sir Stafford's reluctance to part with the vetoing power of the Viceroy, by saying that through convention that could have been done, and to quote his own words, 'the convention which the Congress demanded would have come in as a matter of course, once there was the sanction behind it of the representatives of the people.' If that was the view of Sir Stafford, why did he not readily accept that part of the Congress proposal?

Sir Sultan Ahmed states :

"A national government cannot be imposed, but it must be the creation of a fairly unanimous will of the people."

Does Sir Sultan Ahmed know that all the parties are agreed upon securing the independence of India immediately? Furthermore he should remember that nowhere in the history of the world has a government been formed, where all men, women and children have unanimously agreed upon the constitution. A powerful determined minority was mainly responsible for having drawn up the constitution of the United

States. Similarly the Irish constitution was drawn up in accordance with the will of a powerful minority who wanted that through the agency of a constituent assembly the Irish constitution was to be drawn up. As already remarked in the course of this article, out of India's 39 crores at any rate 37 crores are for immediate declaration of independence.

Turning to Dr. Ambedkar's speech it may be stated at once that, if the name of the member had been omitted from the papers many could have been led into the belief that it was a speech of a die-hard English conservative. Let him not lay the flattering unction to his soul by saying, 'Every member of the Council is a colleague of the Governor-General.' Such colossal ignorance about the fundamentals of the Government of India Act of 1935 is most ill-suited to the erstwhile principal of the Law College, Bombay. Let him read the Government of India Act once again to blow away his mental cobwebs. He castigated the legislature as in a diseased state. If the House can by any stretch of imagination be said to have lost its representative character, as it is sitting for the last nine years, we may say straightaway that the members of the Executive Council have never had any representative character. They represent none but themselves. They are nominees of the British Government having no responsibility to the legislature. In the British Parliament, if such a speech had been delivered by any minister, there would have been an immediate dissolution of the ministry.

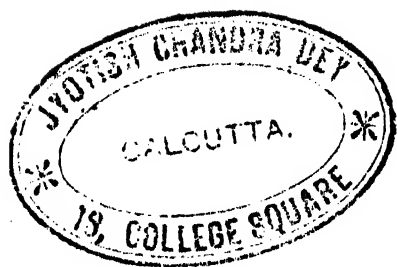
Mr. Aney in winding up the debate on behalf of the Government has not been also able to justify the attitude of the Government in arresting the Congress leaders. None of the members of the Executive Council can fasten the responsibility of the disturbances on the Congress. On the other hand, the disturbances broke out because of the extremely ill-advised measures adopted by the Government.

Let the members of the Executive Council remember that even if today there is a fresh election, the Congress will sweep the polls. Let them, if they so desire, resign their office and seek election, and then they will find to their dismay the absence of popular confidence in them! Surely, they have by their singular lack of statesmanship, given bad advice to the Viceroy. Instead of easing the situation, which they should have done, they have abused their positions, and are parties to the raising of the storm in India. A wiser band of Executive Councillors would not have given

such bad advice to the Viceroy, would have requested the Viceroy to meet Mahatmaji, would have explored all the avenues for creating good Indo-British relationship at the most critical juncture of England and India as also the Allied Nations. They have served their British masters as also the Indian nation badly.

The measures recently undertaken by the Government of India are not calculated at all to promote the war efforts of Britain or the United Nations in India. On the other hand, they tend to lessen them considerably. Troops whose energy should have been released in checkmating foreign invasion only are engaged to some extent in suppressing the disturbances.

In my considered judgment the release of the Congress leaders as also other Congressmen and women together with a declaration from the British Parliament of immediate transfer of power to Indian hands will at once make the country calm and fit for negotiations in regard to the establishment of full responsible government in the country. When Britain is willing to transfer power to India at the conclusion of the war, why cannot she agree to transfer power immediately during the continuance of war? Does Britain apprehend that transfer of power to Indian hands would mean that India would at once conclude a treaty with Japan? If so, her apprehensions are without foundation, for the Congress leaders are men of strict honour and rectitude, who would never deviate from their word of honour. Confidence begets confidence, and let Britain trust India implicitly, not merely for her own sake, but for the sake of India, as also for the high ideals for which she as also the United Nations claim to fight, in order to prove that there is no difference between their professions and practices. It is the bounden duty of the United Nations to create psychological conditions which will enable India to throw her whole manhood into the struggle for preservation of her own freedom, of democracy all over the world, as also freedom of humanity. The thing of most paramount importance is now the release of all Congressmen. A contented India trusted by Britain and the Allied Powers would be the greatest asset for the Allies, whereas a discontented India will be a millstone round their necks. The first step, therefore, for Britain to take is to release Mahatmaji and other leaders, and the second step is to enter into negotiations with him, and through him with other parties for a far-reaching conciliatory policy towards India.



CAPE COMORIN

The Land's End of India

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE epic setting of Cape Comorin or Kanya Kumari is superb, grand and serene. The confluence of the three mighty oceans, the perpetual roaring of the many waves of the three in perfect unison, the blazing sun above in the bright blue sky reflecting its brilliant rays on the ghats, the flight of steps leading down to the several sacred *teerthams*, the palace, the summer residence and season resorts, the Residency, the Cape Hotel, a convent and a church nearby, the Sathrams and above everything else, the glittering golden dome of the temple of Kumari Kanya, the guardian goddess of India's southern end, the single Brahmin street straggling and congested which crouches near the walls of the shrine, the market place, and then, miles and miles of sands of various shapes and hues with sand-dunes and rock-hills on the shore, big and small, jutting into the seas—these distinctive features of the place keep one lost in the beauty of the creation and ecstasy of enchanted vision. That is Cape Comorin, the *Land's End of India*.

Cape Comorin is 53 miles to the South of Trivandrum. It is Travancore's most famous beauty-spot. The continent of India ends here in a "swan song of broken rocks and mingling oceans."

Lord Kitchener, when Commander-in-Chief in India, paid a visit to the Cape and was greatly struck by its singular strategic importance. The great soldier could not resist the temptation of throwing himself into the waters for a swim on seeing the thrilling sight of the three seas in confluence. With great difficulty and after a narrow escape he reached one of the outlying rocks. This rock since then has been called after his name. The rugged and massive rocks buttressing into the sea at the Cape are imposing in their majesty and magnitude.

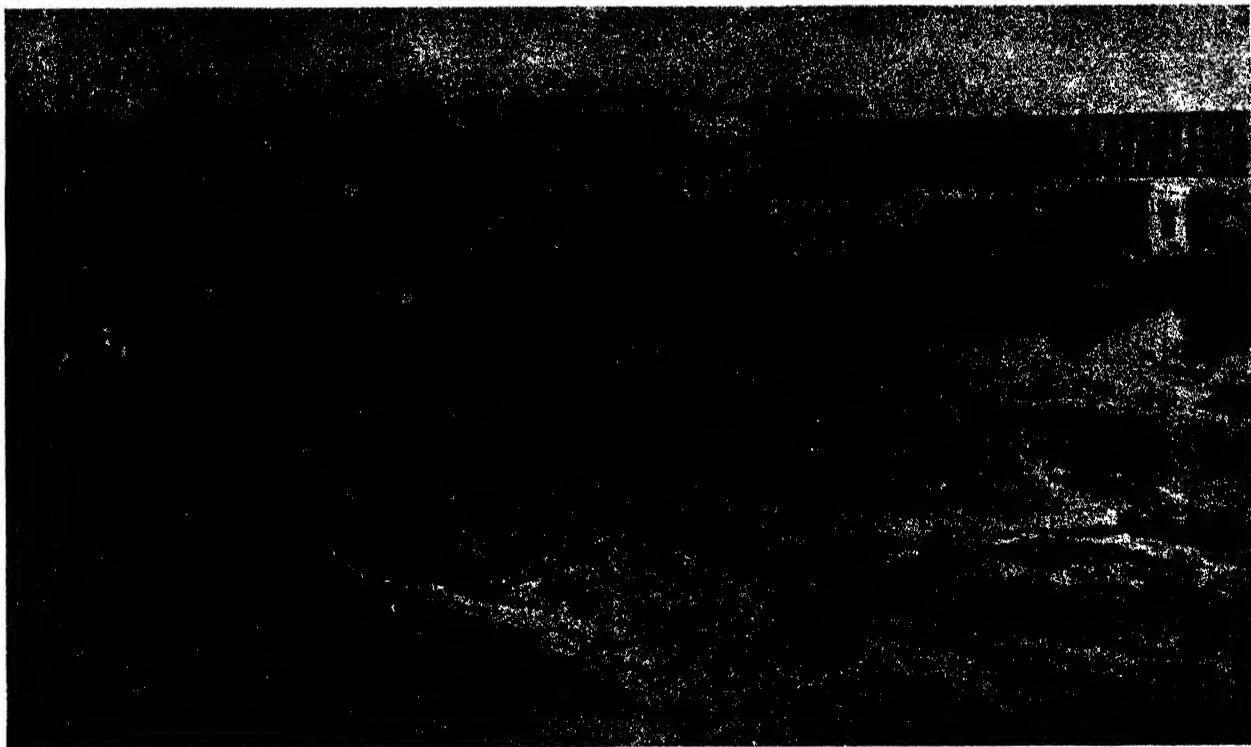
The shore is lonely and yet rapturous with the unending music of the waves over the rocks. Sunrise and sunset at Cape Comorin are the most fascinating sights. Where the great arm of the sea curves inland and the surging tide races across like a thousand white-crested sea-horses, there stretches a magnificent expanse of beach full of glittering sands and gleaming shells.

The glory of the Cape in the morning hours is indescribable. The stately cocoanut and palmyra trees sway to and fro. From above comes a gleam of the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaves of the palms like a message from violent supernatural powers. Rugged and strangely folded stratified rocks stand on guard around the temple, greyish brown in shadow but shimmering in shades of red, yellow and brown when the morning sun warms them. And above hangs the deep blue sky into which the spires of the temple seem to cut sharply. Dense vegetation seems fresh and smart with tiny dew-drops dripping from the leaves. The crystal-clear waters of the three seas wash the foot of the temple.

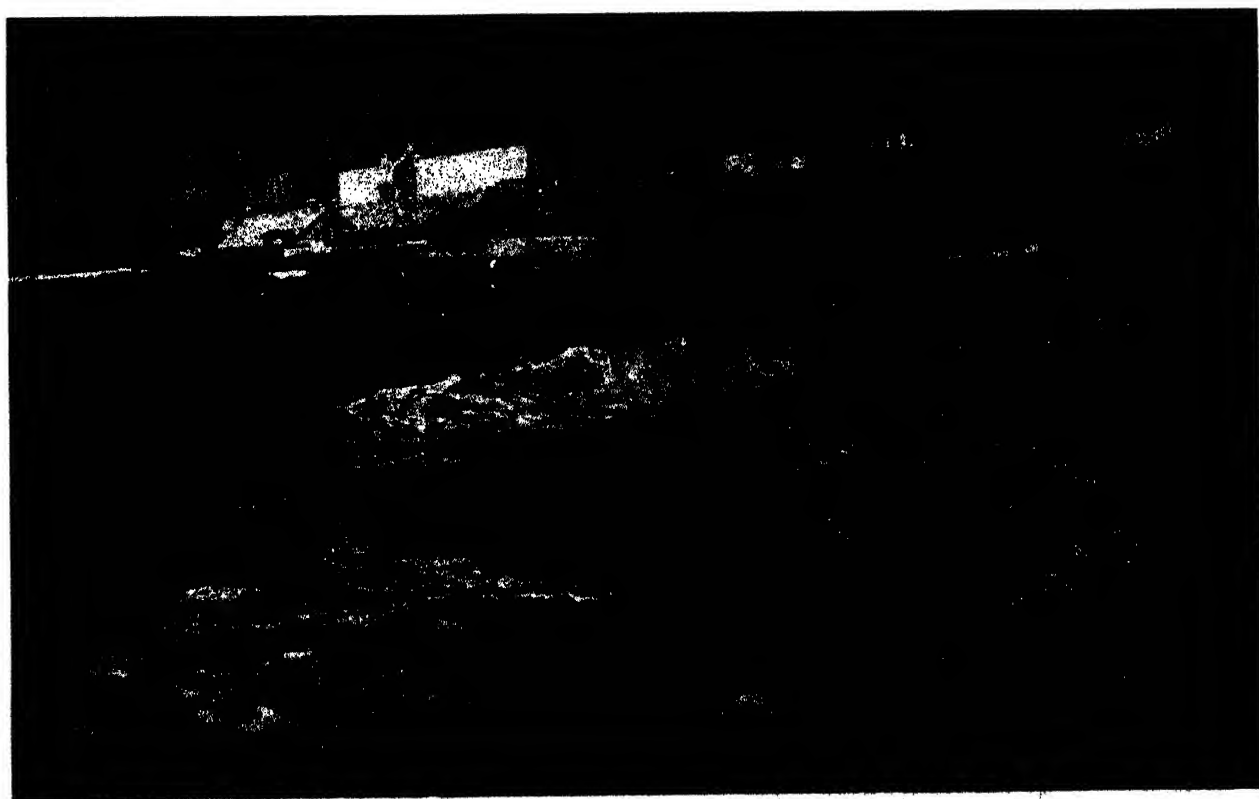
To gaze into the immensity of the horizon on a summer evening at Cape Comorin is to witness an indescribable picture of beauty, majesty and charm. What wonderful colours for the artist's brush this bewitching scene conjures up! The glorious arch overhead, of a deeper blue than the sky ever was, is lavishly embellished with patches of sheeny clouds tinged with the deepest and softest hues of infinite variety. The clouds themselves are of all shapes changing every moment both in form and colour through the varied effects of light and shade. The bright sun shows his broad and crimson disc through an aperture in the light clouds. The setting sun leaves behind a whirl of pink opal where the clouds jostle each other in the west. In the east the sky is topaz, lemon and turquoise while the sea assumes myriad impossible tints. The sands themselves sparkle in the fading red of the setting sun and there is a glorious shimmer on the surface of the rolling sea. In the sea a thousand evanescent rainbow colours flash reflecting the myriad tones of the brilliant evening sky.

The sea in the ample embrace of small creeks and huge rocks is always beautiful and attractive. Small villages and hamlets which nestle amidst dense cocoanut plantations enrich the scenery and make it gayer and more alive. When evening shadows cast their mystic spell of secrecy, and soft murmurings and whispers

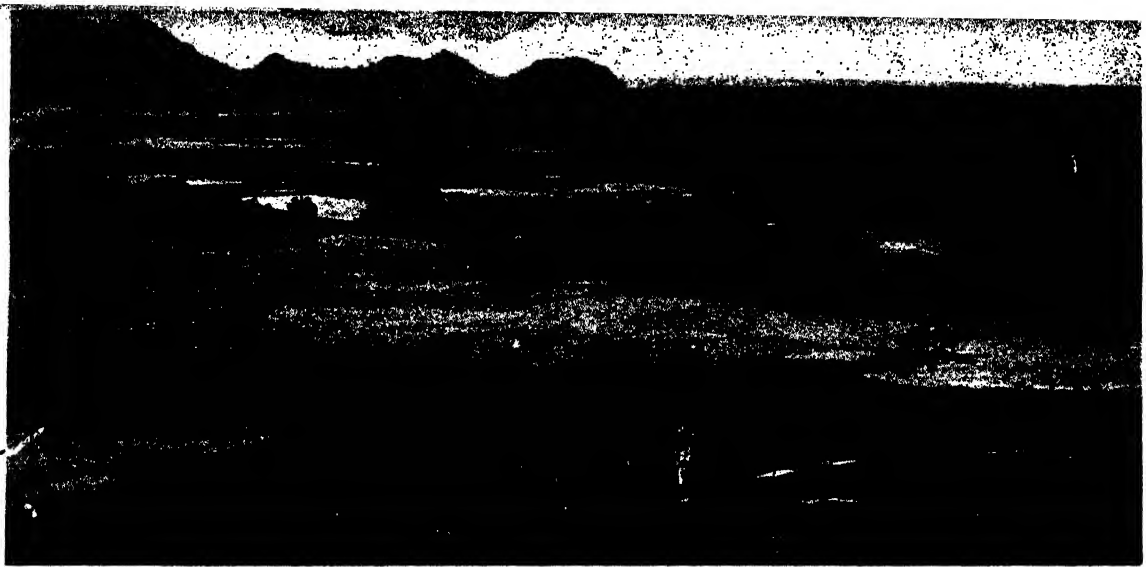
CAPE COMORIN



Principal bathing ghat, Cape Comorin



A view of the Cape Sea, showing fishermen at work



A general view of the countryside around Cape Comorin



Beach view showing fishing nets, catamarans, etc.



Another view of the Cape Sea, showing the famous Vivekananda and Kitchener Rocks

manate out of the water, the picturesqueness of the Cape is best appreciated.

Witness the charms of Cape Comorin at night when heat is no longer reflected off the mounting sand, when the cool ozone-bearing night-breeze hisses across the feathery palm leaves into the interior, and the tides splash against the rocks throwing up silver spray. The scene then seems like the throne of the invisible entinelled by a galaxy of stars. The silver moon hangs in the air shedding her soothing rays on the ripples, waves and sands. The deep blue vault of the clear sky studded with innumerable stars is mirrored perfectly on the waters of the ocean. White sands sparkling in the light of the moon stretch beneath the arc of the pellucid sky like a subtly-textured carpet woven by fairies at the command of some mighty wizard. The nights appear faintly illumined by the phosphorescent glow of the sea. The land enjoys an excess of loveliness and the sea which assumes an unearthly glow is very calm and beauty reigns supreme everywhere. What else is so joyful as a moonlit night spent on the immaculately clean sea front at Cape Comorin!

From ages past Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin) has been an eagerly sought place of pilgrimage to the people of Hindusthan. Foreign travellers, such as Erotosthenes, Ptolemy and Pliny, seem to have visited this spot ages ago. The Periplus of Arrian, written in the first century A. D., has the following passage:

"Next to this is another place called Komar, where there is a Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither, bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the Goddess once upon a time resided at the place and bathed."

There is a mention of the Cape Temple in the great Hindu epic the Mahabharata. *Manimekalai*, a well-known Tamil work of the second century, narrates a tradition to the effect that Sati, the wife of a Brahmin of Benares, walked all the way to Cape Comorin, bathed in the sea there, worshipped at the feet of the virgin goddess Kanya Kumari, and was purged of her sin of unchastity. In *Durga Gayatri*

occurs the following reference to this goddess, "Karthyanaya, Vithmahe, Kanya Kumari, Dheemahie." The story of the origin of the sacred spot is interesting.

Legend has it that in olden days there were two brothers named Banasura and Mukasura who by dint of meditation and austerities won from Brahma the blessing of immortal life. These Asuras, who were cruel and callous, caused severe sufferings to the Devas. The Devas in utter consternation waited in deputation on Siva and requested him to save them from the wicked Asuras. While Siva was contemplating as to how the Asuras were to be put down, Parvati hinted to her lord that Brahma had decreed that they



A general view of Cape Comorin showing the main street leading to the temple

would remain invulnerable so long as they were not confronted by a virgin girl, and that she had been ordained to appear on the earth for that purpose. Forthwith, the goddess Parvati transformed herself into a Kanyaka, a virgin maiden. Open hostilities were set in full swing between the two Asuras and the goddess in human form. Finally, the Asuras were killed by the Kanyaka after a bloody fight which lasted for eighteen days. This happy intelligence was duly communicated to Siva but Parvati could not be received by him as his spouse in her manifestation as a virgin. She was advised to hasten to Dakshinamukham Samudram, the present Cape Comorin, and to do penance there for expiating the sins of war. Parvati's victory over the Asuras is still celebrated in the form of the annual festival Ambu Charita (Bow Fight) which falls on the second month of the Malabar Year. This festi-

val attracts thousands of pilgrims to Cape Comorin every year.

Kanya Kumari is so named after the virgin goddess who presides over the temple on the shore. It is of great archaeological importance. A lofty striped stone-wall surrounds the shrine. The temple is built in stone. Sunlight seldom penetrates into it. The Cape Temple is after the Dravidian style of architecture which is conventional and rigid. The extremely elaborate ornamentation and florid 'motif' which are the distinguishing features of the Hoysalayan style are witnessed in the exquisite carvings in the Cape Temple. The entrance is under a

This massive wall, plastered in white with broad vertical stripes of red, has stood the ravages of centuries of inclement weather. The seaward entrance to the temple is closed; it has been so for a long time past. The eastern Temple Gate is opened only twice a year during certain festivals. Tradition has it that in days of yore the temple door facing the sea was ever kept open and all through the night the flash of the tiara of diamonds that adorned the head of the goddess acted as "the light house" of the Cape. Some foreign traders who knew this coveted the precious stones; they anchored off the Cape, got ashore and marauded the temple.

But the merry buccaneers were powerless to rob the goddess. In shame they retreated and incurred heavy losses. From that day the eastern gate remains closed.

The image of Kanya Kumari is of granite. The image is bedecked with jewels and is lavishly decorated. The virgin goddess symbolises life "as chaste as ice, as pure as snow."

"She symbolises alike the eternal quest of the human soul and the essential unity of India, both physical and psychological."

The Cape Temple set up to the heroism of Kanya Kumari, a virgin of twelve, towers high as an outpost against the demons of ancient Lanka and the ravages of the seas. The temple is always full of people,

some kneeling, some prostrate, some squatting, some lost in ecstasy, some wrapt in attention, some standing with closed eyes and joint palms, but all repeating the great precepts of their faith, chanting hymns and prayers, trying to bring into their hearts the wisdom of the scriptures.

It is a unique and soul-stirring spectacle to observe the highest Brahmin and the lowliest Harijan, standing shoulder to shoulder at the Cape Temple and offering their full-volumed homage to the goddess in the form of hymns. This has been made possible, thanks to the wisdom and courage of His Highness Sree Bala Rama Varma Maharaja, who by a bold and powerful stroke of the pen abolished every form of untouchability in the State and emancipated thousands of Harijans by permitting Hindus of



A part of the large concourse of pious Hindus who flock to the Cape Temple on the Adi Amavasi day

grand gateway through a passage richly ornamented. The stone pillars and statues, the richly decorated heavy columns with protruding brackets, and the elaborately carved ceilings which are noticed in the temple, compel close examination. The granite pillars in the shrine produce different melodious sounds of varying tones when struck. There is a wealth of detail in the carvings which cannot but evoke wonder. With remarkable economy of line human emotions are expressed in these exquisite carvings. The artists and artisans who created these marvels had an eye for feature and form and knew the technique to express them powerfully.

The stone wall encircling the shrine is imposing and looks like a huge fort wall. The division between the stones is hardly perceptible.

all castes to worship in all the temples controlled by the State.

The temple shines in all its glory in the night at the hour of the Sandhya Deepam and Pooja. The Deepāradhana hour is regarded as the most sacred time for worship. It is then that the temple is in all its splendour. The image is lavishly decorated with jewels, sandal-paste, flowers and silk cloth. The temple is lighted brilliantly. Flutes play, drums beat, conches sound, bells ring, devotees chant *mantrams* and piety and devotion reign supreme. The flash of the rubies, emeralds and diamonds with which the goddess is adorned dazzles one's eyes and spreads a celestial radiance all around. Many voices, grave and gay, all ecstatic with piety and devotion, chant the sacred hymns; the stone walls chant them back. The whole place is full of the sweet smell of the incense burning in the temple. The temple starts into a new glory, for it is all hung about with tiny, bright lamps and even the facades of the shrines are lit up. Sjt. Mahadev Desai in his *Epic of Travancore* says :

"I love rather to think of Uma, whose feet are washed by the Indian Ocean with his two hands the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea, winning by her penance the Lord who has his abode in Kailas, the northernmost point of India."

To the orthodox Hindu, Cape Comorin is a holy place radiant with divine grace. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi :

"The place is eminently fit for contemplation. Like the Goddess the waters around are virgin."

People believe that a plunge into the cool, sacred baths known as *teerthams* washes away one's sins. The sacred *teerthams* lie on the three sides of the temple. The principal bathing ghat is at the edge of the sea. A small grey stone resting place has been constructed here, where the rocks jut out beyond the temple and the waves continually splash. This structure faces the rising sun and is of considerable antiquity. Some of the beautiful carved figures on the stone pillars of this Mandapam have been worn away due to the ravages of the sea. The Pathinarukal Mandapam (16-stone-pillared Mandapam) is close by. Seated in this Mandapam Brahmins perform their religious

rites preceding a dip into the *teerthams*. A flight of granite steps leads to the bathing ghat itself, a shallow rock pool shut in from the full force of the seas by a great mass of rock.

The Mathru *teertham* is the most sacred of all the bathing ghats, and the majority of devotees bathe in this holy of holies—a calm pool, with water but waist deep, closed in by rocks all round. At the *teertham* proper the blue waters of the sea dash in with all fury and force. To afford protection to the bathers from



A familiar scene en route Cape Comorin

drowning, steps have been built and a cordon of strong chains provided for the unwary pilgrims to catch hold of and keep them back from being dragged into the ocean. Orthodox pilgrims plunge into the *teerthams* in couples, father and son, mother and son, husband and wife.

On the *Adi Amavasi* day many thousands of pious pilgrims from all over India gather at Cape Comorin to bathe in the sacred *teerthams* and offer religious rites in honour of their ancestral dead. The *Dasara* in the month of October is another season which attracts numberless devotees to this shrine.

Swami Vivekananda during his wandering in quest of Truth arrived at Cape Comorin and was thrilled at the sight of the magnificent epic setting of the place. He reached the Cape fatigued, with no money to pay the ferry but he would not be held back at the *Land's End of India*. He plunged headlong into the boiling waters and swam across the *teerthams*, to one of the outlying rocks and there, wrapt in contemplation, paid his homage to the goddess. The rock upon which he squatted has since then borne his name.

There is a legend which celebrates the virginal purity of the Goddess Kanya Kumari. God Siva who has his abode at Suchindram a few miles away from Cape Comorin, once took a fancy for Kanya Kumari and wanted to have her as his spouse. The goddess agreed at first. The hour and date of the marriage were fixed

mineral sands, such as Garnet and Monozite. Superstitious folk believe that some of the beads and shells obtained in plenty at Cape Comorin act as charms which possess the power of searing away evil spirits and bringing good luck. Parents tie around the waists of their children some of these beautiful beads and shells washed

ashore by the Cape seas. The white pebbles with blue lines and black dots are in great demand, for women who desire easy child-birth use them as talismans. Interesting specimens of beautiful shells and sands obtained here are sure to delight the collector of curios and the enterprising geologist.

When the gales have died down, when the wind drives the last wisps of cloud across the deep blue sky, while the endless line of snowwhite surf is still boiling along the entire coast in the greyness of the steeper parts and on the broad stretches of multi-coloured sands, when the sea-birds gleam across the greenish blue steel grey of the

sea and the sparkling sands on the coast, when the bells chime and musical instruments play in the temple, when the dialect of the devotees mingles harmoniously with the music of the waves and the delicate tints of the landscape—then begins the lovely season at Kanya Kumari. Only those who have experienced it know how beautiful the Cape is.

"Ah! what pleasant visions haunt me
As I gaze upon the Sea!
All the old romantic legends,
All the dreams come back to me."



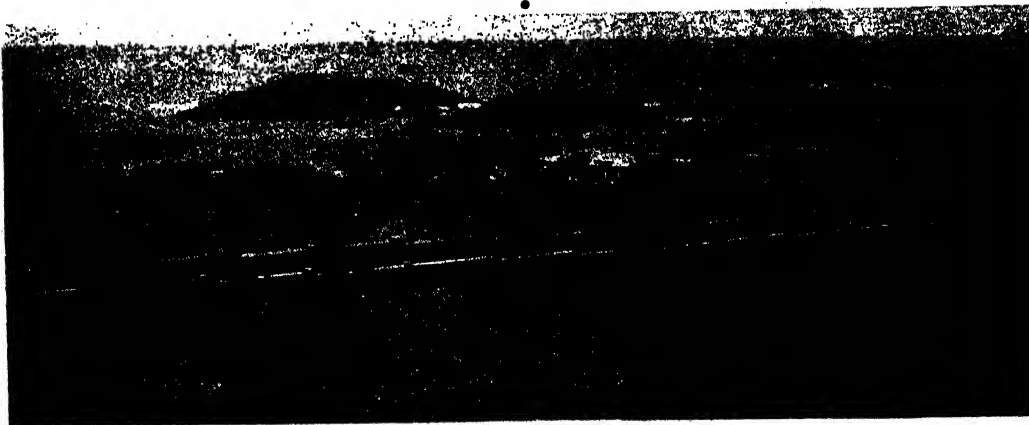
A fishing village by the beach. Cape Comorin

and all on earth and heaven gathered at the Cape. The wedding did not actually take place, for at the last moment the goddess changed her mind! Siva tried his utmost to win her back but failed. The rice and other cereals gathered for the wedding were scattered over the entire shore by the infuriated God and his retinue. The sands of Cape Comorin are wonderfully diverse in shape and colour, some actually resembling cereals. Scientific knowledge tells us that this strange phenomenon is due to the presence of various

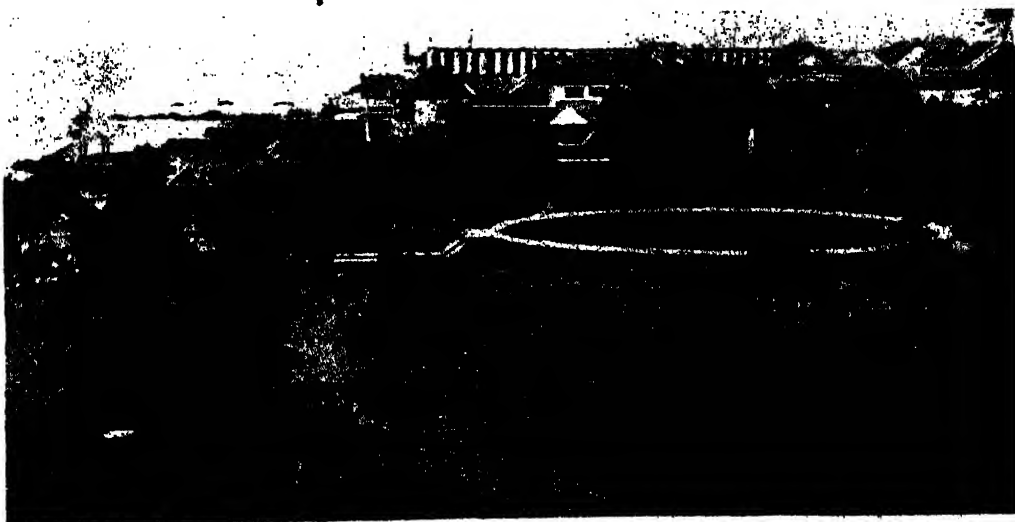




A view of the bathing ghat at Cape Comorin



A general view of the Kanya Kumari Temple



A general view of Cape Comorin with the Temple in the background

PORTRAITS, PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS OF SUDHIR KHASTGIR



Mrs. Hifazat Hussain. Portrait study



Pyramid. Water colour



Red and Blue. Water colour painting



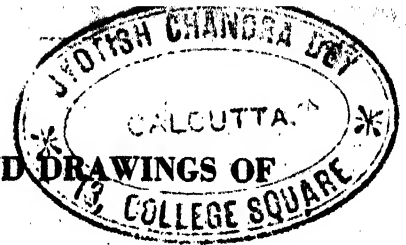
Portrait of an Old Man. Oil colour painting



South Wind. Monochrome Brush line drawing

EXHIBITION OF SCULPTURES, PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS OF SUDHIR KHASTGIR*

By MAURICE LEE



SUDHIR KHASTGIR's exhibition of sculptures, paintings and drawings shows that technically he is constantly experimenting, constantly exploring new methods of expressing his subjects. The works he is exhibiting cover all periods of his development from the days when he was a student at Santiniketan, and though for short periods he has seemed to settle down to a particular medium or technique, he has not succumbed to the temptation for long. The state of constant evolution which marks his work is an assurance that each exhibition which he holds cannot fail to contain works of new interest. Conversely to his methods, his inspiration always springs from the same unchanging sources.

Sudhir Khastgir is a painter, not of the rich man and his whims and vanities, but of the simple people, their simple instinctive emotions, and their struggle or their harmony with the elements. He is a painter of youth and age, childhood and adolescence, motherhood, spring and winter, the wind, the rain and the sun. His are the people we see every day walking along the country roads or through the fields, fulfilling their own particular span of India's eternal journey, and in his paintings he shows us in relief their simple and instinctive humanity and the pristine passions and emotions which form the real basis of their worship, however differing may be their creeds.

To categorise his painting into this period and that would be vain. For the purposes of

review his works are best classified in their particular media. Outstanding among his water colour is "The Whet-stone"† (collection Mr. A. E. Foot) which he painted while at Santiniketan. It is a vigorously drawn but smoothly painted picture of an emaciated old man whose



Sudhir Khastgir and a work of one of his students

life has known as little repose and ease as he would find reclining upon the edge of the blade he is testing. This picture is also significant in its complete break away from the conventionalised and decorative technique of traditional Indian art. Yet in subject and conception it remains completely Indian. Herein lies the key to the integrity of all Khastgir's painting. He has had the courage to break away from the restricting limitations of an almost unchallenged technical tradition, to question its every aspect and to discard everything with which he does not agree but never does his work lose its essentially Indian aspect because he remains faithful always to the requirements of his subject.

* The Sculptures, Paintings and Drawings of Sudhir Khastgir: An exhibition held at the Doon School, Dehra Dun, and opened by Sir Theodore Tasker, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. on Saturday, 8th August, 1942, to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

† This painting was published in *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* just after it was painted in 1928.

Sometimes his work echoes the traditional, as in his brilliant monochrome brush drawing "South Wind"; sometimes it bears little trace, as in a work in the same medium "Tired Studious Girl." This is exactly what faithfulness towards the subject demands. "South Wind" is a subject as old as the history of Bengal, while the



Tired studious girl

idea of a 'studious' girl belongs completely to the more recent emancipation of Indian womanhood.

"Autumn" is a mountain landscape with a foreground of flowers composed as conventionally as a Persian decoration. Yet the execution is extremely European and might have come from Van Gogh in a moment of quietness, had he ever had one.

Only sure confidence could have executed the picture "Red and Blue" a study of the heads of two women, one in a plain red, the other in a blue sari. The harmony attained out of this direct contrast is masterly, and on close examination it will be seen that the superb richness of the blue is obtained partly through an under-painting of the red of the other sari.

Another painting from the collection of Mr. A. E. Foot, the water-colour "The Worried Man" is remarkable for the tonal richness obtained. A very similar effect, though less subtle, will be observed in the oil-painting "Portrait of an Old Man."

Newcomers to the art of Sudhir Khastgir may tend to pass by without notice his more

sombrely painted works. This they do to their own loss, because upon examination these pictures reveal some of the most feeling aspects of his work. They are his 'Adagios,' and as such they tend to be overlooked at the first superficial glance, but upon deeper acquaintance they are found to be even more satisfying than many of his brighter themes. Particularly is this so of "Storm."* Many of his subjects are drawn from Indian dancing and are composed with a rhythm as marked as the dances themselves and drawn vigorously in charcoal.

"The Poet", the small impression of Tagore, in very rich and fluid oil colours is imbued with the spirit of his former master. Another side of Khastgir's capacity for fantasy is seen in "Pyramid" where the covered head of a woman in a saffron-dyed sari has given him the association of ideas, and she and her small child look out from beneath with expressions as placidly subjective as the sphinx. A very deep symbolism can be

read into this picture, though whether or not



Autumn. An oil colour painting

the artist was completely conscious of it in his own conceptions is a matter for conjecture.

By far the greater proportion of Khastgir's recent work has been sculpture. His exhibition contains several portrait-study heads. Two of

* Published in *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* just after it was painted by the artist.

the most interesting are those of "Mrs. Hifazat Hussain" and "Krishnamurti," the first on account of its ever-changing aspects of expression and the considerably successful attempt he has made to achieve quality from terra-cotta clay; the smooth but well constructed features, by contrast with the more vigorous treatment of the hair, the ear-rings and the drapery, convey



Buddha in soft stone
By S. Khastgir

feminine tenderness remarkably well for the medium; and the second by reason of its simple monumental treatment without loss of living character. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to cast several of these portrait works in bronze.

Generally Khastgir's subject sculpture is of greater interest than his portraits, and his carving, of which there is far too little, seems of a higher standard than the works in plaster or in terra-cotta. The sense of heavy meditation of "Buddha" in soft stone, is one of his most successfully conveyed ideas. The "Portrait Study of A Fisherman" is a direct carving of considerable interest, and the "Head Studies in Stone" give free rein to that sense of fantasy which is such a valuable aspect of his art.

Among the most interesting modelled subjects are "Design in Plaster," "A Woman" and a very recent work, "An Astronomer."

In recent years it would seem that Indian art has been passing through something of a renaissance. Some artists have been seduced entirely by European forms and have endeavoured to impose a western influence upon their eastern subjects. This has proved to be just as decadent as the rigid adherence to outworn tradition from which they have sought to escape.

The artists who are building the foundation of a sound new tradition of Indian art, capable of constant evolution as Indian life itself evolves, are those who, far from rejecting completely the old traditions, examine and question them thoroughly, retaining only that which is suitable for the true expression of their subjects. At the same time they are following the contemporary



Pencil sketch of the Poet
By S. Khastgir

trend of art throughout the world and adopting all that may be of true use to them. Provided they prove all methods and seek to express their ideas in the most fitting manner, according to their capabilities, Indian art will never lose its peculiarly Indian aspect, any more than the subjects themselves will cease to be Indian. It will, in fact, find a new and far greater fulfilment than it ever has before.

It is evident from this exhibition of Sudhir Khastgir's that he follows some such policy, and also, that his work is of considerable importance in the renaissance of Indian art. Up to the present his output has been fairly prolific. It seems that the future holds even more significant prospects.



J. Krishnamurti
By S. Khastgir

OPENING SPEECH OF SIR THEODORE TASKER,
O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

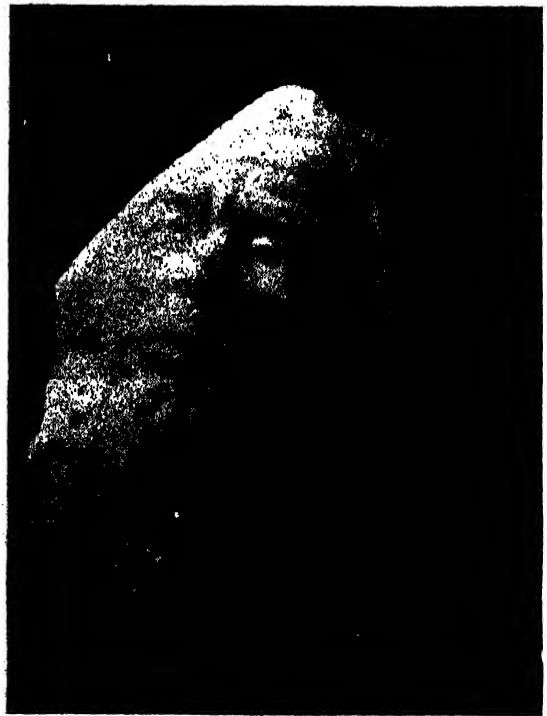
Although Mr. Sudhir Khastgir has done me the honour of asking me to open his exhibition of sculpture and painting, you will, I am sure, agree with me that any undue formality would be out of harmony with the spirit of the occasion. For Mr. Khastgir himself, by the charming woodblock with which he has adorned the invitation, has made it clear in what spirit he has conceived the occasion. That spirit, as you see, is expressed by the hands, bearing the lotus and reverently uplifted towards the head of the master, an offering from the chela to the great Guru, in commemoration of Tagore's death just one year ago.

That being the spirit in which we are invited to view these works, I shall not be wrong in suggesting that, in your judgment of them, Mr. Khastgir would wish nothing better than that the test you apply should be

the extent to which the chela is carrying on the traditions of his Guru. I use the word 'traditions' advisedly, because nothing could be farther from Tagore's own spirit than that those coming out from Santiniketan should follow hard and fast lines. Nor will you find this on the walls about you.

What, then, are those traditions? The art school at Santiniketan was founded in 1918, and it may not be known to all of you that Tagore himself, when 70 years of age, gave an exhibition of his own paintings in Paris in 1930. The world at large thinks of Tagore as a great Poet, but the whole field of art was his. In 1940, when he was receiving the Honorary Doctorate of the University of Oxford, he was introduced with the words: "I present to you a man most dear to all the Muses." I cannot do better than quote to you an extract from Tagore's own "apology" for his "intrusion into the world of pictures." It runs:

"The only training I had in my young days was the training in rhythm, the rhythm in thought, the rhythm in sound. I had come to know that rhythm gives reality to that which is desultory, which is insignificant in itself . . . in the universe of forms there is a perpetual activity of natural selection in lines, and only the fittest survives which has in itself the fitness



Portrait study of a fisherman. Direct carving
in stone
* By S. Khastgir

of cadence. . . My pictures are my versification in lines. If by chance they are entitled to claim recognition, it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and not for any interpretation of an idea or representation of a fact." You will note the word "rhythm." It is a Greek word and was used by the Greeks to express what underlay their own forms of artistic expression.

I may be permitted another short quotation from an appreciation published shortly after Tagore's death.

The writer has been referring to the creation of a new literary tradition. . . "In music and painting too he played a similar significant rôle. He tried to give new forms, though never totally rejecting the content of the classical tradition. He realised that no art-form could ever be permanent. A living culture, though retaining all that is best in human values, would express itself through new forms in every age. That is one of the reasons why the generation that has come in his wake

has been so creative in its output . . . he made our language, painting and music free from the shackles of the past and at the same time set up a new tradition of innovations and experiments."

Ladies and gentlemen, I have given you the aims of the master and the secret of his inspiration, and leave you to view this exhibition, which I have great pleasure in declaring open, with these thoughts in your minds.

HISTORIC MULTAN

Where Alexander was Seriously Wounded

By WAHIDA AZIZ

Time, like an ever rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away :
They fly forgotten as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

IN many parts of India the traveller comes across the remains of great cities which have played important parts in the history of the country.

Every stone seems to tell its story, if only we could interpret it. In some cases little remains of past greatness, the ravages of the enemy and time having wrought an almost total destruction; in others, many buildings remain intact, the elements having dealt kindly with them.

Multan, once prosperous and progressive, and one of the most ancient towns in the country, has undergone many changes. But it occupies an important place in history, which identifies its present site with the strong city of Malli, stormed by Alexander the Great in 326 B. C. It is said that the conqueror was seriously wounded during the operation, which he led personally.

Malli submitted to Alexander, who left Philip as his satrap at Multan. What his fate was appears to be unknown, but not long after Alexander's departure the Hindu kingdom of Magadha was extended to the Indus, and it seems probable that the Greeks lost their influence here, as they did in the Upper Punjab, though they regained it subsequently.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

It is hard to get at the date of the foundation of the city, as the history of the period is

obscure; but from early Arab writings we conclude that for many centuries the conquerors of Multan presented an amazing variety of races—the Greeks being followed by the Kushans, who in turn gave place to the White Huns.

When the Arabs first penetrated the valley of the Indus, the city was left in ruins by a



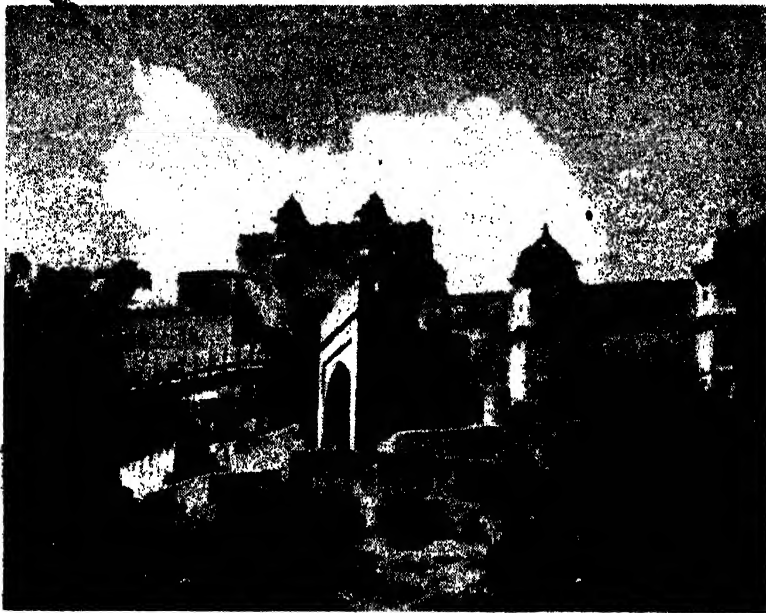
The famous temple of Prahlad, known as Prahladpuri

Brahmin usurper, who died in A.D. 671. The Arabs who entered India from Sind captured it and remained in possession for about three centuries.

It was during his third expedition that Mahmud, the orthodox ruler of Ghazni, conquered it and kept a nominal control over it until

over-thrown by Mohammed of Ghor. The city fared but ill throughout these sectarian wars, and it is said to have been deserted when the Gardezi Saiyads first migrated in the 12th century.

From 1206 to 1528 Multan was nominally subject to the kings of Delhi though in fact it was almost independent. Timur occupied it in 1397, and it passed to Babar in 1529. From A.D. 1555 it remained under Akbar and his successors forming a portion of the Moghal Empire.



The old fort where Alexander the Great was seriously wounded.

MOGHAL PERIOD

When Sind was annexed to the Moghal dominions by Akbar, the country as a whole was made part of the subah of Multan and 'sarkars' were established in two places, Bakhar in the north, and Tatta in the Indus delta. For a whole century the governors of Bakhar and Tatta were appointed first from the Tarkhan dynasty, and later from Hindustan, by the Moghal Emperor and were members of the feudal bureaucracy which controlled the administration.

In 1652 Aurangzeb's period of governorship of Multan came to an end, and then the city passed into the hands of petty chiefs till, in 1737, after Nadir Shah's invasion of India, a Sadozai Afghan, Zahid Khan, was appointed Nawab of the district by the Emperor Mohammed Shah.

The Afghan Nawabs who succeeded him

were continually engaged in internal conflicts with their relatives for the position of Nawab, or in repelling attacks of the Sikhs, till the time of the first attack on Multan by Ranjit Singh in 1802.

RANJIT SINGH

The governor at that time was Nawab Muzaffar Khan, an able and strong man whose rule commenced in 1779. He repelled several attacks made by the Sikhs and often paid heavy ransoms to induce the invader to retire. Ranjit Singh, however, had determined to take the place, and made a successful attack in 1818, when Muzaffar Khan fell.

It is said that in this siege the famous Zamzama gun, made famous by Kipling, was brought to Multan and fired twice with considerable effect. The Sikhs left a garrison of 600 men in the fort, and this ended the rule of the Afghan Nawabs of Multan.

The last nominated Sikh governor was Diwan Sawan Mal, who was murdered by a soldier under arrest for theft, who shot him on September 11, 1884.

He was succeeded by his son Mul Raj, the last of the Sikh governors, who resigned his office to the British Resident, the government then being entrusted to Sardar Khan Singh Man, with Lieut. Anderson as his assistant.

On April 19, 1848, two days after his arrival, Lieut. Anderson was wounded when inspecting the fort in company with Mul Raj. This led to the Second Sikh War, in which the city was captured and annexed to the British empire on January 3, 1849. The fortifications were dismantled in 1854.

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

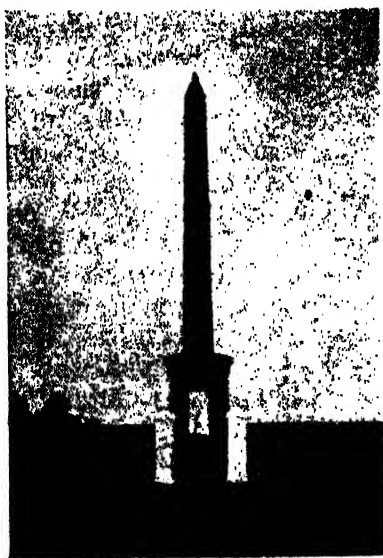
There are not many architectural remains of the Hindu period at Multan, since the Brahmins who founded the city and gave it its present name were not given to temple building. The most distinctive characteristics of the architecture of the Pathan and Moghal periods are the mosques, the overlapping arches, the great

slope and great thickness of the walls—a style which encouraged ornamentation with mosaics in various coloured stones and unglazed tiles.

The finest specimens of this are a few buildings of historical interest, namely, the Bahawal Haq Tomb, the Rukn-i-Alam, the Ali Mohammed Mosque and the Idgah.

Among the oldest remains are the famous Fort and Dam-dama, which occupies the north-west angle of the city. It is said that this citadel was so lofty that an eagle could never arrive at its summit, and surrounding it was a moat so deep that the eye of the most sharp-sighted man could not see down to the bottom of it!

Standing close to Rukn-i-Alam is the famous temple of Prahlad, known as Prahladpuri, which is said to have been mentioned in the Vedas. In splendour it does not, of course, equal the magnificence of the South Indian temples, but for piety and simplicity it is known far and wide to nearly every Hindu in India. It is one of the best which the Hindus of Northern India can boast of.

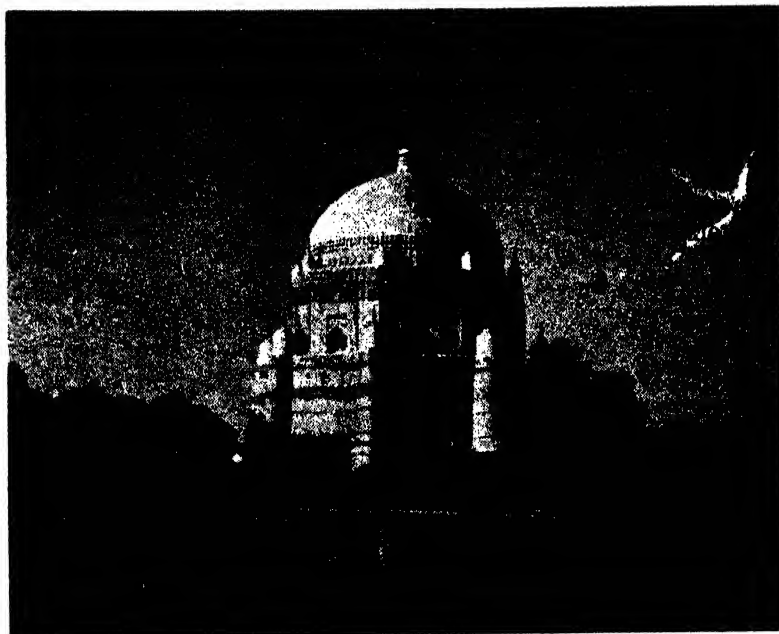


Memorial tower in memory of St. Anderson

It is alleged to have been built on the site which was the scene of the fourth incarnation of Narasinha, the half-lion half-man 'avatar' of Vishnu—a well-known deity in Hindu mythology.

VARIOUS INDUSTRIES

Multan has been famous for its various industries—chief among which are glazed pottery, vitreous enamel, ornaments in silver, cotton and woollen carpets, silk fabrics and cotton printing



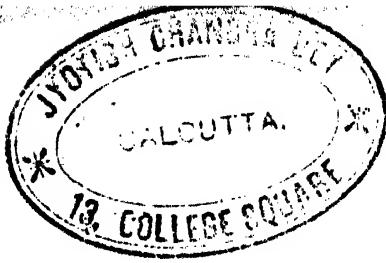
The tomb of Shah Bahawal Haq, the patron saint of the Sindhis

in colour. The glazed faience is a relic of the time when mosques and tombs were covered with this beautiful material. The work differs technically from the pottery of Sind, which had the same origin; in that its decoration consists solely in painting in two or three colours on the glaze or enamel, the use of coloured or white 'slips,' which give a raised appearance to the patterns on Sind ware, being unknown. The colours used are dark blue from cobalt, and a very fine turquoise from copper.

The enamel on silver probably owes its preservation to the continued use of vitrified colour in the local pottery. The work is mostly of the 'champaleve' kind, and the ground on which the colour is laid is graven out precisely as in Europe. Rough as this process may appear, it can be compared with the best of Algerian, Persian and Syrian articles sold in Europe. Multan is also famous for its woollen carpets. They are excessively bold and clear in detail and of quite distinctive quality of colour.

Centuries have passed, but the famous Persian proverb about Multan that

Char chiz ast tohfa-i-Multan,
Gard, garma, gada-o-goristan.
remains true even to this day.



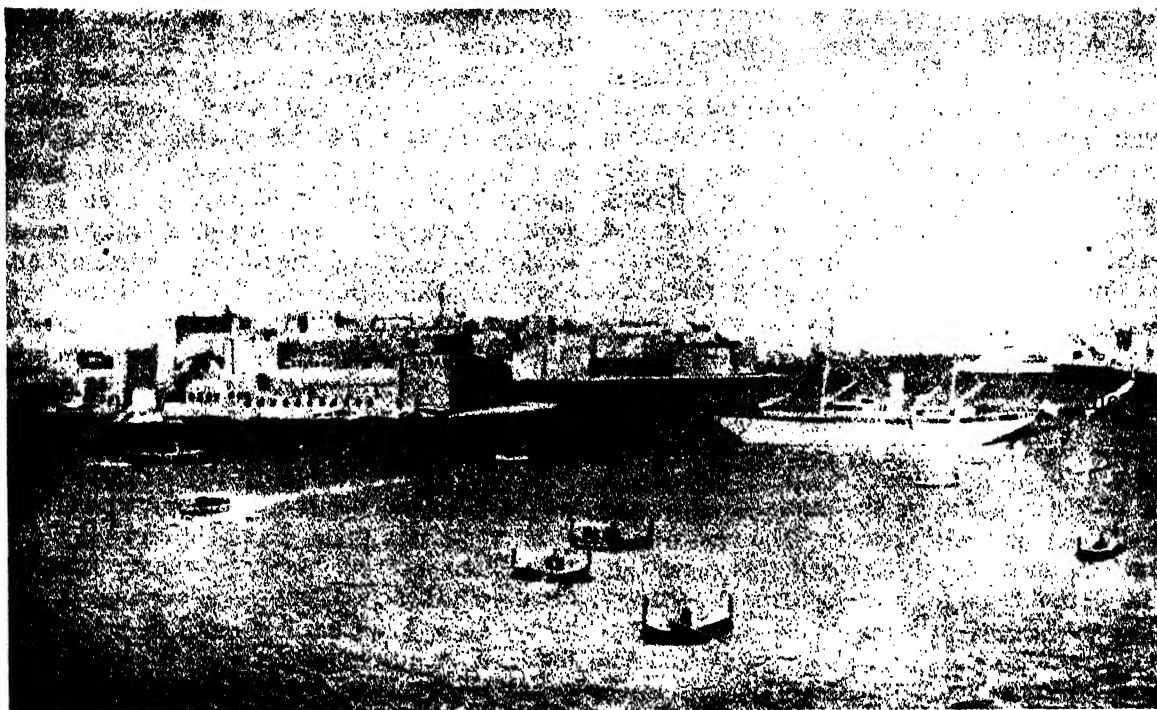
THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

AFTER thirty-eight months of war, the Axis is still on the offensive in practically every zone of war. In Russia the Germanic forces are still exerting a relentless pressure on the last defences of Stalingrad and on the barriers to the oil-reservoirs of the Caucasus. The fighting in the northern regions has not been of any comparable intensity in this year's campaigns but what fighting there is, sees the Germans on the offensive. Only in a limited area, to the north of Stalingrad, Marshal Timoschenko is trying to manouvre a relieving force towards the approaches of the Steel city. In the Mediterranean zone, though the forces of General Rommel are not attacking, still they as yet cannot be said to be on the retreat, and they are still on the soil of Egypt. The air-assault on Malta, the inevitable prelude and cover for the bringing up of reinforcements to Rommel's forces, is still being pressed on. In the Far East the Japanese are beginning their offensive operations in the Solomons. In China the moves now taking place are at the instance of Japan. The Battle of the Atlantic is being persecuted in deadly silence as before, without relaxation. The only relieving features are the air-offensive against Germany and German-occupied Europe, and the British move in Egypt to seize the initiative from the Axis forces.

It is true that the picture is not so grim as it was at the end of 1941, or at the beginning of this year's summer. Germany has been held now in Russia for a period of three months, though at a cost of life and treasure too terrible to recount. Japan has been brought to a halt in China and in the Pacific and the United States is slowly bringing its forces into play over an ever-extending front. The position on the Indo-Burmese frontier, though still undefinable, is now such as to inspire far greater confidence amongst the democracies, than what obtained at the end of June. Then it was a question as to whether the frontiers could be held till the monsoons bogged up the advance of the Japanese. Now the question is mainly of counter-offensive, though it must be said that the talking is being done mainly by people who do not seem to have the vaguest idea of the magnitude of the task lying ahead of the United Nations' forces.

But all the same it must be admitted that even after three years of war have elapsed, the United Nations have not yet been able to bring into action any attacking force that can bear comparison with the forces being used by the Axis. As a result of which the Axis, though not able to expand further its gains, has been able to consolidate its position on its conquests and as time passes this consolidation will assume a more and more formidable character. We have been repeatedly stating in these columns that the idea that time was on the side of the United Nations was a fatal delusion. Very recently a few "great authorities" have reluctantly given up this dangerous obsession and informed the public that the United Nations' fight was a race against time. This obsession has been of immense advantage to the Axis, as due to this idea prevailing the world of democracy *all war effort, in the truest sense of the word*, has been pushed on in the spirit of "manana," procrastination being thus interpreted as deliberate and careful execution of the job in hand. Every urgent step that entailed daring, vigour and sacrifice has thus been put off for another day. Bold and all-embracing decisions, that if taken in time might have changed the course of the war, have been evaded, side-tracked and almost abandoned. A great deal of noise and publicity has been centred on comparatively insignificant details of the war-effort, thereby creating an illusion that all was going well, until another Axis victory or Allied set-back destroyed the beautiful dreams of the long-suffering public. The truth is that all is not well with the United Nations and it *never* will be until its leaders grasp the realities of the situation—which have been staring them in the face for some considerable time past—and decide to take their medicine, however unpleasant the draught. Shirking of responsibility, evading realities and wavering before inevitable sacrifices has brought the cause of the democracies to a most critical pass, and no amount of fine phrases and resounding periods will accomplish a job that calls for an all-out effort at action, political, economic and warlike. The task is getting harder every hour, grim as it is now. The broadcast of Mr. Wendell Willkie has made it clear to the Allied world. It is about



Malta

time that the powers-that-be realised that censorship may hide the unpleasant truth, keep the incompetent in power for the time being and shield the guilty but it cannot change reality, and the reaction of public opinion will be all the more violent, the longer it is kept ignorant about facts that matter.

In Russia the approach of Winter seems to be the only ray of hope illuminating that inferno. The Battle of Stalingrad has now developed into a slow-moving titanic trial of strength, on which the opposing sides are throwing in all their reserves in an attempt at getting a decision that would vitally affect the course of the war in Eastern Europe. If Germany fails to break the armies of the Soviets here, it means that at long last the United Nations have attained a balancing of the powers of the Axis in Europe. If the Russian armies are broken, then it means that the Axis has won the second phase of the war in Europe. It does not mean the end of the war either way, as Germany is not likely to crumple up all of a sudden, as in 1918, despite the fondest hopes of the optimists in democratic counsels, nor is the resistance of Russia likely to collapse after a defeat at Stalingrad. It would merely mean the turn of the tide either way and a long war of attrition to follow until the final and logical decision is reached. It is to be noted here that the fall of Stalingrad does no

longer signify a decisive defeat for the Soviets, as the forces on the further side of the Volga are too strongly organised by now for that. The battle will probably proceed unbroken for the passage across the Volga and beyond. That is to say the issue at Stalingrad is now far more vital to the Germanic forces than to the Soviets. Indeed the battle now may be said to be for the possession of the Volga line. All that Stalingrad meant to the Russians has by now been powdered to dust and smoke, only the most valuable possession of the Soviets, the morale of its heroic warriors stands as unbroken and unconquerable here as elsewhere.

The epic valour and resistance displayed by the Soviets' soldiers at Stalingrad has saved the cause of the United Nations from an utter and absolute disaster. If this heroic stand, unparalleled in the annals of human warfare, had not been made, if the defenders had not remained staunch against most appalling odds, the Germanic thrust to the east would have reached the further side of the Caucasus by now. The position in the Near East would have been rendered untenable and the threat to India would have assumed most formidable dimensions. The danger is by no means past yet, but the defenders of Stalingrad have absorbed by far the greatest part of the momentum of this present gigantic thrust, and the approach of

winter will probably grant a respite to the United Nations to prepare for the campaigns of the coming year. In these preparations it must be assumed that Russia is almost bled white through having to bear the brunt of the Axis drive unaided by her allies. And it must further be taken for granted that Germany, though weakened through tremendous losses in men and material has far greater powers and arrangements for recuperation and refitting than the Russia of to-day.

In this great world war, which really began with the rape of Abyssinia by Italy, the people's forces of Russia and China have so far borne about 90% of the burden of the battle for the cause of the democracies. Of the balance a major part was borne by the vanquished people of Poland, France and Greece. The rest of the democracies have mostly utilized this period of time in preparations for a major struggle, though they have suffered grievous losses in territory and in resources due to lack of preparedness. Britain started to rearm in all seriousness after the anchluss of Austria and the United States after the re-election of President Roosevelt for the current term. By now these preparations must have been far advanced—and indeed the official spokesmen of these countries have said so repeatedly—and so the burden now must be shifted on to their shoulders or else the inevitable will happen in Russia and in China.

In Egypt General Alexander has an extremely difficult job ahead of him. The Axis forces under Rommel have had a far greater time to prepare than had the defenders of Tobruk during its first siege. It is almost four months now since the opposing forces in the Egyptian desert came to a halt along the present line. General Rommel is not likely to have neglected the strengthening of his lines of defence. From the scanty reports reaching the public it is indeed apparent that the Eighth army is having to dislodge an entrenched enemy whose defences are in considerable depth and whose preparations for meeting an assault with mechanised forces with considerable weight of armour have been made with meticulous care. The penetration of such defences will need extreme caution—which means time—immense strength, guided with great skill. General Alexander's adversary is acknowledgedly a brilliant soldier of great daring and considerable fighting acumen. Under these circumstances it stands to reason that no spectacular victory can be won in the course of a few days or even a few weeks. The outcome of this new

offensive will have to be waited for patiently therefore.

In New Guinea the supply problem, through trackless forests and over steep razorback mountains, is evidently proving a great handicap to the Australian forces. What is more satisfactory is that it is proving even more so to the Japanese. The Owen Stanley range is evidently no place where any decision can be achieved until either side has solved the exceedingly difficult problem of transport under the conditions obtaining there. In the Solomons the Japanese are fighting out the preliminary battles, on land, sea and in the air, in an all-out effort to dislodge the forces of the U. S. A. from those regions. From all reports the struggle has not yet reached the decisive stage anywhere and as usual there is a great deal of difference between the claims of the Japanese—which have been declared to be fictitious to a very great extent by the U. S. A. authorities—and the reports from the U. S. A. headquarters. All the same it cannot be denied that the Japanese still possess the initiative in the South Pacific, and it is plain that they possess the forces to utilize their advantage. The Japanese are very far from being beaten in that zone of the world war and indeed it is not certain that their march southwards has been wrought to a final halt.

In China there has been only minor engagements of late. The Japanese seem to be content with a strong defensive attitude with localized offensives to rectify their defence lines. This is an ominous sign as it means that the Japanese are utilizing their reserves, which they still possess in ample measure according to ambassador Grew, elsewhere. The great advantage possessed by the Japanese is that their movements being along shielded inner sea-lanes are difficult of detection. This is the reason why the threat to India from the East cannot be assessed with any degree of accuracy.

On the Eastern Frontiers of India, the time for action is drawing near. Last year the Japanese attack opened in the first week of December. Apart from other reasons, sufficient hardening of the ground, after the terrific and prolonged rainfall of the Monsoons, to allow the passage of heavy artillery and armoured vehicles necessitated waiting till the autumn was past. Under the same conditions the soil of lower Burma, Siam and Indo-China would dry up sufficiently to enable the taking off of heavy bombers and the moving about of loaded mechanized vehicles about the middle of November. Upper Burma, specially in the



Rangoon city and river

regions outside the heavy rainfall area, is dry enough now and has been so since the beginning of October, provided no extra heavy rainfall has occurred there. This means that the forces on either side would be on the *qui vive* from now onwards.

The position at the frontiers cannot be discussed in full—or in any detail—for obvious reasons. It is sufficient to point out that for some little time now, the talk has been not of the defence of India but of the retaking of Burma. Quite apart from the question of aiding China, which has been a vital necessity insufficiently attended to even while the Burma road was open, the problem of preventing the Japanese from consolidating their hold on that exceedingly rich country makes the retaking of Burma one of the most urgent requirements of the United Nations.

This question of consolidation by Japan of her hold on the newly acquired territories is a factor which proves conclusively how Time is militating against the United Nations. In another year's time, the only barrier between Japan and the supply in an inexhaustible flood of all her requirements of raw materials would be just shipping space and nothing else. Once that problem is solved—though for Japan the

solution would not be easy—it would take decades of prolonged warfare before Japan is dispossessed. Even now the position of Japan, regarding the key raw-materials of war, is far better than it has ever been for her, and with every month her condition is progressively improving. There is an idea in certain quarters that Japan has not only shot her bolt, but as there is a definite limit to her resources, which she is supposed to have no means of replenishing, it is a mere question of months before she comes to the end of her tether. All that the Allies have to do is to hold her till then, when she would either have to capitulate or commit Harakiri altogether. It is only necessary to point out that this is the method of thinking that had brought the United Nations almost to the verge of complete defeat before now.

The real problem before the United Nations is how to dislodge the Axis from its gains on the three continents, before the United Nations are compelled to go on the defensive altogether. The resources of the Axis are now expanding and unless counter-measures are adopted soon, the United Nations would be in a position of fasting disadvantage.

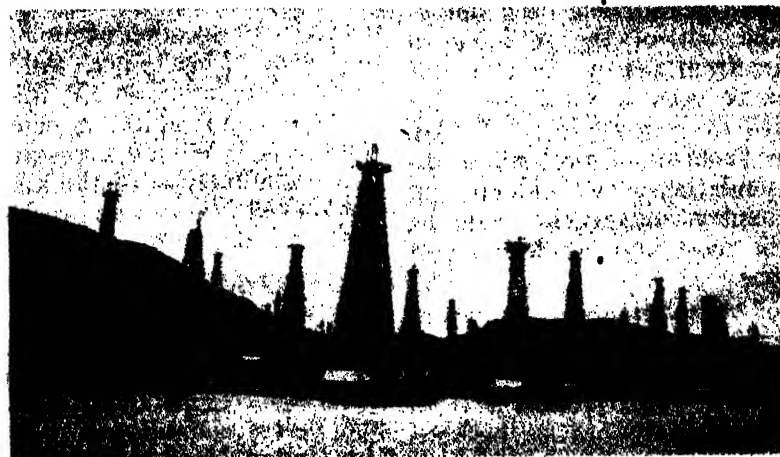
The main question of this war then is how soon would the United Nations come to their



Myathalon Pagoda, Magwe



A scene on the riverside, Kota Bahru



Oil Wells at Singu on the Irrawaddy

senses and how soon after that miracle has happened would the total resources of the United Nations be utilized in full and in proper manner against the Axis. Sacrifice there must be, and the major partners must bear their full share.

* * *

Burma with its granaries and oil-wells, tin, zinc, lead and wolfram mines is a most dangerous prize in the hands of the Japanese. Further through Burma lies the route to Malaya and Siam and thence on to the islands of the East Indies. But the way is not only long and arduous. *It is full of natural barriers*, and so will require a most determined effort with the fullest collaboration between the civil and the military authorities.

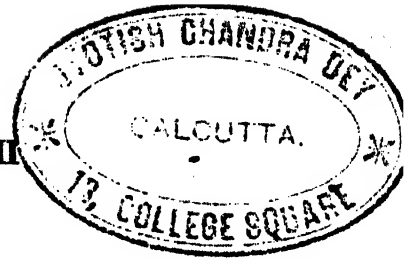
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It is up to the Powers-that-be in India to say *and to prove* that they are ready. It is they and they alone that are running the affairs of this country.

RABINDRANATH AND GANDHI

The Two Apostles of Freedom

By BHOYOYAL CHATTERJEE



RABINDRANATH and Gandhi—one a great poet and the other a great hero of action—two men of destiny. History required the service of both to be made anew. It required the service of the bard, because

For the great idea, the idea of perfect and free individuals,
For that the bard walks in advance, leader of leaders,
The attitude of him cheers up slaves and horrifies foreign despots.

(Whitman : *Leaves of Grass*).

A great poet changes the whole system of our organised perceptions. He is a scoffer at our most sacred verities. He announces that the only value on earth is the value of human life and that systems and creeds are vain and corrupt except as they fulfil this value. The poet comes with his lyre not only to sing of stars and flowers, moon and rivulets, but also to vindicate the rights of man. Whatever keeps man in bondage receives ruthless blows from the hand of a real poet. Whatever insults the soul of man is dismissed by him as morally indefensible. It is because of this boundless respect for human life that the poet stands for the repudiation of established duties, for established duties in the name of morality only help to perpetuate the old institutions that give so little value to the personality of man. In Yeats's drama, *The King's Threshold*, the poet asks the king, "When did the poets promise safety, king?" No, the poet never promises us safety and security. He teaches us to live dangerously. He hates obedience to any but one's true self and discipline imposed from outside—obedience that makes man an echo and not a voice, a thing and not a person; discipline that in the name of duties keeps man chained in the prison of dead laws and old customs. In *The King's Threshold* the monk thus speaks of the poet :

"He is a man that hates obedience,
Discipline and orderliness of life;
I cannot mourn him."

The poet, therefore, is an iconoclast. He shatters creeds and demolishes idols to establish the City of God on earth. He is the fearless

soldier of freedom and his fervid and tremendous ideas help us to revalue the world's good and find a new path to truth. When Bankimchandra sang *Bande Mataram*, India found a new vision of her glorious future in that deathless song. That immortal song terrified the rulers and at the same time inspired patriots to sacrifice everything at the altar of liberty. Mazzini found his inspiration in the poems of Byron. Shelley's poetry has cheered up the drooping spirit of many a revolutionary all over the world. The songs of Whitman are sung by rebels in all countries. Destiny sent Rabindranath in our midst so that a dying nation might be rejuvenated through the soul-stirring songs of a great poet and seer. Countless men and women found in his life-giving poems a new light and a new inspiration.

He came and in his God-gifted organ-voice gave us the grand message of freedom. Laws have their own values, customs and traditions are not without significance, money is also good in its own place, scriptures are not to be brushed aside as mere rubbish, but the supreme value must be given to human personality. Whatever hinders man or woman from realising the best of his or her personality must be thrown out of the window as positive evil. Rabindranath like Whitman is a bard of personality and in his songs of stern defiance we discover the glory of human soul—the irrepressible soul that confronts night, storms, hunger, ridicule, accidents, rebuffs with perfect non-chalance for the sake of truth. In his drama *Taser Desh** he has taught us to be free from the hold of those who want us to be echoes and not voices, things and not persons. Through that inspiring drama the mighty voice of the Poet calls upon us to see with our own eyes, to hear with our own ears, to love with our own hearts and to think with our own minds. Rolland has truly said, "It is this abdication that is the kernel of all mischiefs." Nava Jauvana Dal in the Poet's famous drama *Falguni* does not care much for scriptures and in their youthful impetuosity refuse to follow the beaten track.

* तासेर देश

They sing the glory of the open road and are ever on the march. The youthful disciples of Dada Thakur in *Achalāyatan* are out to destroy the prison-wall that does not allow the human soul to have the vision of truth which is the foundation of real spirituality. And we know that those who are out to follow truth need a stout heart. Rabindranath, the bard of personality, therefore, recognises courage as the greatest of all virtues and advises the youths of his country to live dangerously—to use a phrase of Nietzsche's. Many of his poems in *Balākā* are written to inspire the youths of his country with the lofty ideal of fearlessness. He does not promise them peace and security. He calls upon them to brave danger and face death. His *Balākā* reminds us again and again of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, where the poet of the modern world appeals to the youths of America not to seek comfort and happiness but dare danger and death. Whitman like Rabindranath knew it fully well that those who are out to fight for justice and truth would be roughly treated by those who would not allow society to be ruled by the dynamic ideals of freedom and equality. Those who would change the old order and bring in the new can never expect that the supporters of the existing social, political and economic systems would look upon them as friends. The soldiers of freedom who would build a new humanity would be ridiculed, imprisoned, ostracised, tortured and even sent to the gallows. Such has been the lot of the path-finders and road-builders of humanity in every land and in every age. Men who have been content to follow the beaten track are seldom makers of history. History has been created anew by those who had the courage to be themselves, who were brave enough to follow what they believed to be truth, whose views differed from the views of their contemporary men and women, who had the fortune or misfortune to be ridiculed by their neighbours as eccentrics or condemned as enemies of the people. Yet it is these crucified enemies of the people who have created the cultural history of man and enriched civilisation. The spiritual history of Europe is largely made by two supreme figures and both of them are martyrs—Christ the martyr of Religion and Socrates the martyr of Philosophy. Yes, it is through disobedience that progress has been made.

Rabindranath and Whitman, both the poets disseminating dangerous ideas, have preached to the youths of their respective countries the supreme message that greatness and happiness

are incompatible. The ideal they have held up before the youthful community is the ideal of creating a new world where every man and woman would be free and perfect. They have also made it perfectly clear in their poems that those who would create that world of to-morrow must leave their peaceful homes behind, take to the rough and rugged road, confront laws and customs, welcome ridicule, poverty, imprisonment, frightful tortures and even death. Those who would build the new world have to be dauntless soldiers who would wage relentless war against the tyrants that would violently oppose the birth of the new world with all their resources. So Whitman in his appeal to the youths of America sings out, "My call is the call to battle, I nourish active rebellion." Rabindranath also in his appeal to young India sings out in the same strain :

• चारिदिके नागिनूरा फेलितेके विषाक्त निःश्वास,
शान्तिर ललितवाणी शोनाईवे व्यर्थ परिहास ।

• विदाय नेबार आगे ताई

• डाक दिये याई—
दानबेर साथे यारा संग्रामेर नरे

प्रस्तुत ह'तेके घरे घरे । (प्रान्तिक)

Poisonous serpents are hissing on every side,
Soft words of peace would be like cruel irony.
Before I retire I, therefore, send my call to those

Who are preparing themselves to fight against the demons.

Rabindranath's call to the youths of modern India is also the call of battle. He does not offer them old smooth prizes, he offers them rough new prizes; he offers them starvation, poverty, ridicule, frown of the tyrant. Both Whitman and Rabindranath are born rebels. Read Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and Rabindranath's *Balākā* side by side and it will at once strike you that the two poets are made of the same stuff. Only Whitman seems more titanic than Rabindranath. Both of them are bards of democracy, both of them are worshippers of the goddess of freedom, both of them have dismissed whatever insults the soul of man, both of them have attached the greatest value to the personality of man and both of them have fought bitterly against everything that has attempted to belittle the dignity of human life.

To Rabindranath as to Bertrand Russell the most detestable word in the dictionary is the word 'domination.' It is the root of many an evil that have turned this good old earth into a veritable hell. To lord it over our fellowmen

is an instinct that poisons every relation between man and man. Think of imperialism and its disastrous effect on mankind. Think of the less civilised races that have been politically and economically ruined by the power-intoxicated imperialistic nations of the world. And what is Imperialism? Its root lies in the spirit of domination—domination of weaker nations by stronger nations. Think also of the relation between man and woman and you would at once realise the evil effect of domination. Man has reduced woman to his shadow; she has been robbed of her human dignity and turned into a machine. Man is using woman as a means; she is not being respected as a human personality that has as much right to live intensely as man has. Think of the curse of untouchability and you would again find what man has made of man through his inherent instinct of lording it over his fellowmen.

Now Rabindranath's campaign is against this spirit of domination that has made the lives of innumerable men and women all over the world simply unlivable. Read his pathetic story *The Letter of a Wife** and at once the soul of the poet stands revealed to us in all its majestic beauty—the great soul that stood in rebellion against the spirit of domination in man that has robbed woman of her freedom and made her a slave. In his novel *Yogayoga*† Rabindranath has again stood for the emancipation of woman. Kumu stubbornly refused to sacrifice her human dignity to please her domineering husband Madhusudana, who is after all a Philistine and an upstart. Before Kumu takes leave of her eldest brother Bipradas she utters these significant lines :

"I will not live a life of lies in the midst of falsehood. It is true that I am the proper mistress of their house, but my position in that capacity, however exalted, is meaningless unless I am Kumu."

These lines remind me of the memorable words of Nora, who is the heroine of Ibsen's famous drama *Doll's House*. Nora's husband reminding her of her wifely duties tells her, "Before all else you are a wife and mother." Nora answered back :

"I no longer think so. I think that before all else I am a human being, just as you are, or at least I have to try to become one."

In his drama *Chitrāngadā* Rabindranath has called woman not a lesser man but man's

equal in all the ways of life. Rabindranath wielding his mighty pen for the rights of woman reminds me of that great dramatist Ibsen. As a champion for the emancipation of women he would be looked upon by all thinking people as the Ibsen in Bengali literature.

The intense passion for liberty and justice that inspired him to fight against the tyranny of man over woman made him stand for the political freedom of his countrymen from the yoke of Britain. When the news of the massacre of Amritsar staggered India he was the first man who gave up his Knighthood as a protest against the insolence of might—his was the first voice that condemned the diabolical act in language that breathed fire. We can still recall with pride the poet's answer to Miss Rathbone's letter when Pandit Jawaharlal was in prison. Rabindranath in his drama *Mukta-Dhara*, as also in *Prāyaschitta* and *Paritrān*, has depicted a remarkable character—the ascetic Dhananjay. Now this seditious Fakir preaches a dangerous doctrine to a down-trodden people—the doctrine of defying the political ruler that has failed to satisfy the elementary demands of the people and was, therefore, unfit to have any claim on their obedience. Dhananjay Vairagi teaches the people to resist their ruler's unjust claims non-violently but fearlessly. He exhorts the subject-people :

"As soon as you can hold up your head and say that nothing has power to hurt you, the roots of violence will be cut through. . . . Nothing can hurt your inner manhood, for that is a flame of fire. Only the material self is hurt. That which is flesh feels the blow and whines and dies."

The poet here teaches a subject-people the art of non-violently resisting wrongs perpetrated by an unjust ruler. The tyrant exists because the tyrannised obey the tyrant's will through fear of death. As soon as the slave conquers the fear of death and stubbornly refuses to carry out the tyrant's order the chains fall off and there is an end of the tyrannical rule. The ruler though able to break the victim's bones to atoms fails to receive his obedience and the failure defeats his purpose. Whitman's remark that the bard is the leader of leaders is perfectly true; for it is the poet who first disseminates the revolutionary ideas through his soul-stirring songs. The man of action comes later, follows the poet's footsteps and by infusing new blood into the ideas give them concrete shapes in the life of the nation. What the poet dreams is transformed into reality by the dynamic will of the hero. Rabindranath preached the doctrine of Satyagraha through the mouth of Dhananjay

* स्त्रीर पत्र

† योगयोग

Vairagi; Gandhiji's heroic personality made that doctrine real in the political life of the race.

I have already hinted above that India to be rejuvenated required the service of a great poet and a great man of action. The resurrection of India is the will of God, for only a free and strong India could save this civilisation from the impending doom through the life-giving message of her Tapovana. Rabindranath was born in 1861 and seven years after the birth of the poet came Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi. The bard was followed by the hero. What Bengal dreamed Gujarat willed into action. The poet's ideas remain dead like the princess of the fairy-tale until the hero appears who by the magic touch of his heroism breathes new life into the poet's ideas. The ideas then no longer remain buried in the dry pages of books. The man of action pours his life-blood into the poet's songs and the songs at once begin to revolutionise the outlook of innumerable men and women. The hero is, therefore, necessary to make the ideas fruitful—for it is the blood of the martyr that really fertilises the dream of the poets. The poet's dream of a new rejuvenated India to be translated into reality needed the birth of a hero like Gandhi. He came and the nation-wide struggle for all-round freedom began in right earnest. India responded to the clarion-call of her chosen leader. The doctrine preached by Dhananjay Vairagi no longer remained a mere idea of the dreamer buried in the page of a Bengali drama. The idea spread like wild-fire throughout the length and breadth of the country. People shook off their cowardice, refused to bend their knees to the insolence of might and were ready to sacrifice their all at the altar of the goddess of freedom. It was a sight for the gods to see. The people learnt that no one could really compel them to do anything against their will and that they could secure their freedom by learning the art of dynamic non-violence of the brave.

Gandhi's lead was necessary for the emancipation of women also. At his call the women came out of their seclusion, took part in the fight for national freedom and welcomed the frown of the powerful. A man asked Gandhi :

"But my wife refuses to wear khadi. She says, it is too coarse. Should I compel her to wear khadi?"

Gandhi in reply to his question wrote in *Harijan* (9th March, 1940) :

"Remember your wife is not your property any more than you are hers. She is your better-half. Treat her as such. You will not regret such experiment."

Another married man wrote to Gandhi :

"I am married. My wife is a good woman. Unfortunately she came across some one whom she has adopted as her Guru. She has received Gurumantra from her and her life has become a closed book for me. I do not know what I should do."

Gandhiji replied :

"If you adopted some one as your Guru and had your Gurumantra and if you did not impart the secret to your wife, I am sure you would not relish her resenting your refusal to disclose the secret."

Gandhi demanded equality for women. They have as much right to self-expression as men have and, therefore, must be as free as men. Gandhi as the transvaluer of values told women that as fighters in the battle for freedom they surpassed men in efficiency. This is what he wrote in *Harijan* (24th February, 1942) :

"She can become the leader in Satyagraha, which does not require the learning that books give but does require the stout heart that comes from suffering and faith."

Gandhi and Rabindranath gave dethroned womanhood a new glory and a new prestige. When the history of the emancipation of Indian women would be written—Gandhi and Rabindranath would be given a unique place as the makers of that glorious history.

Like Rabindranath Gandhi too fights for the freedom of the untouchables with the zeal of a missionary. Rabindranath began the campaign against the sin of untouchability in literature and in life too. The cause was taken up by Gandhi in right earnest. What the Poet dreamed became the fact in national life through the untiring zeal of the hero. The service of the two great men was essential for the liberation of the untouchables.

Thus we see that to carry on the fight for freedom to a victorious end Destiny sent two supermen in our midst—one a poet and another a man of action. And both these great men were actuated by an intense passion for truth and the highest truth they realised in their lives was unity with all. Both of them fought bitterly against the evil of domination; for domination is negation of love and makes for separateness which is the root of all evils.

The two great men fully appreciated the value of each other. Such cordial relation between two supermen—one a great poet and another a great man of action—has seldom been witnessed in history. The poet perfectly understood that Gandhi was the man of destiny and incarnates in his personality all that he stood for in life. Gandhi also fully realised that the poet was his forerunner and had sung the glory

of all those ideals that he is trying to translate into action. The Poet wrote in his poem "Gandhi Maharaj":

We who follow Gandhi Maharaja's lead have one thing in common among us.
We never fill our purses with spoils from the poor
Nor bend our knees to the rich.

And Gandhi when he came to Santiniketan on his way to Malikanda thus nobly addressed the gathering:

"I have come here leaving behind me all the cares

and burdens of politics simply to have Gurudev's darshan and blessings.

The two noble men vied with each other in courtesy. Goethe and Napoleon once met in a town in Germany but the relation between the two was not so cordial. We are fortunate that in our life-time we have seen a great poet and a great hero whose names would go down to posterity as two greatest men in history. They have been our friends, philosophers and guides. May we be worthy of them!

MAHADEV DESAI

By RANGILDAS KAPADIA

Sjt. Mahadev Desai's sudden and premature demise while incarcerated in Poona under tragic circumstances has given a rude shock to the nation, nay to the whole thinking world. In him the country has sustained a loss of a patriot and a devoted servant of the first magnitude; and a loss irreparable too. In him we have lost not only a man of broad vision and true sacrificing spirit, but a man who has rightly understood Gandhiji and his philosophy of life—had thoroughly imbibed his lofty ideals and who could properly interpret them to the world. Mahatmaji did the thinking while Mahadev gave expression to that thought. Mahadev was not only Mahatmaji's secretary, and a very efficient secretary at that too—but his "friend, philosopher and guide." Shree Rajagopalachari has aptly said that by the disappearance of Mahadev,

"Gandhiji has been orphaned" inasmuch as "he was like a spare body that worked for Mahatmaji whenever his own took a little rest."

The cruel hand of Death has separated these two inseparables and has caused a vacuum not only in Mahatmaji's life but also in that of the nation. It is but natural that such a tragedy should shroud the nation in a gloom beyond words. His death took place at 8-30 a.m., and the news was flashed over the wireless only at night, when in most cities the human world was covered under enforced silence on account of the Curfew. We learn that besides issuing the *Communique*, the Government did not extend

the courtesy of informing Mrs. Desai of the melancholy event. She had the first news only on the wireless set. This callousness on the part of the authorities was unpardonable.

The pages of *Navjivan*, *Young India* and *Harijan* bear testimony to the brilliant life-sketches of many a known and unknown patriot and worker, but those who enjoyed them with a relish knew little about the man whose pen immortalised these men. The world will ever miss the brilliant chronicling of Mahatmaji's life and doings, his inspiring discourses on various phases of human life, his talks to the international pressmen. The range of these discourses and talks, wide as it was, covered politics, theology and religion, economics and what not and a more faithful chronicler of them than Mahadev was hard to find. Mahadev alone could speak and write in his master's language and was as if a mirror of his master's mind and heart. The mirror crystal-like reflected what exactly passed in the mind of the great sage.

It was fifty-three years ago that young Mahadev saw the first ray of light in Saras, a small village in Surat district. The Anavil community to which his parents belonged is reputed for its enterprising spirit—though mainly agricultural in its profession—and has given India a legal luminary in Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai. Mahadev's father, however, was only a teacher in the primary department and young Mahadev's primary and secondary education was completed in Bulsar, a town on the outskirts of Gujarat

which hardly offered in those days the modern amenities for an intellectual. In spite of this disadvantage, his intelligence was evidenced in his young days and his academic career was fairly creditable, if not very brilliant. He joined the Elphinstone College of Bombay and passed his B. A. degree examination in the first class with philosophy as his subject. Curious as it is, a student of philosophy that he was, he was called upon to work for the political resurrection of his country. However, applying himself to dreary politics, he had an everyday contact with philosophy, of course, in a little different sense. What could be a higher and nobler philosophy than one evolved by Mahatma Gandhi, the acknowledged Savant of the Modern Age?

After passing his degree examination in Arts, he took to the study of Law. While reading his Law in Bombay, he had to serve in the Oriental Translator's Office as his father's thin purse would not permit his pursuit of further studies without embarrassment to the father. On passing his examination, he was faced with the problem of choosing a career. With his intellect and brilliance Mahadev could have carved out a career for himself and would have become a leading light in the legal profession. As a matter of fact, he had selected Ahmedabad as the venue of his professional work and put up a sign-board, too. But it was not to be! Mahadev was not meant to be a lawyer. He was ordained to be an Advocate of the people's cause! The conflict between the mind and the heart was too great to allow him to take to the practice of law. The Home Rule movement had captured the imagination of the people and was at its climax. Mahatmaji had first then started his famous "Ashram" on the banks of Sabarmati and it had begun attracting the notice of the country.

Mahadev happened to visit the Ashram in company with Sjt. Dayalji Desai of Surat whose work for social welfare had already influenced Mahadev and Mahadev at once fell under Mahatmaji's spell. In the conflict between the heart and the head, the heart got better of the head. Mahadev bade adieu to all his ambitions to rise at the bar and cast his lot with "this little mighty man" of the Ashram. Mahadev had since then been a unique devotee of a unique "Master." Tulsidas in a striking couplet of his has said it of Hanuman that "if his heart were torn open, Rama's image would be found seated on it." It can truly be said of Mahadev

that his heart would reveal his "Bapu's image engraved on his heart plate."

An able journalist, a literary artist, a faithful biographer and historian, he played many a role in one. Gandhiji had at this time taken over the responsibility of editing *Navjivan*. *Young India* too passed into his hands. A band of young Gujarati enthusiasts, Messrs. Indulal Yagnik, Shankarlal Banker and Jamnadas Dwarkadas conducted these journals. The first two of the trio had dedicated themselves to the service of the motherland as full-timers. On Mahatmaji's assumption of editorial responsibilities, Mahadev assisted him in the arduous task. The journals soon made their mark and made an indelible impress upon the political life of the country. Mahadevbhai showed great talents as a journalist and "M. D." became almost a watchword with every reader of *Young India* here and abroad. The Rowlatt Act, the subsequent agitation against it, the Jallianwala-bag massacre are all now history. *Young India* and *Navjivan* had played no mean part in rousing the country and Mahadev had a large share in it. Later, when Pandit Motilal Nehru started his paper the *Independent*, he requisitioned the service of Mahadevbhai.

During these twenty-five years, Mahadev's life has been synchronous with his nation's history in the making and a proud history too. Thousands who had the slightest contact with him must have carried with them an impress of a striking and affectionate personality. The Sabarmati Ashram served as a laboratory to model men of austerity and assisted men of common clay to develop personalities that shed lustre on the nation. Among such individuals Mahadevbhai "in a sense stands supreme. Mahadevbhai was eminently fitted to occupy a place of prominence in the Congress hierarchy but he had cultivated the art of self-effacement to such a degree that he preferred to merge himself completely into his Master and placed all his abilities and attainments at his feet, so much so that one can say Mahadev had no separate life from that of his Master. He satisfied himself with the enviable position of being his Master's day-to-day biographer. Nobody could claim a greater insight into Gandhiji's mind than Mahadev did, and he enjoyed the privilege of his confidence. But for Mahadev's arduous and zealous identification with every cause Mahatmaji made his own, Mahatmaji would not have been known to the world as he is today. The world is so much the poorer today by his death.

Of late the deceased had grown over the ordinary task of a secretary and had become the emissary of India's sage-statesman in the highest mission either to Simla or to this or that prince. Mahatmaji could implicitly trust him to play the roll of a perfect emissary. Mahadev had accompanied Mahatmaji to London when the latter attended the Second Round Table Conference as the plenipotentiary of the Congress and Mahadev as his secretary played no common role in these deliberations.

Mahadev would have been a litterateur of great eminence had he not cast his lot in politics. He was a literary artist and a linguist. Besides Gujarati and English, he knew Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi and French to perfection. For his chaste English he was the object of envy to the best of English writers. Voracious reader that he was, he snatched time to read all manner of books whether he was harnessed in the daily routine yoke of the Sabarmati or Sevagram Ashrams or was travelling on an express train or on mud roads in a cart, whether he was in jail or was enjoying the modest hospitality of a hut. His Gujarati makes a class by itself and marks a new epoch in the literature of the time. His translations of Sarat Babu's novels or his History of Bardoli Satyagraha bear evidence to his genius and of literary art. Divested of all living touch with Philosophy, his ardour for his "first love" had not abated in any way and he is said to have left behind a treatise on the "Gita" which he unfortunately did not live to see in print. He has enriched by his writings the literature of his province in particular and of India in general.

These writings mark him out as a literary figure of the first order. The gain of politics, however, was the loss of literature.

Few were privileged to serve the nation as Mahadevbhai was by his devotion and self-sacrifice. He had to struggle hard with poverty in his earlier days but it moulded his character. He was never embittered by these experiences. On the contrary, he was ever responsive to affection that helped him to make friends and sustain friendships. As a friend Mahadevbhai was exemplary and among Gandhiji's colleagues there are few who enjoyed so many friendships in all ranks of society as did this secretary of his.

His strenuous efforts in collecting funds for the flood-stricken Gujarat or for the Andrews Memorial present him to us in a different light. Gujarat and Santiniketan cannot easily forget this debt of gratitude.

Such a man we have lost. And truly he lived and died for the freedom of his land—for independence that is heaven's next best gift to that of life and an immortal soul! We cannot adequately gauge Mahatmaji's personal loss in the death of his secretary, the like of whom is hard to find. But the nation's greatest loss is the loss of the future biographer of the great saint. Mahadev alone was eminently fitted to write an authentic biography of Mahatma Gandhi and with the candle of that life blown out for ever, there is none now left to perform the arduous task. A Valmiki's pen alone could write the Ramayana. Where shall we now get our Valmiki to write the great epic that Mahatmaji is?

THE NAZI GAMBLE IN RUSSIA

By R. A. MAITRA

THE Russian struggle has reached a crucial stage. Since the Nazi Fuehrer came to the "greatest decision" of his life to make war on Bolshevism on June 22 last year, the present war has acquired suddenly a universal interest and a moral grandeur. Up till then the war had been regarded by many as mainly a clash between Anglo-French imperial interests on the one hand and Nazi expansionist ambition on the other.

India looked at the war with supine indifference. So did the working classes in many other countries. But the Nazi "decision" wrought a miracle. What had been regarded hitherto as a mere struggle for supremacy between two different types of imperialism suddenly turned into a war between two radically different ideologies.

Today the war is between Communism and National Socialism, and on the outcome of the

colossal carnage that is going on in Russia will depend to a considerable degree and for a pretty long time to come the fate and future of the workers of the world.

The news from Russia of late has been grave, but in view of the Red Army's heroic stand for over a year against the terrific and treacherous assault of the most powerful military machine in the world, which had overrun in a surprisingly short time almost the whole of the continent of Europe, there can be no doubt about the ultimate result of the Russo-German war. Russia has already passed that most dangerous point of psychological collapse. Her morale has been tried under the most gruelling circumstances and found unbreakable. No magnitude of military reverses can shake her will to fight on till the enemy is crushed. Besides her indomitable will, she has powerful allies in Britain and the U. S. who, whatever their past relations with the Soviet Union, have agreed to give all possible aid to her to beat back the common enemy.

The invasion of Russia evoked universal condemnation as it provided one more glaring example of Hitler's treachery the enormity of which will be clear from a retrospective review of the circumstances in which the blow was struck. Of all the "ism"s in the world none has been so violently abused and twisted to suit the avowed purpose of propaganda of its carping critics as Communism. The Soviet Union naturally drew upon herself the wrath and opprobrium of all the class-ridden plutocracies. Books were written in galore with the purpose of painting Bolshevist Russia as a store-house of terrorism, corruption, forced labour, murder, immorality and myriads of other conceivable crimes.

Hitler has been a born hater of Bolshevism. He has described Bolshevism as a human lust for destruction and a menace to civilisation and progress. Time and again he proclaimed in his speeches as well as writings that Soviet Russia was the one State in Europe with which he did not wish to enter into closer relations as they (Germany and Russia) were "inexorable enemies." One has only to read his *Mein Kampf* to form an idea of the diametrically opposed conception of National Socialism and Bolshevism. In spite of this yawning gulf of hatred separating the two States, a major surprise was sprung on the world in the autumn of 1939 in the shape of a frontier and friendship agreement between the two countries. The essence of the agreement was a solemn pledge on the part of

both the States, notwithstanding their extreme ideological differences, not to attack each other and to promote peaceful neighbourly relations.

This Russo-German Neutrality Pact appeared on the face of it a great diplomatic triumph for Hitler as it left him free to satisfy his lust of power in Western Europe without fear of "a stab in the back by the Bolshevist scoundrels." The pact caused a certain amount of discontent and disappointment among the British working class for failure of the Chamberlain Government to ensure the Soviet's friendship when events were heading towards a crisis in Europe. Soon after the non-aggression pact with Russia was signed, Hitler, as was expected, attacked Poland. Britain and France, who were bound to help Poland under treaty obligations, lost no time in declaring war on Germany. From September 3, 1939, to June 22, 1941, the Nazi military machine appeared in a blazing trail of amazing success. One by one, Poland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece, Crete and, the most unexpected of all, the mighty republic of France lay bleeding under the heel of Hitler. Germany had no enemy left in Europe for the time except Britain.

Then came the fateful day of June 22, 1941, which marked a turning point in the war. Without any warning, without any provocation the Nazi army struck at Russia. In a skilfully worded proclamation seeking to justify his treacherous attack on the U. S. S. R. Hitler said: "Bolshevism is opposed to National Socialism and is its deadly enemy. Bolshevist Moscow desires to stab National Socialist Germany in the back while she is engaged in a struggle for her existence. Germany is at war with Moscow to save the entire civilised world from the deadly dangers of Bolshevism and to clear the way for true social progress in Europe."

Hitler further gave a long list of "subversive activities" of Moscow the main object of which, he said, was to sabotage German war effort and to further Bolshevism in Europe. It was Moscow, Hitler said, that had organised the anti-German *putsch* in Yugoslavia. He also cited Moscow's war against Finland and annexation of the Baltic States which, according to him, were definitely aimed against Germany.

But Britain and the U. S. (the latter not then in war) were not deceived by the lies of Hitler. They could clearly see in the most unjustified attack on the Soviet a desire on the

part of Hitler to dominate completely the continent before storming the island of Britain which was the last citadel of democratic freedom in Europe challenging totalitarian tyranny. In spite of the previous distrust of the Soviet, Mr. Churchill's Government welcomed Russia as a new and powerful ally in the war against Hitlerite Germany. The latest example of Hitler's treachery gave a rude shock to all civilised nations, more so because the blow was struck under the cover of an ostentatious friendship. But it was of no consequence to Hitler. Here is an extract from *Die Revolution Des Nihilismus* (1938), a book written by Hermann Rauschning, once a high Nazi official and an intimate of Hitler, which exposes the working of Hitler's mind.

"Hitler had told me (the author) what was his view of the value of treaties. He was ready, he said, to sign anything. He was ready to guarantee any frontier and conclude a non-aggression pact with anyone. It was a simpleton's idea that expedients of this sort were not to be availed of because the day might come when some formal agreement had to be broken. He could conclude any treaty in good faith, and yet be ready to break it in cold blood the next day if that was in the interest of future Germany."

Thus it is obvious that Hitler had no scruple in attacking a friendly Russia and exploring excuses to justify his wanton aggression. The last phase of the struggle has now begun in Russia. Hitler is in a desperate hurry to bring the campaign to a close before the next winter. He knows that if by then the campaign is not over, the psychological situation in Germany will become critical. Already there is a clamour for opening a second front in Europe by the Allies. U. S. troops, it is stated in the press, have arrived in Britain in large numbers for that purpose. The recent visit of Mr. Churchill to Moscow, accompanied among others by General Wavell, and the daring Dieppe raid must have worried Hitler to the utmost. The Dieppe raid has been acclaimed in many

quarters as a rehearsal for bigger things to come, implying the invasion of the continent.

Hitler's losses in Russia "during the past sixteen months have already reached appalling figures which has considerably weakened his war machine. But he has still plenty of kick left in him. So far as territorial gain is concerned, he has achieved notable success at the cost of staggering losses. But the Soviet people's faith in ultimate victory is unshaken. They have suffered tremendous losses in men, equipment and territory but their spirit of resistance has not been weakened. Like the Chinese, the Russians regard such losses as inevitable in view of the size of their country.

The Soviet Union is 40 times the size of France and its population of 170,000,000 exceeds that of all European countries that Hitler has conquered. When Hitler invaded Russia, he had hoped to drive the Red Army across the Urals in six months' time. But the *blitzkrieg*, which proved successful against relatively tiny countries of Europe, failed completely against Russia. There is another factor which has kept up the spirit and morale of the Soviet people against overwhelming odds. Every Soviet citizen, from the gallant members of the Red Army and guerilla forces to men, women and children working in farms, factories and mines, has been indoctrinated with extreme fanatical hatred of the enemy. This element of fanaticism is the most potent weapon of a belligerent country engaged in a total war.

The Germans have advanced far into the Russian territory where tremendous **non-stop** battles are raging, but there is no indication that the Soviet's power of resistance is on the verge of cracking. The Germans, on the other hand, are afraid of a second winter in Russia and a second front in Western Europe. They cannot now withdraw their army without facing the risks of annihilation. It is obvious that the fighting in Russia has developed into a win-or-lose gamble for the Nazis.

ERRATA

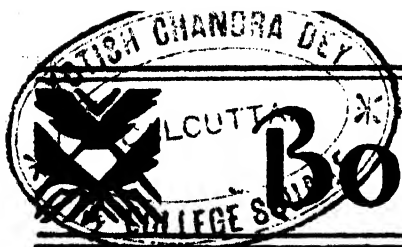
The Modern Review for October, 1942 :

P. 309, col. 2, line 1 : *Read secession for recession.*

P. 349, col. 1, line 38 : *Read Marumakkateyan for Marukrakkateyan.*

P. 349, col. 2, line 25 : *Read British and non-British Hindus for British and non-British.*

P. 355, col. 1, line 7 : *Read P. E. N. auspices for P. E. N.*



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF INDIA : *By T. N. Ramaswamy, M.A., B.Sc., (Econ.) Honours (London) with a Foreword by Prof. P. A. Wadia. Published by the New Book Company, Bombay. Price Rs. 10.*

Mr. T. N. Ramaswamy has succeeded in writing a striking book—quite out of the run of ordinary books on Indian Economics. *The Economic Problem of India*, as Prof. P. A. Wadia points out in a highly appreciative foreword, strikes a new line of thought—"not in conformity with the standardized platitudes to which two or three generations of writers on Indian Economics have familiarised us. . . . This work demands attention and consideration for its departure from the conventional, even apart from the intrinsic value of its contents."

Mr. Ramaswamy has begun by reviewing Indian economic resources—both material and human—and has subjected the present rural and urban economy to a most searching examination. He has mercilessly exposed the weaknesses and evils of the present situation and has ruthlessly set aside all plans of economic reform put forward in India in recent years. In the words of Professor Wadia—"we have today an uneconomic wage level, an uneconomic localisation, uneconomic competition among the units of each industry, uneconomic marketing and uneconomic technical processes of production. Our industrial evolution has been planless. What we need is State regulation of the economic structure in the general interests of the community, limitation of the profit incentive, regionalisation of industrial units by securing localisation near the raw material areas, and their co-ordination in a spiral system of economic corporations under a system of barter adjustments. This is the theme of the work."

Mr. Ramaswamy has read widely and carefully. He has been deeply influenced by the Italian corporative system and by Prof. Guiseppa De Michelis' book on "World Reorganisation on Corporative Lines." The vision behind the book of which Professor Wadia speaks in the Foreword is the vision of corporativism vouchsafed by Mussolini and Professor Michelis—and it is this aspect of the book which particularly demands a careful and critical examination.

Mr. T. N. Ramaswamy puts the whole blame for the present economic distress in India on the "technical" but not "economic" evolution in India during the 19th century. "We must learn to realise that all the troubles of India are the consequence of an unco-ordinated technical evolution in the past century of British domination." Technical evolution, particu-

larly in transport, has "complicated the problems of rural and urban units of production by imposing on them the necessity of keeping their cost-structure on a competitive basis and by transmitting to the economic system of the country the instabilities of the international markets for primary and industrial products."

According to Mr. Ramaswamy, "cost-structure imposed by international competitive economy" is responsible for all the economic ills of this country and he goes on repeating this again and again—even to the point of irritation—throughout most of the 308 pages of the book. It appears to me that the author would have achieved his purpose very much better if he had avoided repetitions and had greatly compressed his analysis of the maladjustments existing in Indian economy (which covers nearly 300 out of the 308 pages of the book) and had devoted more space to indicating the lines of his scheme of "economic co-ordination," as he calls it, and in making clear its full implications. As it is he devotes hardly a dozen pages to this constructive portion of the book in which he also tries to answer certain anticipated criticisms.

It is no doubt true that revolution in the means of transport and in the technique of production in the West exposed Indian economy to an unfair competition. If India had a national government, alive and efficient, as for example, Japan had after she had thrown open her ports to foreign trade, India would have made the necessary adjustments and achieved a strong economic position. But India was under the control of a foreign government which was engaged in consolidating its rule and in promoting British economic and financial interests. Consequently, whatever economic progress has been made in India during the last fifty years and more—it may have been misdirected from the point of view of the permanent interests of the country and it may have also involved needlessly heavy cost and sacrifice—was made possible by political awakening and the rise of a strong national movement and unless the people succeed in capturing political power and in establishing complete control over the country it is futile to expect any major economic adjustments or progress in India. It is this aspect of the economic problem in India which Mr. Ramaswamy has entirely ignored which has vitiated his whole approach to the Indian economic problem and even his criticism of the existing economic system.

It is, however, pertinent to ask—How is the Indian economic problem to be tackled when India achieves her freedom and secures complete control over her destiny? One thing is clear—that it is beyond the power of unaided individual initiative and *laissez-faire*

economy to achieve anything substantial. Mr. T. N. Ramaswamy is right when he says that a carefully co-ordinated programme is absolutely essential and that planning and individualism are inconsistent with each other. It is certainly true, as pointed out by Professor Robbins, Planning means Socialism. "If planning is not a polite name for giving sectional advantages to particular industries, what does it denote but Socialism—Central control of the means of production? For planning involves central control. . . . Nothing but intellectual confusion can result from a failure to realise that Planning and Socialism are fundamentally the same."

However, Mr. Ramaswamy does not want Socialism, because it involves the elimination of the Capitalist. He desires Corporative economy, a sort of Capitalist Syndicalism—although he fights shy of using these names and christens it "Economic Co-ordination."

It is not necessary to discuss here the comparative merits and demerits of Corporative system and Socialism. It will depend upon the political forces in the country as to which type of State is established in India when she secures complete control over her destinies and upon it as to whether the Corporativist or the Socialist solution will be applied to the Indian Economic problem.

In the meantime, it is well to understand the defects and to know the extent of the havoc caused by the impact of the competitive international economy upon the technically backward and inefficient Indian economy based upon an out-of-date social system and the difficulties and drawbacks of achieving whatever economic progress is possible on individualist, capitalist lines helped by a policy of discriminate protection as advocated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya and others of his school of thinking by a study of *The Economic Problem of India* by Mr. T. N. Ramaswamy. It is a pity that Mr. Ramaswamy should have agreed to fixing the price so high as Rs. 10 in spite of preaching the doctrine of the limitation of the profit motive and the necessity of protecting the consumer from exploitation. But this should serve to remind the reader that Italian Corporativism is impracticable in India without the establishment of a Corporative State—and that public opinion in this country is opposed to the establishment of a Corporative State, now or in the near future.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

PAKISTHAN EXAMINED: By Rezaul Karim. Published by the Book Company Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 167+vi. Price Re. 1-8.

The author of this book has already made his mark as a fearless, rational and nationalist publicist. In this series of essays dealing with the general thesis—(because the details of Pakisthan and Pakisthanism are all very confused, contradictory and nebulous as yet)—of Pakisthan, Mr. Karim applies his analytical powers in dissecting the motive behind the partition idea, the political and economic position and possibilities, the cries of Muslim solidarity and pan-Islamism, and the class interests ranged behind Pakisthanist propaganda. Mr. Karim's indictment has gathered great strength because of the array of facts, and quotations, the citations from developments in Moslem countries and leaders of the eminence of Sir Syed Ahmed and others, and lastly his own sturdy viewpoint. Dr. Latif's scheme, the Aligarh and confederacy schemes and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's scheme are given as appendices. Students of the controversy cannot afford to miss this book.

The book however suffers from misprints, repetition, looseness of presentation, and dependence on second-

hand sources of information in many places. We say this because we are convinced that the writer has the ability to present a more scientific treatise comparable to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's or Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's books on the subject, provided he has more time and literature at his disposal. We demand this of him in the next edition.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

RAMA-RAJYA: By S. D. Nadkarni. Published by the Rationalist Association of India, 41, Queen's Road, Bombay. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1-4 only.

This book was first published in 1932 and, was reviewed by us in *The Modern Review* of July, 1933. We were in general agreement with the author in our first review. Reading the book a second time, we find no reason to reconsider our attitude.

There was much in ancient thought that modern mind cannot accept and there was much in Hindu lore, too, which modern science must reject. Ancient physiology, astronomy and chemistry have been considerably revised; so has ancient law and ancient morality. It is foolish to think that whatever is past was glorious. But it is equally foolish to hold that the past has made no contribution towards human progress and civilisation.

If the past had its mistakes and its limitations, the present has them too. Whatever modern thought accepts as true, need not be so, although just now we have no proof to the contrary. The future may reveal that many of our present beliefs are unfounded. This is a general proposition which applies to law, morality and religion also. The correct scientific attitude of mind is that of a perpetual seeker after truth, and to be cocksure that ultimate truth has been acquired once for all is against the grain of science and its history.

With regard to the value of antiquity, in India as well as elsewhere, we come across two extreme views both of which must be pronounced wrong. Those who hold that the past was the golden age and there was nothing in it to be regretted or rejected, are quite as wrong as those who think that there was nothing in antiquity to deserve consideration.

As to *Rama-rajya* and the character of Rama, the aspersions cast by Mr. Nadkarni are not fully deserved. To take particular episodes of Rama's life and condemn them, is not taking a total and correct view of his life. Besides, there is the question of motive which is so difficult to gauge from outside. His renunciation of Sita was an act on which argument is possible. Did he exile her in order that he might retain his throne or was it to set to his subjects an example of correct life? Much depends on how we put it and how we understand it. We have an opposite example in the English King Edward VIII who gave up an Empire for the sake of a woman who at that time was the wife of another and the divorced wife of a third. He earned praise in some quarters even for that; but his expulsion from the throne showed how British public opinion viewed the act. We would not say that, taking Rama as a historical person, all his acts can be justified; but individual acts, taken in isolation, do not give a correct view of a man's life; and there is the question of motive which determines the morality of an act.

Those who wish back the reign of Rama perhaps do not wish to bring back the past in its entirety—the past without its radio, railway and telegraph: if they do, they are clearly in the wrong. But is it not equally one-sided to condemn the past simply because there were defects in the social and political structure of the time? The ancients did achieve glory and a hero like

Rama did possess virtues which any one could be proud to possess.

We agree with Mr. Nadkarni's general thesis that our ancient past has not been critically and correctly appraised. But we do not agree with him if he wants to say that there was nothing good in the past and that it must be wiped out. Similarly, we are prepared to say that the attempt to revive *varnasrama* is hopelessly out of date. But we would not say that the ideal as the ancients conceived it was all a deliberate fraud, a hoax, and an attempt to dupe the unthinking multitude into submission to a perverse priesthood. R. C. Dutt, whom Mr. Nadkarni quotes so often, probably judged the ancient history of India better than many of us.

Nadkarni's denunciation of Rama and of the past ages to which he belonged is too strong and too unsympathetic. Otherwise it is a powerful book which should provoke us to a thoughtful revaluation of our past history.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

EPICS, MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF INDIA :

By P. Thomas. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Plates lxxv, containing 231 illustrations. Pp. xvii+132. Price Rs. 15.

This sumptuously illustrated book gives a comprehensive account of various aspects of Hindu folklore and mythology for the lay reader. The scope can be appreciated from the following chapter headings : Cosmic and Cosmogonic Myths; The Hindu Pantheon (3 Chapters); Prajapatis, Manus, Rishis, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Apsaras and the Demi-gods of the Mahabharata; Enemies of the Gods; Death and Soul Wanderings; Love and Sex; The Sun, Moon, Earth and Planets; Animals and Birds; Trees, Plants and Flowers; Principal Hindu Holidays; Some Popular Stories and Legends; The Buddha; Jataka Tales; Glossary and Index.

The author has restrained himself from unnecessary speculation and kept true to his original sources all through his narration. He has moreover succeeded in maintaining the interest of his readers throughout, which is a great merit in any book of the present nature.

The illustrations have been judiciously chosen and very well produced.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MAHATMA HANSRAJ—MAKER OF THE MODERN PUNJAB : By Professor Sri Ram Sharma, D. A. V. College, Lahore. Arya Pradeshik Pratimidhi Sabha, Lahore. November. 1941. Price Rs. 2-4.

The Arya Samaj is a strong and powerful organisation. Its dynamism of outlook is too well-known to require any elaboration. Widows' homes, orphanages, educational institutions, relief measures undertaken when occasion arises, unremitting zeal in the propagation of the Vedic faith have been indications of the usefulness of the Samaj. We may remember Max Muller's prediction made in 1884 : "For a time this kind of liberal orthodoxy started by Dayananda may last; but the mere compact with Western thought, and more particularly with Western scholarship, will most likely extinguish it." Hansraj is one of the men who have made this prediction false. Mahatma Hansraj (1864-1938), identifying himself with many of these activities undertaken by the Arya Samaj, deserves the credit of having materially contributed to the making of the modern Punjab. His was a soul dedicated to the cause, and his activity was marked by a watchfulness and restraint, rare to find. Selfless, simple in dress and habit, vowed to a life of voluntary poverty,

Mahatma Hansraj never swerved from the path of idealism which he decided in his early life to traverse. In the course of about 300 pages, the biographer has described the life of this splendid worker, and the production is well-documented. Those who are interested either in the Arya Samaj or in the history of India during the nineteenth century will find the book useful for study and reference.

Hansraj passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in December, 1880, and when he joined the Punjab University College in January, 1881, as a first year student, there were two Bengalis on the teaching staff—Babu Sashi Bhushan Mookerjee and Mr. T. M. Ghose. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma mentions another name, Sarda Prasad Bhattacharyya, one of the three Secretaries of the Samaj along with Hansraj. It would be interesting to find out the filiations of these Bengali gentlemen with the growth of the Punjab; but this is only an angle of view for a Bengali reader.

There are certain examples of a slipshod language; there is also an inaccuracy re: Hansraj's schooling. We are told he "seems to have so far been educated at home" (p. 10). But on p. 8, we had read, "Hansraj had not yet spent more than a year at school," etc. This is evidently conflicting. One wonders again if Mahatma Gandhi's loin cloth is "the usual dress of the people of Gujrat." By the way, reference to Mahatma Gandhi is generally unhappy and it smacks of peevishness. Surely one need not cry down Gandhi to admire Hansraj (p. 93). It would have been better if the author had borne in mind this simple truth when he compared Lala Hansraj's sufferings (undoubtedly they were severe) with Ramchandra's. The reference to the huge expenditure incurred in Calcutta for a Congress session is also unhappy. Lala Hansraj's appearing in "full Punjabee dress" "at the palaces of the reigning Princes as well as in the Government House" even "in pre-war days" was certainly commendable, but it reminds the reader of a prior example (and surely the author knows it). Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar in his *dhoti* and *chadar* and half-slippers "bearded" the highest official in the land in his own "den." The names of two places have been printed beyond recognition, and though a certain liberty may on occasions be granted in the case of proper names, Sakshi Gopal (the famous village which was so called because Gopal or Krishna walked—so the story goes—from Vrindavan right up to it, to give evidence in a case) and Damodarpur (named after Damodar, a name of Vishnu) should not have been put down in the way they have been, as Sakhi Gokal and Domodarpur (p. 189), by an Indian and a Hindu at that. *Nagar Kirtans* (p. 226) are not simply "singing processions," but such of them as go round the town.

Some lines from Lala Lajpat Rai's open letter (p. 160, ll. 2-8) seem to indicate that there was a history behind the letter, but that history is not told here.

P. R. SEN

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SINDH : By P. N. Khera. Published by Minerva Bookshop, Lahore. 1941. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 5-12.

The main book consists of 63 pages in four chapters, the remaining portion being devoted to the publication of a number of letters. In these four chapters, the author who was a Research Scholar of the Punjab University and is now a Lecturer in the D. A. V. College, Sholapur, traces the history of British Policy towards Sindh from the 17th century to 1843. The materials

have been collected largely from the manuscript records in the Punjab Records Office at Lahore. But as they did not throw light on all aspects of the subject, he depended also upon Parliamentary Papers and other published works. The author, if he wanted to relate the full story, might have consulted the Imperial Records Office at New Delhi. Why he omitted to do it before publishing the book, we do not know. He might have foreseen that his work will be regarded as incomplete on the ground of this omission.

N. C. ROY

ILLUMINATION OF LIFE, PART I: *By K. R. Chawla. Available from the author, C/o Deputy Commissioner's Office, Ferozepore (Punjab). Pp. 291. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a symposium of quotations, culled from most of the sacred books of the world's various Faiths and several miscellaneous secular sources, to prove the unity of God with its corollary of the unity of mankind, and also to testify to the truth that "all humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion." The book consists of about twenty-five chapters, each dealing with a particular constituent element of true religion, with appropriate saws and sayings to substantiate it. It will be, as such, found useful by speakers and writers, who are engaged in counteracting the growing mischief of communalism by emphasising that all creeds teach the virtues of loving kindness and neighbourliness.

GURDIAL MALLIK.

LIFE INSURANCE IN INDIA: *By R. M. Ray, Ph.D. Allied Publishers, Bombay and Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 307. Price Rs. 6-12.*

This is a comprehensive study of the theory and practice of life insurance with particular reference to Indian conditions. The rapid growth of insurance business in India during the last two decades has drawn in its fold many talented intellectuals who have sought to enrich the insurance literature of India not only by imparting a scientific temper to the discussion of insurance topics but also by carrying on original researches into the various aspects of insurance business obtaining in this country. This volume, which earned the author a doctorate degree at the University of Bombay, is a valuable contribution to the study of Indian insurance, its history, law, practice and problems.

The author has shown considerable skill in explaining the intricacies of life insurance principles, for instance, those connected with Mortality Tables, Interest and Premium Rates, Valuation Methods, etc., in as non-technical a language as possible. In his analysis of Indian conditions, the author has made good use of the experience that has so far been obtained in this country. In the concluding chapter, Dr. Ray has made certain suggestions which deserve the most careful consideration at the hands of those who are at the helm of insurance business in India. He suggests that Indian companies should be progressively mutualized, as mutualization will enable them to widen the scope of benefits offered and reduce the cost of insurance to policy-holders. The author advocates a general reduction in the rates of premium charged by the companies. He deprecates the indiscriminate and cut-throat competition among companies to secure business which leads inevitably to heavy procurement costs. Finally, the author pleads that opportunities should be provided for advanced studies in insurance, and an organisation similar to the Faculty of Actuaries, Scotland, or the Institute

of Actuaries, England, should be set up by private enterprise to which assistance and recognition may be offered by the Government of India.

The volume contains several useful appendices and tables. The get-up of the book is very attractive.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION: *By Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 55. Price annas twelve.*

Mahatma Gandhi in his Foreword says that the treatise is timely and should go a long way in dispelling the fear and distrust about the possibility and desirability of giving the highest instruction through the mother-tongue.

The advocates of instruction through the medium of English are not always Englishmen but Indians. Commission after Commission have advocated the reform but with very little effect upon the education system of India which must be regretted. The Calcutta University has introduced Vernacular as medium of instruction in Secondary Education and we may hope that at no long distance of time Higher and University education will be through the medium of Vernacular. Other Universities of India are taking up the work of vernacularisation of the medium of instruction. The Osmania University of the Nizam's Government conducts education through the medium of Urdu—an Indian language which though preferable to English is not suitable as Marathi, Telugu and Hindi, the spoken languages of the Hyderabad State and this the author objects and rightly so. An Indian language is no substitute for one's mother-tongue as a medium of instruction. The author contends that if the medium of instruction is an Indian language, it does not deteriorate the education, is amply proved by the Osmania University whose Degrees are as good as any other University and the students of that University compete successfully with the students of other Universities in Civil Service and other stiff examinations. Want of Text-Books is no plea for the continuation of the present system and the Nizam's efforts have shown, where there is a will there is a way.

India must come to her own through the revival of her ancient education and culture and this cannot be possible unless we have a system of national education which will combine the things best in the cultures of the East and the West. National education must be imparted to students through a medium which is their own and which means no waste of time and energy to acquire. Still there shall remain a place for the study of English, French and German and as a matter of fact any other foreign language as is recognised in the European and American Universities and for that reason education of India or of any of its Provinces should not be burdened with a foreign medium of instruction.

Principal Agarwal's treatise deserves to be read by all educated Indians who have reform of the present system of education in this country at heart.

A. B. DUTTA

AN INDIAN IN AMERICA: *By E. A. Varghese, M.A. (Columbia, N. Y.), B.L. Published by Eralil Publications, Alwaye or Trivandrum, S. India. Price Rs. 2.*

Treat Mr. Varghese's book as an album with pictures of America or as a tourist's guide-book, it is so far so good; but treat it as a book of reference, its educative value is immense. This publication apparently trails itself in the company of a number of books

on America following Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. But the writer has his own apology to give a fair and balanced picture of the New World.

Better it would have been to christen the book as *An Indian in New York*, for N. Y. has been the background in three stories out of four. However, this city is the nerve-centre of American life, and Prof. Varghese has touched this life as closely and has studied it as intensively and carefully as any student of science.

From one chapter to the other I have frisked with a pleasant easiness and have found the Professor more facile for his description and dramatization than for narration. From night club queens and the nudists, the writer has extended his range of topics to the gangsters and millionaires at home. And everything from his exact portraiture down to his impassioned study is marked with a sense of humour that comes between pleasantness and sarcasm.

Besides America of the myth, the fantastic, monstrous and gorgeous America, there is the prosperous America built on the rock of hard work and mutual confidence. Every American is a bundle of *cracies* (craziness) and beliefs, every American mind is both very masculine and very feminine; still, in America there are the Empire State Building of 102 storeys, the *Chicago Times*, the world's greatest newspaper, the Rockefellers or the dollar-kings, the greatest benefactors of nations and Henry Ford, the prophet of profits who does not believe in charity.

The chapters like God, Mammon & Co., Henry Ford, and the Epic of America are admirably interesting studies.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

FOUR ESSAYS ON SUDDHA YOGA : *By Janardana. Published by the Suddha Dharma Office, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 84. Price annas ten.*

The author offers his interpretations on Yoga. This book is divided into four chapters, viz., Samnyasa and Tyaga, Gayatri-Upasana and Yoga, Pranayama and its Role in Yoga and Dhyana and Yoga. Of these four, the last-named one on Dhyana and Yoga is new as the other three had already appeared in "The Suddha Dharma." These three too have been revised and enlarged. These essays are based on the teachings of Suddhacharyas and the writer in his subjective and objective applications of these truths has been recipient of their beneficent influence. Towards the close of the essay on Gayatri-Upasana and Yoga, the writer proclaims that Bhagavan Sri Narayana, who is incarnated as Sri Mitra Deva, will appear publicly some time this year. This book is recommended to all students of Yoga.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

SANSKRIT

NAVARATNANITI OR ARYOPADESHMALA : *By Sri Giridhar Sarma. Published by Kumari Sakuntala Vidusi, Navaratna Saraswati Bhavan, Jhalrapatan. Pp. 12. Price anna one and six pies.*

This is an Alphabet and Ethical Instruction, consisting of 111 *slokas*, intended to give an idea of the quintessence of Aryan culture.

GURDIAL MALLIK

BENGALI

HE RUDRA SANNYASI : *By Bijoylal Chattopadhyay. Bharati Bhavan, 1, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price annas ten.*

The volume consists of six brilliant essays on Gandhian politics and ideology. The writer has sought to dispel some of the prevalent misconceptions about Gandhiji with suitable quotations from his writings. Critics often describe him as a most impractical idealist, ignoring the fact that he has been a strong man of action all his life and his wisdom and foresight have been proved on many an occasion. "Machine vs. Spinning Wheel," "Gandhi the Socialist" and "Jawaharlal the future leader" are neat and vigorous compositions, expected to evoke considerable interest and let us hope, a sincere desire to understand the full implications of our present national movement.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

KABIR : *By Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi. Published by Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Hirabag, Bombay-4. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi enjoys already a very high reputation amongst the present-day writers and critics of Hindi. The book, under review, now reveals him in a new unsuspected aspect of his personality; namely, as a penetrating student of the many-sided Hindu religion. In his *Kabir*, he has presented a perspective—historical as well as socio-religious—which brings out in bold relief the central teaching of the monarch of medieval non-conformists.

The book is a pocket encyclopædia of the precepts and practices of the various schools of spiritual discipline, which were in existence in the middle ages in India. To wit, the author's detailed discussion of the creed and conduct of the Nathpanthis and Hathiyogis and others, interpretation of such "key terms" in the terminology of the mystics as *Avadhuta*, *Niranjana*, *Brahma*, *Maya*, *Nirguna Rama*, *Rupa*, *Arupa*, *Sma* and *Asima* (i.e., the Immaculate, the Absolute, the Creator, form and formless, finite and infinite, the world of appearance).

It is against this background that the learned author has essayed to understand the message of the master-mystic and elucidate it for the layman. In doing so he has shown clearly that *Kabir* was much more than a mere singer of the love and name of God; he was a king of language-makers, a poet, a unique personality, a philosopher, guide and friend, a social reformer, and a harmoniser of the varying views and ways of life, besides. Otherwise his teaching, like that of the true mystics of all ages and climes, could have been summed up in one single sentence: Love with thy heart and soul the Divine Beloved of All, who dwells in every one and everywhere. But the tragedy of history of religions has been the exclusive possession and imprisonment of the Divine Beloved of All into by the so-called chosen few. Hence, the utter advisability of appearing among us, and the inspirational value, of non-conformists like Kabir, Rammohun Roy and Rabindranath. They come to free the ocean from the private pond, the sky from the nest.

Pandit Hazari Prasad has done well in making, as far as possible Kabir "explain" his own self-realized truth through his own songs (and sayings) of which the best he has included in his book. Perhaps, a less Sanskritized style of commentary and adequate annotations of the anthology would have rendered *Kabir* still more widely welcome by the general public. The printing and get-up are of a high order.

G. M.

MARATHI

SHRI PRATAP-SHASTRAGAR: *By Prof. Manikrao, Baroda. Published by Mr. M. R. R. D. V. Gaekwar, Khangi Karbhari, Baroda State. Royal size. (Profusely illustrated). Pp. 107. Price Re. 1-10.*

The progress of science has been both constructive and destructive in its effects, and has contributed as much to the happiness of human society as to its misery. This is particularly so in the realm of inventing more and more deadly weapons for decimating the enemy's strength. These weapons have naturally relegated to obscurity most of the previous instruments of war, like the sword and shield, the bow and arrows, the disc and the lance. And still some of them have yet a place in modern war when it comes to a hand to hand fight. Besides, the sword even now holds the place of honour among all the instruments as the symbol of power and authority. Moreover, the antiquarian interest in these weapons has a great value in the study of their evolution. His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Baroda is a great lover of weapons and with a view to their preservation and presentation has recently established a museum which contains hundreds of these famous weapons with their detailed description. The task of erecting this museum was appropriately entrusted by His Highness, to the author of this book, who can be said to be one of the few living authorities on the subject. Many of the weapons now tastefully exhibited in this armoury, have historic connections with one of the most renowned personalities of medieval and modern India and should thus prove to be of immense value in immortalising their precious memory. Prof. Manikrao has dealt in this book with all the detailed information of the various weapons, describing their different parts, the uses which they serve, and the ways and means of their proper preservation. It is certainly a rare book among the welter of trumpery and irresponsible literature that crops up like mushroom now-a-days. His Highness the Maharaja and his Khangi department deserve the highest credit for the production of such an important and useful publication, as also the author for his great labour and rare knowledge of the subject. The book is beautifully and profusely illustrated.

D. N. APTE

TAMIL

CHARITRA DEEPAM, PART I: *By M. S. Subramanya Iyer. With an introduction from T. T. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L.A. Published by Mangala Nalagam, Nungumbakkam, Madras. 1941. Pp. 200. Price Re. 1-4.*

We have in these historical tales more of rhetoric than of convincing details. If these are meant for political propaganda, this is the most inopportune time for it. Historical tales should never be told in a partisan spirit. We have a model to follow, in the History of Ireland by Stephen Gwynne, a retired civilian of Madras.

KAMALA AND SOME OTHER SHORT STORIES: *By R. Thiruganasambandam. Published by Sakti Karyalayam, 48, Muthumari Street, G. T. Madras. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1.*

Very fine short stories.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

JAPAN TO-DAY: *By K. Subbaramayya. Published by Samskriti Granthamandali, Madras. Printed*

at the Vanamali Press, Madras. Pp. 118. Price annas eight only.

This handbook on Japan serves admirably well to those who want to know the vicious machinations of Japan's aggressive policy. With facts and figures, the background of Japan is treated historically, politically and socially; so that, the conscientious reader might ascertain for himself the menace that threatens every peace-loving citizen of the world.

As a piece of anti-Fascist propaganda it is an excellent work.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

RANG TARANG, PARTS II, III AND IV: *By J. H. Dave, M.A., Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay. Published by the Gandhi Sahitya Mandir, Surat. 1941-42. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 168; 168; 195. Price Re. 1-4 each.*

Jyotindra Dave is *par excellence* the most humorous and witty writer at present in Gujarat. His humour is crisp, quiet, unassuming, never aggressive but all-pervading; when he speaks, every sentence tells; when he writes, every line scintillates with humour. Whatever the subject he touches, be it an ass or the city of Bombay, he humourises and that too not in a tone of heresy but in a quiet vein. He never descends to the antics of a clown. These three parts are "chockful" of humorous writings, and though they were, when they were written, contributions to a journal, now dead, and as such pioneer efforts, still they contain the promise of a Dickens which has come true in its entirety.

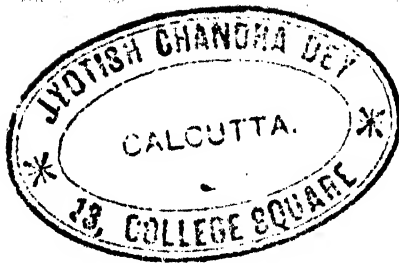
SWADHYAYA, PARTS I AND II: *By Professor Keshavalal H. Kamdar, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Baroda College, Baroda. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1941. Cloth bound. Pp. 260; 470. Price Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 respectively.*

The two parts of this book embody the many articles written and addresses delivered by Prof. Kamdar during the last two decades on subjects connected with History, provincial and imperial, and Politics. They betray the wide field of his study and its depth. They betray also the mentality of the student and the thinker. He very rightly has come to the conclusion that history, politics, economics, literature and philosophy are so much bound up with every phase of the life of society, that, a writer who desires to say something worth consideration on one subject cannot afford to ignore any other out of them, and that his conclusion, to be sound must be based on the various view-points thereof. He has in his dissertations adhered to this principle and the result is a thought-provoking work.

SHRI GURMUKH VANI: *Edited by Gopalram Guru Devshankar Sharma. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1941. Card bound cover. Pp. 190. Price Re. 1-4.*

Nirant, born in V. S. Year 1803, founded a cult in Gujarat. His teachings amounted to this that there could be no Bhakti where there is no Jnan. He and his followers have written many Bhajans in very simple Gujarati in support of the cult. He himself has written in Hindi verses also. There are still his followers to be found in Gujarat. The book contains a collection of 266 Bhajans, selected from printed as well as manuscript material. They are pleasant and instructive.

K. M. J.



WAR : ITS ROOT CAUSES

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

WAR, the merciless monster of human history, that has again and again drowned mankind in a sea of blood, has a far deeper root than what is commonly understood and realised. It is far beyond the power of any individual, any Hitler or Mussolini, Kaiser or Napoleon, to create a war by his mere wish and endeavour, not even by his fanatic zeal and aggressive nature. But cheap propaganda of vested interests directed principally against a particular individual or a nation, has created an erroneous impression on the general mind—as if some wicked individuals and aggressive nations are the arbiters of human destiny and they can do whatever they like. But it is conveniently forgotten that they themselves are the creation of the social forces over which they have little control. No nation can be condemned or acquitted of its guilt in the eyes of history by the mere fact of its participating in an offensive or defensive war. No war can be judged in that unscientific manner detaching it from the historical process, from the chain of events that leads to the catastrophe.

We would, therefore, fail to understand and grasp the root causes of the war and its far-reaching character, if we do not study war as the expression and culmination of the social process. Its profound causes lie hidden in the very system of capitalism that has given rise to imperialism and later on fascism, the most brutal instrument of exploitation. Yet paradoxical as it may appear, imperialism and fascism, two wings of the very system of capitalism which they seek to defend and perpetuate by different methods, are today engaged in a destructive mutual warfare of a magnitude that is a staggering experience to all humanity. Only a correct analysis of the social forces operating in the war can clearly answer the strange phenomenon how this seemingly impossible thing is taking place as the most fateful reality of our times. No formalist logic can answer it. No capitalist conception of politics and economics can illuminate the dark horizon of the self-contradictory social process. Formalist logic will say, imperialism and fascism can not commit suicide. How can they, therefore, fight to destroy each other? Yet they are fighting in fact. In a vain attempt to escape

from the dilemma a radical theoretician of our country who speaks in the name of Marxism, has been propagating the absurd theory and indulging in the make-belief that imperialism is liquidating itself, if not quite voluntarily but by the objective pressure of "popular" forces. But no Marxist revolutionary understands how can even a dying class surrender its power without a deadly fight. It can not be even compelled to do that peacefully even by the so-called objective pressure of "popular" forces. The exploited people, if strong enough, may well seize power. But no real power can be fully handed over to them by any amount of pressure of mass demonstration of their will. To indulge in that make-belief is to negate the very basis of Marxism. It means voluntary liquidation in effect. Whatever may be the popular pressure, they become willing signatories to their death warrant, which is an absurdity.

This apparent contradiction, this dilemma can be explained alone by dialectics. Because the dialectical method not merely draws logical conclusions, but also takes into account the contradictions within contradictions and sees not only clash in opposites but also unity in opposites. Logically, it is perfectly true that imperialist and fascist States cannot commit suicide by fighting each other. They cannot suicide by fighting each other. They can not consciously weaken, far less, destroy their very foundation, on which they take their basic stand although from different standpoints. But a dialectical analysis shows that they may well fight for their own vested interests, yet in that very effort they may weaken their foundation and pave the way for their own destruction. The very system of capitalism that has given rise to imperialism and fascism, has at the same time created contradictions and released opposing forces which are beyond their power to control, far less for all times. Those who draw logical conclusions and hold that imperialism cannot commit suicide and, therefore, expect it to behave logically and realistically, conveniently forget the significance of the good old Marxist observation that capitalism is its own grave-digger. It does not consciously dig its grave. But it cannot help it. Yet it cannot liquidate

itself even to defeat a rival military power, far less to crush fascism, the ruthless defender of the very capitalist system it seeks to perpetuate by a different method. No capitalist class surrenders its power or forego its interests without a deadly fight. The existing division in the capitalist camp only helps the objective development of the opposing forces that gather strength and momentum in its own womb. While it fights the fascist powers, it does everything possible to obstruct the revolutionary process. Yet that very obstruction may well defeat, in effect, its own purpose.

The very process of capitalism, the capitalist mode of production and distribution gives rise to contradictory interests, contradictory claims, contradictory aspirations. When capitalism, in its own interests, uses the political power of the State to throw out of land peasants as 'proletariat' and draws them in their industries as wage-earners, it perforce creates preconditions for the rise of the proletariat class as its opposing force. In that very process when it destroys the antiquated feudal mode of production, it does not realise that it acts as an unconscious instrument in the evolutionary process against its purpose. But that does not mean that capitalism is not the merciless exploiter of the labour power of the multitude. Yet the proletarian consciousness of its rights grows with the very development of capitalism. So with the growth of industrial capitalism in every country not only class antagonism between employers and workers grows, but also rivalry between competitive groups of capitalists becomes acute. Without keeping down the standard of living of the toiling masses, without throwing out scientifically unnecessary workers, capitalists cannot go on amassing profits. Without raising the purchasing capacity of the multitude, without encroaching upon the interests of other groups of capitalists, they cannot even find markets for the consumption of their goods. These contradictions are inherent in the very process. The purchasing capacity of the multitude is limited by their standard of living which again is limited by the capitalist economy. When every country is bent upon developing its industries to its fullest capacity, there can be no limit to production. Unrestricted production means accumulation of goods and narrowing down of markets and results in keener competition between rival groups of capitalists and even closing down of factories and decrease of working hours. Profits tend to diminish to a vanishing point and capitalists strive hard to

cut down the cost of production by rationalisation and higher technical skill, and even by levelling down workers' earnings. All this means increasing poverty and unemployment among the workers and the crisis deepens.

To tide over the crisis different groups of capitalists combine into cartels and trusts first nationally and then internationally. Monopolist concerns grow and capitalism develops into imperialism. Colonial plunder leads to the rapid development of capitalism and lays the foundation of imperialist states. Capitalists, at an advanced stage, export surplus capital in order to exploit the resources and cheaper labour of colonies and dependencies and with the growth of industries there, the colonial bourgeoisie and its opposing class the colonial proletariat also grow stronger and stronger. Although the colonial bourgeoisie prefers to exploit the colonial labour as the junior partner of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the terror of mass revolution makes the former greatly dependent on the latter, yet there is an inherent clash between their interests, between the nationalist economy of colonies and that of the imperialist states. The clamour for self-sufficient national economy and national government becomes louder and louder. This further sharpens the contradictions within the imperialist system between colonial peoples and imperialist countries on the one hand, and between different imperialist countries for domination of world markets. It means a sharp division within the imperialist camp itself which means further weakening of the foundation of imperialism. Rival groups of capitalists not only combine economically to compete with one another, but also compel their States to combine with other imperialist States politically and militarily. Imperialist States deliberately increase their armaments and prepare for war either to defend the *status quo* of their privileged position of vantage and power or to upset it and to secure the same position for themselves at the expense of other peoples. This inevitably leads to war. Whoever may be the first aggressor or whatever may be the immediate incidents precipitating the clash, this basic antagonism is the decisive factor and the root cause.

These were the conditions within the imperialist camp which led to the last imperialist war. The rising capitalist Germany under Kaiser was, no doubt the first aggressor and deliberately precipitated the clash in order to dominate and exploit the vanquished and weaker peoples. But who can deny today that Germany

only followed in the footsteps of the bigger imperialist powers and committed no greater crime than the latter? War was inevitable under the very conditions of imperialism. Equal freedom and opportunity for all peoples and a fair and equitable distribution of world resources was the only way out of the vicious circle. It was the only way for a lasting peace. But none of the imperialist powers were ready to forego their own vested interests and unholy possessions without a fight. The exploited and oppressed peoples were not strong and conscious enough to defeat the international conspiracy of fraud and force. The last imperialist war, therefore, became unavoidable.

It is, therefore, all the more incumbent on all those who claim to fight for democracy and freedom and to crush fascism, to probe into the root causes of the present war and understand its character and far-reaching consequences. It is impossible to understand the present war and the forces operating within it without understanding the root causes of the last imperialist war, implications and actual effect of the Versailles Treaty and the post-war economic situation and politics of the victorious imperialist powers. Fascism that has launched the biggest offensive in history against human freedom, progress and peace, is not the creation of any fanatic and monomaniac like Hitler or Mussolini, but it has far deeper roots in the very imperialist system of exploitation and capitalist mode of production and distribution, in the very conditions created by the last imperialist war and the attempted solution through the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations which kept the principal system of exploitation intact and served the purpose of the strongest imperialist Powers.

It is idle to pretend that the Versailles Treaty did not cause deepest resentment among the German people. It not only deeply wounded the national dignity of the proud Germans but also caused economic strangulation of Germany under the heavy burden of war debts and reparations and various restrictions. Imperialism faced a profound economic crisis at the later stage of the war. The crisis shook its very foundations. Europe entered into a period of war and revolution. The growing might of the disillusioned proletariat came to a deadly clash in Russia with the decaying capitalist class that was vitally weakened in course of the imperialist war. The rise of the Soviet Union marked the advent of a new epoch, birth of the first Socialist State in the world dominated by

capitalism, by imperialism. It was the astounding achievement of the proletariat class. Although the proletariat could not triumph in other countries due to the swift intervention of the imperialist powers and other adverse conditions, the spectre of communism began to haunt the imperialists as a nightmare. The basic political strategy of the imperialist Powers was from that moment determined by that outstanding class antagonism against the Socialist State that rose as a standing challenge to the capitalist domination. Fascism rose as the spearhead of international reaction and counter-revolution, as the direct antithesis and enemy of the Soviet Union and socialism and communism and even people's democracy. It could triumph first in Italy and then in Germany and rise in power in leaps and bounds, only by the aid of British diplomacy and English and American capital. The peculiar socio-economic conditions and the fatal weakness of the dominating syndicalist philosophy in Italy led to its first triumph. The post-war economic crisis which was far deeper in Germany than elsewhere, paved the way for the rise of fascism in its most dominating and menacing form, backed by the scientific genius and superior technical and organisational skill of the Nazified intellectual Germany. The tragic failure of social democracy to find a way out of the impasse became a principal contributory factor. In the existing conditions socialism was the only alternative to fascism. But the social-democrats who all along swore by socialism, refused to travel the only way out of the crisis when they came in power. The Allies did not also help them to find even a midway for the time being to escape from the economic strangulation of the Versailles Treaty. It was, therefore, no wonder that the Nazi gang triumphed under Hitler.

The Nazi Germany was in dire need of foreign capital for the very economic reconstruction which could not wait. British and American capitalists supplied Hitler with sufficient capital not merely to reconstruct its shattered industries but also to make military preparation behind a perfect smoke-screen. This created new vested interests of Britain and America in Germany. It was, therefore, no wonder that it was Britain that helped Germany to regain its lost position and power in Europe. The cunning imperialists believed that Hitler might succeed where social-democrats have failed to check the menacing rise of socialism. The growth of the Nazi power also served the pur-

pose of weakening the French hegemony in Europe and restoring the balance of power in favour of Britain. Hitler simply seized the opportunity by his both hands. Again, the dialectical method can alone explain how Britain, in its feverish anxiety to safeguard its own interests and supremacy in European politics, has created its mortal enemy in Hitlerism. When the British diplomats helped Hitler even to repudiate the American debts, to tear up the Versailles Treaty, clause by clause, and abetted in the subjugation of Abyssinia and massacre of the Spanish Republic, little did they realise that they at the same time struck at their own feet. They could not imagine that the deadly weapon they had sharpened with a cunning diplomacy to direct it against communism and the Soviet Union, would eventually fall on their own heads. Yet that was what actually happened, though the Soviet Union had to ultimately combat the world's enemy No. 1 and actually saved Britain from an imminent invasion and has so long borne the main brunt of its fiercest attack.

Mere export of surplus capital is not the only feature of modern imperialism. Its rock bottom is the colonial plunder at the initial stage and the continued possession or domination of valuable sources of cheap raw materials and labour and ready markets at later stages. At a certain stage imperialism may not ostensibly require conquest of colonies, but surely it strives to dominate the economic life of the weaker peoples, to control their markets and exploit their resources and one's military might is a decisive factor in exercising that domination. Even the U. S. A. imperialism is no exception to that rule. It is, therefore, utterly wrong to presume that mere want of surplus capital on the part of the Fascist Germany provided 'no foundation for modern imperialist expansion.' On the contrary, that very weakness of the economic foundation of German Nazism provides the strongest urge for expansion and conquest of colonies, simply because that alone can make its economic foundation stronger and even avert the growing crisis at home for the time being by ruthless utilisation of the colonial resources and labour as the slave driver. Want of any keen and visible rivalry in the economic field at a particular stage of the Nazi capitalism with the British capitalism is also no ground for elimination of a serious clash with the latter. The very privileged position of vantage and power was a standing challenge to the ambitious Nazi Germany and could not but generate bitter

antagonism against it. The very fact of the growth of Nazi Germany as a subordinate to the British and American imperialism could not but lead to a decisive war with the latter, simply because by war alone the Nazi Germany could get out of all debts and financial obligations. It is also wrong to assume that 'autarchy is the peculiar principle of Fascist economy' and that 'self-containedness and expansionism are mutually exclusive!' Autarchy is a peculiar feature of not merely fascism at a certain stage but also of capitalism, of imperialism in crisis. Self-containedness and expansionism are not to be literally interpreted as mutually exclusive. Capitalist economy, caught in the throes of a growing crisis, necessarily strives at self-containedness in order to develop its capacity to the farthest limit and to partially tide over the crisis. But that does not at all eliminate the expansionist tendency. On the contrary, the very economic position which drives fascism to strive at self-containedness, becomes the strongest incentive for adopting a deliberate expansionist policy. The Nazi capitalism could tide over the crisis only by transforming itself into fascism, its most brutal and extreme form. Nationally, by crushing the working class movement there, and internationally by shattering the barriers raised by the Versailles Treaty and making the supreme attempt to wrest by its military might valuable sources of raw materials and slave labour. It was, therefore, no accident that the initial clash occurred between imperialist Britain and the Nazi Germany, whatever might have been its superficial or immediate cause and however ruthless and unprovoked might have been its aggression.

As the Soviet Union was the direct antithesis of the fascist State, the possibility of the fascist offensive developing into a deadly offensive against the Soviet Union was inherent in the very social forces that precipitated the initial clash. If even conscious popular forces are fighting today side by side with the imperialist forces they are doing so not because of any liquidating tendency of imperialism, nor because of any revolutionary change in the outlook of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but because of the basic position that this rival group of imperialists, in its own interests, has arrayed itself against the fascist forces in alliance with the Soviet Union and a common front has been established against a common enemy, the menacing fascist power, although for different purposes. The entry of the U. S. S. R. into the

war certainly made a vital and decisive difference in transforming the character of the war and cementing the international front of all progressive and revolutionary forces against fascism, as the Soviet Union unquestionably represents a fundamentally different political camp, the camp of communism as against the camp of capitalism. It could no longer be held that the war was still confined within the camp of capitalism between its two wings. It

decidedly went beyond its bound and opened up far-reaching possibilities of developing the war into a full-fledged people's war against fascism. Only the impact of a fundamentally different political ideology, backed by a mighty military power could do that. Only the Soviet entry could destroy the chance of a fascist peace and be a guarantee for the culmination of the war into an uncompromising people's war against fascism.

OBJECTIONS TO HINDU CODE BILLS

By SANAT KUMAR ROY CHOUDHURY

Ex-Mayor, Calcutta

III

THE Hindu law and Smritis provide for Anuloma marriages and prohibit Pratiloma marriages. Anuloma marriages presumably were sacramental marriages, while the Bill allows subcaste marriages it restricts the liberty of marriage between the different *Varnas* i.e., both Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages are forbidden. In the matter of Inheritance the Legislature wants to go forward and be liberal, one cannot understand why the same Legislature should not allow sacramental marriages to be solemnized between the different *Varnas* and go further than the Smritis themselves and allow Pratiloma marriages as well. The Smritis though they prohibited Pratiloma marriages did not altogether cast out the offsprings of such union only provided that they should become *patita* or *chandalas*. It is the desire of every Hindu however advanced he may be in his views that the marriage of his son and daughter should be a sacramental marriage and it will not do to say that for *inter-varna* marriages civil marriage is provided for in the Bill.

The Bill seeks to prohibit polygamy. Ever since the advent of the British rule educated Hindu men and women imbued with western ideas have insisted upon monogamy, with the result that nowadays monogamy is the rule and polygamy an exception amongst them, and those who copy their ideals. But in making polygamy illegal and polygamous marriages void the Reformers are losing sight of actualities, and

running after ideals the utility of which in the struggle for existence is not yet proved.

The comparative lesser rate of growth of the Hindu population as against that of the Mahomedans is a serious political handicap, and the main cause is polygamy and widow remarriage amongst the latter.

In an agricultural country like India polygamy makes for prosperity of the farmer and many illustrations can be found if one visits the rural areas and enquires. Our Legislators must remember that they are legislating not merely for the women who meet annually or more often, in different places and pass resolutions on different subjects, but for the masses who have not spoken a word against polygamy. It may be said that Law being a man-made institution, provides for polygamy but forbids polyandry. The criticism is not entirely correct. There are countries in which polyandry is permitted and sanctioned by law, and there are other countries or localities where though not sanctioned it is winked at.

Neither Polygamy nor Polyandry is inherently immoral or against Public Policy. Even in Christian countries where monogamy is the rule prevailing over a thousand years we know what happened when there was a shortage of men after the last world-war.

In legislating for the Hindus we must keep in view the needs of the society, its environments and the defects which are hampering its growth. Nowhere has the complaint been made that because of the existence of polygamy eligi-

ble bachelors have not been able to marry. The facts are almost the other way about. Owing to scarcity of eligible bachelors many maids remain unmarried and the age of marriage for girls at least in Bengal is steadily rising.

One would have appreciated and welcomed an amendment in the marriage law, which compelled all men and women of a certain age to marry, which prohibited dowries, the acceptance or offering of gifts on the occasion of marriage, or marriage feasts, and made marriage possible and easy for those who are dying out because they cannot marry in time. Instead we are offered a Bill which restricts the scope of marriage, one which will prevent the marriage of many girls, whose guardians are willing to subordinate their natural disinclination to marry their girls to a person who already has a wife.

Then again monogamy has led to sexual vices where the wife is a defective, or where she makes the life of the husband miserable. The main object of a Hindu marriage is to have a son. This has both religious and social sanction, and there is no justification for denying a Hindu male the right to take a second wife where the first is barren to enable him to perform his religious and social duties.

If the Legislators have materials or data before them that the Hindus have ceased to follow the religious injunction of the Shastras, to the effect that each male must have a son to deliver him and his forefathers from hell or *naraka*, this Bill may be justified. We have reasons to believe that beyond the views expressed by some women who call themselves progressive, and who are not really Hindus in their belief, outlook and conduct, and by men led by those women there are no such materials before them. The vast majority of the Hindus who do not pass resolutions or approach the Legislators, is of quite another mind as the observance of the *Chat* festival in Bihar and U. P. and the *Sashthi* in Bengal will demonstrate.

The amendment proposed will far from benefiting the Hindu society cripple it and unfit it for any struggle which may hereafter come.

Then there is a significant provision, Clause 24, which makes marriages void where either spouse has a husband or wife living in case he or she is a Hindu, Jain, Buddhist or Sikh. It omits Christians, Mahomedans and Parsis. We are not concerned with Christians because their personal law would make such a marriage void.

The importance and significance of the omission of Mahomedans is this, that it will legalize the marriage, sometimes forcible, of a Hindu married woman to a Mahomedan although the husband is living. There have been scores of such cases in Bengal, in which an abductor, or ravisher of women has escaped by pleading marriage and coercing the woman to plead her consent. The Hindu society has been equally to blame because it has not tried to protect its women, and at the same time punished the innocent victim of an outrage, it could not or would not resist, by putting her out of the pale of society.

It would have been, in our opinion, far better to let the forces of Reform work silently and unobtrusively, as it has done for the last century and a half: a readjustment of the Sashtric principles, social necessities, and the present-day moral code would have come in time. The changes advocated in the Bill are bound to be resented by the orthodox section of Hindu society and by the priests, and it will also be opposed by the masses who still revere and follow their Sashtric precepts. It will be wise not to proceed with the proposed legislation in the teeth of the people's opposition. Let not the Legislature be deluded into thinking that there is no opposition because none is voiced. We can assure them that there is opposition and a very real one. The Bill extends only to British India and if passed into law ticklish and intricate questions about the validity of marriages and legitimacy of children and the laws of inheritance are likely to arise in connection with marriages valid under the Hindu Law (not the Hindu Code) solemnized in the Indian States or Nepal or foreign countries. The Bill far from simplifying the laws of marriage will lead to complications and should therefore be dropped.

2. *Definitions.*—The word 'caste' has acquired a peculiar meaning and should not be used except to connote that meaning. The word *Varna* for which it is substituted would have done equally well and would not have led to confusion.

2 (d). It is not clear whether "uncle and niece", "aunt and nephew" by blood relationship only is meant. If it be so, there is a defect or lacuna in the provisions, prohibition should be extended to relations by marriage also. With the provision for widow remarriages, and there being no prohibition enacted in the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act XV of 1856, the Code must provide prohibitions to render marriage

between a man and his maternal uncle's widow, and such other relations illegal and void.

This may be done by declaring that the widow of a person is to be deemed to be of the same gotra and her position in the count will be the same as that of her husband in case of certain specified relations.

3. Only two forms of marriage are going to be recognized. But Clause 6 saves customs and usages of localities and communities. We think the more prevalent forms of marriage, *e.g.*, *kanthi-badal*, *sindurdan*, &c., should receive legislative recognition and not require to be proved as usages or customs.

4(a). We have already commented on the provision that neither party should have a husband or wife living and we oppose this clause in so far as it is against the present practice permitting polygamy.

We would also be prepared to make an exception in the case of a woman, who has been deserted or whose husband is impotent.

4(b). The parties must belong to the same caste, *i.e.*, Varna. We beg to point out some practical difficulties in the way of the application of this Rule.

The Kayasthas are really one sect wherever they live. The Calcutta High Court has held them to be Sudras but in other provinces they are recognized to be Kshatriyas. The Bill being passed into law a marriage between an U. P. Kayastha and a Bengalee Kayastha will be illegal and void. We think that this provision should be dropped.

4. The Bill does not recognize the well-known exception known as the Trigotra Rule.

Provision should be made for this and definite directions given as to the method of counting the gotras. So that it may be easily ascertained whether the bride and bridegroom are separated by more than three gotras from each other.

5. If our suggestion as to inclusion of other forms of marriage in Clause 3 be accepted the tests for the validity and completion of these marriages also should be laid down.

8. Civil marriages provided for in the Bill speak of marriages between a Hindu and another Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina, and not a Muslim, or a Christian or a Parsi. The explanatory note suggests that it removes an anomaly in the Special Marriage Act III of 1872. Now that the Legislature is bent upon doing justice to the mothers of the race it should have taken cognizance of marriages between Hindus and Mahammadans, Parsis and others which are taking place more frequently than before, and provided for them.

In our opinion Civil Marriage should have been left within the scope of the Special Marriage Act and necessary amendments made therein including provision for marriage between a Hindu and a Mahomedan.

23. The Bill should make provision for cases where none of the enumerated guardians are living. In such a case the head of the family in which the girl is living or a neighbour professing the Hindu religion and interested in the girl should be the guardian for marriage.

24. If the prohibition against polygamy is retained in the Bill "Mahomedan, Parsi or Christian" should be added after the words Jaina.

There should be a clause added making marriages induced by fraud, *e.g.*, a Christian or Mahomedan representing himself to be a Hindu and marrying a Hindu girl, and marriages in which the bride or her guardian were coerced into going through the form of marriage illegal null and void.

There should be machinery set up for declaration of nullity of marriages of Hindus and also for granting divorce on grounds on which it is permitted by the Smritis. An amendment and codification of the Hindu Marriage Laws should provide for divorce on the grounds of desertion and impotence or *kleebatwa*. Women placed in such circumstances have either to take to a life of shame or change their religion as they cannot remain Hindus and take another partner. Neither course is good for the Hindu society and in the interests of Hindus themselves, this intolerable position of women should be set right.



A POET IN THE HILLS

An Appreciation of Rabindranath Tagore

By DAVID IAN MACDONALD



RABINDRANATH has always meant for me a mood of quietness, a mood of gentle exaltation. I do not know why. Perhaps it has something to do with his essays in his *Sadhana*, the first book of his, which I read. I remember the event clearly. I was a college student; and walking along the pavement of Chowringee it suddenly struck me one afternoon, how criminal it was, if not ridiculous, for not knowing anything about the poet. This may seem strange to people brought up on Tagore, but this was inevitable to one who was brought up in a school where Tagore was completely unknown as a poet. This school prepared you efficiently for the Senior Cambridge Examination and taught you all about the English, but nothing about Rabindranath Tagore, and little about India. This may read like a libel but as far as I remember it is a fact, perhaps a little altered, after the India Act of 1935.

To get back to the essays in *Sadhana*—for a poet and his works are indivisible—I made the purchase, went back to college, and was immersed in its contents for many days. My Seligman and Taussig suffered but it was worth it. If words have power, surely the essays wove a spell around me. Looking through a diary, I find an extract, which will probably give the reader some idea of the kind of thought which affected me.

"When the heat and motion of blind impulses and passions distract it on all sides we neither give nor receive anything truly. But when we find our centre in our soul by the powers of self-control, by the force that harmonises all warring elements and unifies those that are apart, then all our isolated impressions reduce themselves to wisdom, and all our momentary impulses of heart find their completion in love; then all the petty details of our life reveal an infinite purpose, and all our thoughts and deeds unite themselves inseparably in an internal harmony."

From this the next step was *Gitanjali*. *Gitanjali* had the same attraction. Then came a visit to Bolpur and a surreptitious peep at the poet who was working quietly in his garden. The glimpse assured me that the distinguished-looking figure was no one else but the author of the essays and songs.

The memory of that visit is clear. Even the fierce persuasions of my Marxist friend, whom I accompanied, failed to cure me of my Tagore worship, for that is what it amounted to. I remember my friend sitting under one of the ample trees, which had given shelter earlier

to some pupils and a professor of Santiniketan, with my copy of Palgrave, reading stanzas from Omar Khayam, and saying that the tent-maker's philosophy and outlook was more realistic than Tagore's. I understood what my friend meant. He was so keen and sincere about Marx, and Lenin. He wished to see huge iron tractors ploughing up the fields round Santiniketan with collective farms all throughout the country. He thought of the poet in terms of the 'class-warfare.' Later, when I did meet the poet, my friend would have been pleased to know how revolutionary some of the thoughts of the poet were.

But I anticipate. My enthusiasm for Tagore was only diminished by my lack of knowledge of Bengali. Then it is said a 'guru' always appears when the 'chela' is ready for the next step in instruction—I met a very cultured Bengali couple who were, I am sure, rather amused at my naive enthusiasm, but who, at the same time, understood my passion. My new friends were intimate friends of the poet and I learnt a great deal about his work and his life. I heard many of his poems read in Bengali and was then given the translation. First the Bengali, then the translation. It may sound a tedious process to some but for me it was like looking through a telescope at a distant and attractive landscape. The translation made the meaning and thought of the poet clear, though, I daresay, some of the music and melody was lost.

Then there was a red-letter day. I got an invitation to tea and to meet the poet who had come up for a holiday to the hills. I could hardly believe it and went along full of nervousness.

Unfortunately, that very evening, the poet was slightly indisposed, so we decided not to bother him. Instead, like children, we stealthily climbed up the stairs, and sat down halfway to listen to the poet who had started to sing one of his own songs in his room. A whispered translation informed me that the song was about the clouds. How relevant and timely, for it was the monsoon period and huge clouds rolled over the sky.

A few days later, I called to pay my respects, and this time the poet was feeling better. He sat in an invalid's chair, and I have yet to see a man of his age who looked so handsome and

prophetic. Again I was nervous. 'Now,' thought I, 'how can I display my ignorance with the best grace!' I need not have troubled, for with a polite gesture the poet asked me to sit down, and after exchanging the usual compliments, the poet asked me if there were plenty of bears round these parts for shikar. This was unexpected. I got completely thrown out of gear. The painful thought crossed my mind that perhaps the poet was being polite and making conversation with myself and my brother who was present, until we removed ourselves! Or did I look only fit to kill bears!

The conversation faltered until someone had a bright thought. A volume of poems by the poet was produced and the poet was requested to read. Here again there was disagreement. The poet placed the choice on us, and we on him. His argument, that, after all, a poet serves his public, did not convince us and then the poet started to read.

Forgotten were bears and everything else. I can recollect the scene vividly. The poet read from his translations in English. Finally from *Gitanjali*. The poet's voice was probably not as full and strong as in his youth but it conveyed the meaning of the poem which he finally read with a ringing crescendo.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out of the depths of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

There was a stillness after this. Each with his thoughts. Being young my mind immediately turned to India and freedom.

Slowly the tension relaxed. The poet started to talk. He told us how *Gitanjali* was composed. How he had the poems in an old exercise book and that he did not think much of the poems. On his arrival in England his friend William Rothenstein insisted that the poet from the East should read something of his works to a gathering of British poets. After some persuasion, Tagore produced his songs, as these were the only poems of his in English. Rothenstein was fascinated. So also were a number of other poets who had met on one of the following days to hear the poet read his songs. Yeats writes that he carried the MS. before the poems went into print in his pocket, and that he glanced at it whenever he had an opportunity, in a bus, or in a restaurant. Everyone now knows about this or possesses a copy of the songs.

I saw the poet once again before he finally left for the plains. This time I presented him with a bunch of flowers—bronze and gold zinnias—the only flowers that seem to withstand the monsoons. I remember, I wished they had been Indian flowers. Perhaps this sentiment was too narrowly nationalistic—particularly as Rabindranath was so great an international mind.

ROMANCE

By CYRIL MODAK

Romance! rise from thy wonted flower-strewn
bed

In fairy dells or palaces of gold!

From perfume-sprinkled cushions raise thy head,
Life waits on rocky wilds for thee, behold!

See, there, the ill-clad herdsman with his drove
Beneath a fierce meridian sun plucks flowers
To weave into the hair of his shy love:

His passion-fluted liltings charm the hours.

In many a chamber drab where gloomy gleams
Of a lonesome candle flicker in the night,
Eyes find in eyes the music of young dreams,
In tender clasp two hearts dance with delight:

O! leave thy comfort-pandered dalliance, rise!
Midst dreary toil Life waits, Romance, for thee.

Among the desolate crags, neath dark'ning skies
Stray, hunger-stricken lovers wait to see
Thy moon-drawn chariot on the horizon's slope,
Their one desire the palpitating bliss
Of love, and comradeship their only hope,
Their immortality seized in a kiss.

Romance! rise from thy languorous, rose-
stained bed,

In fairy dells or palaces of gold!
Come forth to climb the thorny steeps ahead!
Life waits for thee with all the fire of old.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Religion : Universal and Particular

It is inevitable that the language in which a man writes of authentic religion should bear the impress of the religious tradition to which he was born. John Middleton Murray writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The English nation has produced no more profound religious genius than William Blake. He believed and declared that "All Religions are One"; nevertheless, as he grew older, he came to speak almost exclusively the idiom of Christianity, the necessity of utterance compelled him to speak the religious language to which he was born.

There is, no doubt, a universal religion; but there is no universal language of religion. And it is in accord with the nature of things that this should be so. As Goethe—who also came to speak the language of Christianity at the end of the second part of *Faust*—said, we can utter the universal only through the particular. And it seems to me that those who rebel against this limitation and try always to speak a universal language in matters of religion are always in danger of speaking no language at all. Certainly, if I were to try to do so, I should find myself speaking a kind of religious Esperanto, which (however beneficent its uses) could never serve as the medium to record experience so intimate and personal as religion.

For religion is, above all else, an intimate and personal experience. As Max Plowman once said, "The test of religion is whether it is a man's own."

A writer's religious thought necessarily shapes itself in the idiom of the Scriptures with which he has been familiar from childhood. For a man of the West, the Bible—and above all the New Testament—is his natural religious language.

The Writing of Indo-British History

To the Englishman writing about the achievements of his countrymen in India, the desire to belittle what existed before him comes very naturally. Dr. Narendra Krishna Sinha remarks in *The Calcutta Review* :

Sir Charles Oman says, "History is not a purely objective thing. It is the historian's way of envisaging and correlating a certain series of events." Much depends on the mentality. Unfortunately for Indian history the British historian has the attitude of the "superior person." In the *Cambridge History of India*—a jointstock history which is a bad summary of some very good monographs—this tendency is very conspicuous.

The underlying assumption of those who planned the *Cambridge History of India* is that in the pre-British period, India presents merely the picture of

court intrigues and palace revolutions where the governed have no reason to be grateful to the Government as during the British period.

In view of this attitude, very natural to an Englishman, the British period of Indian history is the story of the Englishman in India, not that of the Indian.

Weakness is visible not merely in corner details, as is inevitable in the case of a foreign writer, but what is more, a particular conception of a period or of an individual is sought to be inculcated. Where a detail is inconvenient it is slurred over. That Muhammad Ali suggested the seizure of Arcot is naturally omitted because it deducts from the greatness of Clive. Plassey is pictured as an epoch-making event and Clive as its victor. It is not adequately described as a gambler's venture. We are merely told that "after a momentary hesitation" he reached Plassey. But that the great victor of that battle, only forty-eight hours before, was thinking of waiting until he was joined by Mir Jafar, the Marathas or the Raja of Birbhum is an unimportant detail, not worth mentioning, because in history, where inconvenient, we are concerned with events rather than processes. We are told very little about the costly nature of the British conquest and the comparative scale of the fortune of the Indian Nabobs. In the description of the career of Warren Hastings those events loom large in the pages of Indian history as appeared important to his accusers in England. That historical perspective seems rather queer which attaches so much importance even now to the Rohilla War, the episode of Chait Singh and the affair of the Begums of Oudh.

They forget that during the period of gold lust, which commenced with the battle of Plassey, the agents of the East India Company, paid on a part time basis, were "wielding a truncheon with one hand and picking a pocket with the other."

It does not strike those historians that perhaps the revenue experiments of Warren Hastings are more important from the Indian point of view than all the details relating to the trial of Nandakumar or the disputes with Francis. Warren Hastings had his defects in common with most English rulers of the period but he had, unlike Lord Cornwallis and other prancing proconsuls who succeeded him, a genuine respect for the culture of India, its literature, scholarship and arts. Nathaniel Halhead and Sir Charles Wilkins as pioneers, Sir William Jones and Henry Thomas Colebrooke as scholars and Hastings as the enthusiastic patron, present a picture that is certainly more favourable to Warren Hastings than the elaborate apologia to be found in the pages of Indian history. He is perhaps the only ex-Governor-General who in the peaceful seclusion of his retired life could tell a Governor-General designate that he should read Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* as a preparation for his task.

These illustrations are given only to show the difference in perspective. It is far from our intention to justify smart writing or a *a priori* reconstruction.

Gleanings from Annie Besant's Writings

To have the glorious privilege of suffering for India is the crown of a life which has ever striven to stand for Truth and Freedom.

INDIA'S RELIGION

India is a country in which every great religion finds a home. Go back as far as you will and you will find that Hinduism exists. Go down later and you will then find Buddhism establishing itself with its wonderful ethics. Go down further still, and you will find Jainism almost contemporary with Buddhism. But you will find Christianity in the first century after Christ and on the West Coast. It has to become one of the Indian religions and no longer only the religion of the foreigner. Then still later you will come to the great Prophet of Arabia and his people together with the exiles from Persia, the Parsis; the whole of them are here in India in a common Motherland, and have a common interest, and should have a common pride. It is in these ways by studying each side that so much will be gained.

INDIA'S PAST

India is a continuum, and her Aryan civilization a unbroken whole. There are invasions and conquests, periods of strength and weakness, of unity and division, in her aeonian story. But she is always India; always Aryan, the Mother Imperishable, who has borne uncounted millions from her womb, but at whose own birth no historian can guess, whose death no prophet can foretell. And this it is well to remember in our judgments of today. With an admitted history of nearly 5,000 years, from the commerce between India and Babylon . . . and the proofs of high civilization and wealth then existing; with an admitted literature of at least 7,000 years; the period of English rule in India, barely a century and a half, is microscopically small, a tiny ripple on her ocean. Invasions flow and ebb; conquerors come and go; India assimilates what is left of them, is the richer for them, and remains herself.

INDIA'S AWAKENING

What shall it be for humanity when India herself in her new glory is born into the world? India, from whose lips, in this land of the Rishis, came the religion that uplifts and spiritualizes, the philosophy that illumines, and the science that trains; India, from whose mind, throughout the world of mind, came those great systems of thought which are now recognized as the noblest products of the human intellect; India, whose feet once passed through many States, and made every one of them fertile, prosperous and wealthy; India, who was perfect in spirit and mind; when that India is born into the full vision of the eyes of men, perfect in body, is it too much to say that her coming will be as life from the dead? That is the glorious goal for which we work.

—From the Besant Commemorative Issue of *The Theosophist*

Twenty-five Years of the Soviet Union

The titanic struggle which the Soviet Union has been putting up against the most powerful

military machine of all times has been a surprise to most Governments and peoples of the world including even Germany. *Science and Culture* observes :

The history of a State which began to industrialise itself barely two decades ago and which has proved a near match for Germany, which is one of the leading industrial and militarised countries with hundreds of years of technical and scientific efficiency, is a matter well worthy of study by every country, which wishes to get on in the present-day world. Twenty-five years ago the proletariat came to power in Russia, emancipated all the colonies of Czarist Russia, consolidated their revolution against heavy odds, both external and internal, and set to the task of industrialisation and modernisation on a scale unheard-of in all history. It is opportune at the present moment to make a brief resume of this historic revolution achieved twenty-five years ago.

The Revolution embracing all phases of human activity may be divided into :

1. A technological revolution—passage from age-old agriculture and paleotechnic method of production to modern industrial methods based on science and neotechnics.
2. A political revolution—passage from Czarism to what was termed at the time as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
3. A socio-economic revolution—passage from capitalism and private property to communal ownership, and abolition of private interests.
4. A religious revolution—passage from different forms of established religion to a new system based on Darwinian picture of the world.

The Russian Revolution was rightly regarded as the most momentous experiment with human society.

The Caucasus

The 1942 campaign was directed at cutting the Russian armies off from vital resources and leave them starving out in the bleak north. *The New Review* observes :

Up to now the Russians have lost three-fourths of their wheat-producing land, most of the meat-producing areas, most of their iron-ore districts and a large number of their war factories; moreover they are in the greatest difficulties for obtaining further supplies of their Caucasus oil. Maikop, which yielded some two million and a half tons of oil, i.e., about 7 per cent. of the total Russian production, is in the hands of the Nazis; Grozny, which produced a little more, is seriously threatened and, in any case, is completely cut off from the main Soviet army. Baku, which is the richest oil field in the world and yields about 75 per cent. of Russia's oil, is still in Russian possession but can hardly be linked up with the north; the Batum pipe line can at best supply the remaining few ships of the Black Sea fleet; the pipe line and the railway leading to Rostov through Derbent and Grozny have been rendered useless. There remains only the possibility of oil transport through the Caspian Sea up to Astrakhan, and then along the Volga river and railway up to Stalin-

grad and further north, or along the railway going to Saratov. At the present moment this railway is the last means of communication between Baku and the main Russian army; it is of small capacity and within easy reach of the Nazi bombers.

On the other hand, whatever oil the Germans will seize in the Caucasus will relieve the shortage in fuel and lubricants which their war machine has always felt and which severely limited their offensive power.

Stalingrad

The same Review writes :

The weakening of the Russian fighting power owing to past losses became apparent in the battle for Stalingrad; two clear proofs were noticed for several weeks. The Soviet war news is but too often undiluted propaganda; it is broken up into fragmentary stories which detail local successes and unfailingly give the exact losses of the enemy, guns, tanks, killed and wounded, a feat of information which turns to pure moonshine when the Russians have themselves to abandon the ground which is strewn with all those killed and wounded. But even such a show of mathematical accuracy cannot hide the geographical swing of the battle or obscure the explanation.

The first sign that Stalingrad's fate was sealed was the avowed superiority of the Nazis in the air; even the best artillery work was no compensation. In the latter stages of the battle, the Axis could multiply assaults on an increasing tempo; time after time two divisions preceded by a flight of two hundred bombers and covered by a fleet of two or three hundred tanks rushed the Soviet lines, breached them in several points and were replaced by a second and a third equally formidable wave of fire power. It was a matter of sheer destruction by merciless crushing; the most heroic courage was helpless against such brutal force.

The second symptom of defeat was the failure of the Russian command to launch and maintain any sustained counter-offensive on a somewhat large scale at any point of the front; there were a few short-lived attacks at Voronezh, Rzhev and Leningrad but their limited success only emphasized the gradual weakening of the Soviet resources and the growing embarrassment of their command.

Cripps Proposals and Two Pakistans

In the course of his article in *The Hindustan Review* Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe observes :

The Cripps proposals for a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for India to be brought into existence after the war have prepared the way for two Pakistans. Both of them are to have direct dealings with Britain. Thus there will be three divisions of India, viz. : (1) Nationalists (Hindu), (2) States and (3) Mussalmans. All this is clear from (c) (I) and (II) in the declaration of His Majesty's Government by Sir Stafford Cripps.

There is, however, a silver lining in the dark clouds as far as the Indian States are concerned.

No less than two prominent Indian Rulers have made a public declaration that they are prepared to adhere to the cause of India at any cost to themselves.

Probably, this will be the attitude of most of them, subject, of course, to some of the difficulties as regards their identity, always discussed in some previous paragraphs. As already said, some are proposed to go much further and, probably, the rulers of the smaller States may do so, following the example of their brethren of the German Empire of the Bismarkian days.

Pakistan idea will not die an easy and early death.

The problem has baffled all at present. It may be that commonsense might prevail before common danger. Or some foreign states, or a combination of states, might dismember India which will certainly start a struggle the end of which cannot be foreseen. But here also the present administrations in Bengal and, 'to a lesser extent,' Sindh and the Punjab give indications of a hopeful solution to this matter too, once the parties come to a grip.

The acceptance of the interim proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps would have camouflaged the reality.

At the same time, unless the British Government were prepared to wash their hands clean of India, the reality of power could not be transferred to India. There may be sincerity behind Sir Stafford Cripps' claim that the British Government has to discharge obligations to the States and the minorities. But these things could be adjusted even during the war and, perhaps, better at this critical stage. Let the Constituent Assembly meet and begin work. The British Government should not stand in the way of its conclusions which should be immediately implemented.

While the country is under a threat of invasion, is it possible to talk of making a constitution? There is no reason why it should be thought impossible.

France, in the last century, and Russia, in the present, forged their constitutions, which brought them strength, while those countries were threatened by foreign troops all around. It does not deter the British Government to set aside an Indian Prince, who has treaty rights. Let the interim government be what the power in occupation desires, if it wishes to associate Indians to a greater degree than before. But there is no reason why the Central Government should not facilitate the making of a constitution. The two responsibilities put forth by the occupying powers may be real and correct, yet it all depends upon its power to use the sanction behind it. Subject to that, let the three parties try among themselves. It cannot any longer wait without detriment to the interests of India.

C. V. Chintamani

Educationist, orator, scholar, statesman, Sir Chirravoori Yajneshwar Chintamani achieved greatness by dint of his ability, intelligence, perseverance, hard work and force of character and became a front rank Indian politician of his day. C. D. Nautiyal writes in the Chintamani Memorial number of *Education* :

The Partition of Bengal agitation and the Swadeshi movement hastened the political tempo of Allahabad and in 1900 the *Leader* came into existence with

Chintamani as editor. Since then the United Provinces became his home and the scene of his activities.

Perhaps there can be no difference of opinion about the statement that Chintamani made the *Leader*. Chintamani's trenchant criticism of the actions of bureaucracy and his forceful advocacy of the national cause soon made the *Leader* an influential organ of nationalist opinion in the country. It was only due to the ability and personality of Chintamani that the *Leader* did not merely remain a provincial paper confined to the limits of the United Provinces. In those unforgettable days of the Home Rule movement the *Leader* of Chintamani excelled even papers like the *Bombay Chronicle* of Horniman and *New India* of Mrs. Besant in moulding and reorganising the public opinion which so impressed Mr. Montagu, that he offered Chintamani a membership on the Secretary of State's Council—an offer which the zealous editor spurned. Chintamani wonderfully succeeded in organising the new spirit of nationalism for the political and social advancement of the country through his writings and speeches. Chintamani was not merely a vigorous writer, he was equally a powerful orator and a forceful debater.

The New English Drama

In his note on the New English Drama in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Amiya Chakravarty observes :

The Victorian Age produced insignificant poetic dramas because the texture of poetic language was not rich and the range of experience was defined by an accepted plenitude, largely founded on the class-system, on institutional religion, and on a supposedly secure economic and political order. Here we come to the fundamental problem of subject-matter in relation to the poetic drama, or to any kind of drama. Real dramatic achievement is only possible to a free imagination—such as we found in the Elizabethan Age. Success, prosperity and settled ideas may help other forms of literature, but no great poetic dramas could be written in an age like the 18th century. That was the age of prose and the age of a certain type of the Novel. A French Revolution was needed to stir up English lyrical poetry. But the Revolution, after all, never reached England itself—the horizon was touched with flaming colours and that was enough. And the Romantic Age produced no great poetic drama—judged from that view-point, the *Prometheus Unbound* is a string of passionate lyrics.

In England a social revolution, stirring every aspect of life and literature, comparable to the Renaissance days of turmoil, can only be seen in the years following upon the last War.

The whole nation was stirred to the depth : patriotism, disillusionment, agony and hope and vivid colourful crucial days and months and years registered a passionate energy of mind paralleled only in the days of Shakespeare. There has also been, as we have already pointed out, a similar series of explosions and experimentations in language and form. In no age but in that of Shakespeare did such streams of literary influence flow from a wide world bearing new tidings. Only, instead of the sonnet, the extravaganza, the new comedy and tales and stories a la Decameron we have been having the free-verse patterns, satires, cosmopolitan themes, the new short story and sketches mainly

Russian and lastly, the experimentations and influences of the new psychology.

But poetic dramas like Stephen Spender's *Trial of a Judge* and Auden's *On the Frontier* have been flung out of the ferment of modern society and of warring nations; they sparkle with the multicoloured lights of the Age. The renaissance fervour is there and the urge for fresh forms. *The Ascent of F6* by Auden combines the elements of good story-telling with social satire, but it does also project a vision, the vision of ascending humanity. It is significant that so long as frustration was its main theme, free verse revolved on its own disc, moving but not moving forward and failing to raise a lasting structure. When the poets linked themselves up to a belief—when Eliot arrived at a cloistered, religious rootedness, or Auden and Spender came genuinely to the lives of the people, and effected a contact with them—they began producing poetic dramas. And the success of these plays, some of them not so easy or obvious, is significant. We have seen the eager attendance not of small highbrow coteries but of crowds of people, of bank-clerks and shop-girls, artists and artisans; a diverse public evidently found in these plays a moving experience, a transference of realities as they know them. Eliot's *Family Reunion* drew great crowds. Rabindranath Tagore considered this play to be one of the finest achievements of modern literature. The poetic drama has come to its own. It has taken its place in the enduring heart of English literature.

Politics of New World Orders

In the course of an article under the above caption in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University* S. V. Puntambekar observes :

In the new-worldly philosophers we notice two lines of political thought. One leads to a theory of *Statelessness* and the other to that of *Statefulness*. The first school is more idealistic and revolutionary. It wants and believes that State will ultimately wither away after establishing a new kind of Society where human behaviour and relations will be more just, peaceful, and habitual. So it pays more attention to the reform of human behaviour and relations and the destruction of certain human motives and group interests than to the balancing and reorganisation of structures of social and political institutions.

The other school is more realistic and reformist. Without disturbing the existing modes and principles of social or national life it would like to reorganise primarily certain social and political institutions on a new structural basis and not abolish them to serve any radical or revolutionary ideology or idealism.

This school is engaged today in propounding international federations and unions, regional spheres or continental orders or imperial dominions and commonwealths.

They accept the old theories of national or international law, relations and politics. They do not approach afresh the problem of a new world order idealistically. They still believe in the old forms of state and society.

But the first school is radical and revolutionary in this respect.

Its philosophy of human life, human history and ideals is new. Consequently it develops two sets of political theories, one for the period of transition to a new Society and the other to suit it after its establishment.

The present difficulty in formulating political theory on old lines as the second school wants to do is the new emphasis on individual liberty and its objective, and on class or group consciousness which have developed in contemporary politics. The first school thinks that if its group or class or party could be enlarged to the extent that it covers and represents true humanity then there would be no need of a real political theory, because there the problems of authority and liberty, of group relations and functions will not arise, as their separatist interests and loyalties will be transcended and united and centralised in a new ideal of society and human order and liberty.

The politics of new world order does not think in terms of liberty so much in the beginning as in terms of a new unity and a new order.

It is more authoritarian and equalitarian in its tone and practice though more libertarian and liberal in its future aims and in theory. It does not admit of any moral or political science built on the conception of freedom and free-will of man, but only on a social and moral empiricism which arises in the working of the new world order which is to be imposed even on those who refuse or oppose to come within its fold. The law of reality supersedes the law of freedom. Real freedom is only attainable in the final world order which is inevitably coming.

Morals, Politics and Machiavelli

In his article in *The Indian Journal of Political Science* V. K. N. Menon invites attention once again to a consideration of Machiavelli's views on politics, especially its relation to morals:

Machiavelli's ideas on the relations between politics and ethics in action are indeed mainly set forth in *The Prince*. He has there explained that a ruler, who desires to maintain himself, must learn to be not always good, but to be so or not as necessity may require. He need not care about incurring censure for such vices, for, without acting so, the preservation of the State may be difficult. And, taking all things into consideration, he thinks it will be found that some things that seem like virtue will lead a ruler to ruin if he follows them; whilst others that are apparently vices will, if followed, result in his safety and well-being.

Let the prince therefore look only to the maintenance of the State; the means will always be deemed honourable and will receive general approbation.

Where the safety of one's country is at stake, he writes in *The Discourses*, one must not consider what is just or unjust, merciful or cruel, glorious or shameful; on the contrary, everything must be disregarded excepting that line of action which will save and maintain the life and independence of the State.

It is this point of view that what is morally wrong may be politically right which has of course given Machiavellianism its distinctive connotation in popular thinking. The more cautious or scientific view has been that this attitude is not so much immoral as non-moral or a-moral. But there has been the view even still more favourable to Machiavelli that he here discovered one of the basic principles of modern political theory,—that a government which is to survive must have power at its disposal and must understand the technique of employing that power. Or, as it has been put differently, government even at its best is a grim business; but grim as it is, government there must be.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Rebuilding of China

In an article under the above heading, B. S. Townroe observes in *The Asiatic Review* :

In Great Britain reconstruction schemes, moral, physical, economic, and spiritual, are being widely discussed. In Spain, the Franco Government is slowly and painfully healing the wounds of civil war by the rebuilding of bridges and lines of communication. The Vichy Government in France during 1941 produced legislation for the repair of war damage, but there is considerable controversy among the supporters of Marshal Petain as to whether the Government measures are adequate or not. There are demands on the one side for more scope for private building initiative, and on the other side for a National Housing Office and regional planning. We know, also, that in Holland, Belgium, Norway, and in Central Europe some effort is being made to clear away war's destruction and to prepare for the future. But in China for a longer period than in Europe the whole of the population for five years past have been courageously building their towns up again on the wreckage of the old, believing in deeds rather than words.

The extent of the damage in Europe due to explosive bombs and incendiaries is at present quite incalculable. No one knows how many factories, offices, and homes will have to be rebuilt from Aberdeen to the Adriatic and from Cherbourg to the Caucasus, but a good example has been set in China to the Western nations of quiet courage and wise planning. In spite of the fact that North China is largely in the hands of the Japanese, in the south, and indeed everywhere in Free China, the people are hard at work on reconstruction.

In China the people themselves have been like ants busy on reconstruction. As soon as the cities were shattered by Japanese bombs, thousands of Chinese rallied to join the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives.

There are now some 2,000 of these societies distributed in all parts of Free China, and producing every month finished goods of the approximate value of five million pounds. The inspiration in China is rather from below than from above. The people realized that rebuilding in the physical sense was not sufficient for the reconstruction of a devastated country unless there was at the same time steady production.

The Industrial Co-operatives have extended their ranges to cover many products, ranging from matches to charcoal-burning boats. These organizations have formed federations for the buying of raw materials, for their transport and manufacture, for their supply and marketing. They are spinning and weaving cotton and wool. They are engaged in the chemical industry. They are mining coal and gold. They are producing foodstuffs and machine tools, as well as being printers and transport agents. It is, indeed, remarkable that under the stress of war this huge new industrial enterprise has been so successfully built up in the interior of Southern China.

The White Man's Prestige

Recounting a few episodes between Japan and Britain just before and after the last World-War, Captain Francis McCullagh remarks incidentally in *The Catholic World* that the White prestige has been badly shaken by the misguided conduct of the Allies after the last World-War :

I was in Eastern Europe after the last war at a time when the Grand General Staff of the victorious allies was sending military satraps to execute its decrees all over the conquered territories, and I must confess that it galled me to find that the satrap who lorded it over groveling white men, frightened women and weeping children was sometimes a Japanese officer. It galled me, not because those poor, cringing people were Germans and Christians, but because they were white,

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indeed very white, with blond hair and blue eyes which would have made Bengalis conclude that they were of very high caste among the Sahibs. And in Bengal I had imbibed unconsciously the prejudice that the prestige of the Whites was a sacred thing which must be maintained at all costs. Many an Anglo-Indian officer who witnessed those painful scenes must have felt that in her blind rage to destroy Germany, England was destroying the foundations of her own rule in India, Burma and Malaya.

I might remark incidentally that it was England herself who dealt the first blow at the White prestige, which was worth to her, in Victorian days, at least a million armed men; Bismarck was right when he said that England was "a bad European."

When I first went to the Far East in 1896, the awe in which the White man was held throughout India, Ceylon, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, China and Japan was like the awe in which the Spaniards were held in Mexico immediately after the conquest by Hernando Cortes. When I returned to Europe the same way, in 1906, I found that prestige badly shaken, especially in China and Japan which had seen tens of thousands of tattered Russian prisoners marched through the streets by Japanese soldiers. During the last war China and Japan witnessed similar exhibitions, the exhibits being thousands of German prisoners, captured at Tsingtao by England's Oriental ally. At the same time the British Government encouraged the Chinese and Japanese to imprison German civilians, seize German property, and annex German Concessions. White prestige reached its nadir during the Russian Civil War when tens of thousands of Russian men and women took refuge in China, where most of them sank to the lowest depths in the foulest Chinese slums.

The effect of these events throughout Asia and Egypt could hardly be exaggerated. They helped on the revolutionary movements which have given independence to Egypt and which will probably give independence to India before the end of this war. They have even made the Chinese lose all fear of the White man and all respect for him.

Buddhism in Thailand

The Christian missionaries have utterly failed to gain a foothold on Siam and why? Kenneth E. Wells answers the question in the *International Review of Missions* that Buddhism is so strong an element in that land that Christianity has not a vestige of chance to oppose it:

Hinayana Buddhism is staunchly supported by the people of Thailand and, significantly, by the government. The strength of this conservative form of Buddhism, its ability to resist the teachings of Christianity and to hold the loyalty of its adherents, is derived from four sources.

The first source of strength lies in the immense body of sacred writings which consist of the Tripitaka,—four times the length of the

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Here is a store of things new and old out of which almost any precept or religious belief may be drawn. Animism, with no such body of literature, is by contrast defenceless and naive. Buddhism can oppose Christianity at a score of points.

The second element of strength of Thai Buddhism is its possession of Thai thought-patterns.

Bronze Buddhas dug up in odd places confirm the village Thai in the belief that Buddhism has existed from the beginning of time. In reality, Buddhism began in Thailand in the first years of the Christian era and there followed a thousand-year struggle with Animism, Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. Finally, the Sinhalese monks with the Pali Tripitaka prevailed. Today this Pali scripture, not yet wholly translated into Thai, is not only venerated for its teachings and its antiquity, but also for its very language. The Pali tongue is considered sacred and all chants are rendered in it. It is the classical language of the Thai. Literary allusions go back to the Pali, new scientific and political terms are derived from it and in the learning process students go from idiomatic speech to Pali, of which the Tripitaka is the source book, and then to Buddhist lore. The result is that from babes in the cradle people are nourished on Buddhist terminology and concepts.

The third element of strength in Thai Buddhism is the large, well-organized, alert hierarchy which constitutes the *Sangha*, the monastic order of monks.

Quite apart from the work it does it renders a service by its very existence. Men young and old who wish to escape from the world for any reason and for varying periods of time find this a quiet retreat for rest, meditation and ascetic practices. Those who wish to acquire merit for themselves and for deceased relatives may do so by entering the Order as novices. Those who wish to receive religious instruction find it convenient to enter for the three months of the rains. And finally all householders have a daily opportunity to perform a religious act and acquire merit by offering food to the monks who come to their doors with begging bowl in hand. The monks make merit by adopting this mode of life and their supporters obtain merit by supplying food and robes.

The fourth bulwark of Buddhism is the Thai government.

Thailand began as a city-state and to this day remains a remarkably compact and homogeneous nation of fifteen million inhabitants who are responsive to the temper and purposes of the capital city. Under the absolute monarchs of the last century every one, even the Supreme Patriarch of the Buddhist Church, was dependent upon the King and quick to carry out his wishes. That habit of ready obedience to the ruler abides in every breast today. Moreover, to a very large extent the educated and professional classes are in the employ of the government,—the doctors, law-graduates, teachers, bankers, engineers and factory managers, not to mention the soldiers, sailors and police. Students returning from abroad usually have no other thought than of entering government service where a good salary and a pension await them. Aside from Chinese merchants there is almost no middle class. This large official class, from humble filing clerks on up, is at all times nervously alert to comply with government orders. Only Buddhists are employed by the government as teachers, policemen or officials. By reason of education and organizing experience the heads of such groups as the Young Men's Buddhist Association and the Buddha-Dhamma Association are usually government officials. The government makes it possible for all employees to spend at least three months in the temple on pay, and most of them have done so. Any official may rise in popular favour by championing Buddhism, by organizing processions and collections for temples and otherwise displaying religious zeal. In times of national stress, national unity is called for,—unity of thought. The King is, and by law must be, a Buddhist. The national religion is Buddhism. There-

fore to honour the King and uphold the nation one must honour and maintain Buddhism. Buddhism and nationalism merge until it is thought that only Buddhists truly love their country and only Buddhists are Thai.

The True Lesson of the Jatakas

Dr. Rhys Davids, who compiled some years ago a volume of selected stories from Buddhist scriptures under the title *Jatakam*, suggests in *Indian Art and Letters* that the true lesson of the *Jatakas* seems to him as follows :

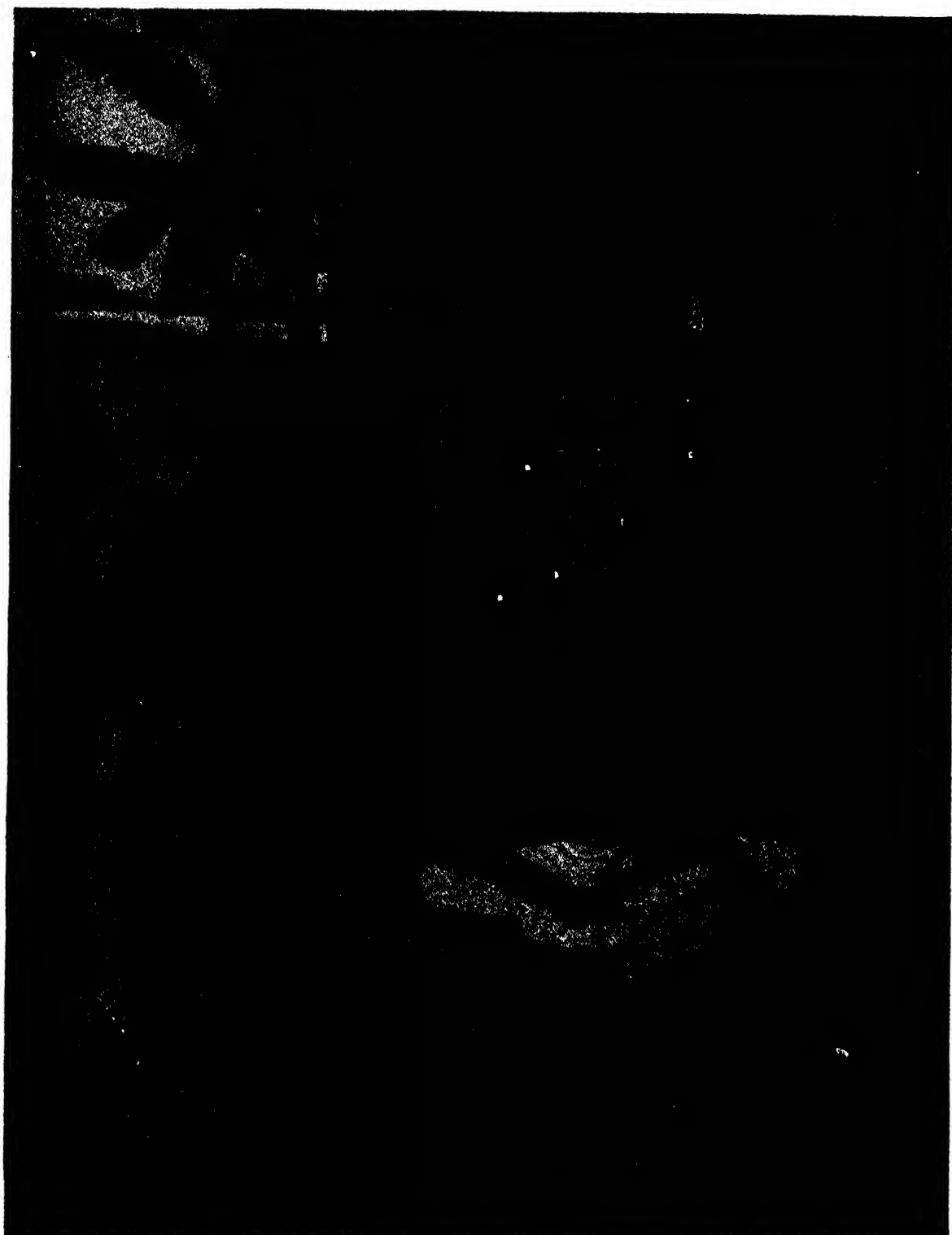
It may be that, in this matter of the man as way-faring, in the last resort, a distinct unit and alone and for an immeasurable time, India may have something to teach us. I have not seen (I may be wrong) that Max Muller, in believing this, found in the *Jatakam* such a lesson. Fausholl, too, seems not to have found it. Will the next of the other writers on the *Jatakam* see beneath the "motley" of it the theme which constitutes its real significance—and this not for one elect man alone, but for each and all ?

I see, look you, myself :

E'en as I willed, so have I come to be !

Hard is it now for readers of Buddhism to realize all that the central figure of "life as any one man's wayfaring through worlds to a Goal" meant for the early followers of Gotama. That figure of the Road has been much shoved aside at less than central, and weakened, as to its main lesson, by having been parcelled out into an "eight-fold" detail. The more significant is its emergence with something of its original force in the first two *Jataka* stories. Both are about wayfaring in the desert; both show the Road as a great adventure, calling for wise and dauntless will, for fortitude, for enterprise. And here we can understand how loyal followers came to call their great founder "Lord of the caravan" : *sattavaha*.

Yes, we are in those stories valuing a perpetual undercurrent of a More in man's nature, life and destiny. We are not valuing a mere will to amuse, to point out witticisms, or an incidental moral to an incidental episode. Important as the amusing, the edifying was where the listeners were, and are even today, often the patrons, the almsgivers of the story-telling monk, there was, for original story-teller as for editor, a higher mission in the stories than this. Story-teller and editor bring us up against the will of the Man as Wayfaring in a long quest after a Better, as imagining ahead of his journey a Better. As up against the Man who in the Better sees implicit a Best. A Best that is not only for him, but for all men. A Best not that of the Mass, the Herd, but of each man and woman.



JAYADEVA AND PADMAVATI

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By Jiban Krishna Banerjee

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Sir Tej Bahadur on All-Parties Conference

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has suggested the summoning of an All-Parties Conference, including the Congress, preferably to be called by the Governor-General himself. Failing any action by the Governor-General, Sir Tej Bahadur himself was trying to call such a conference. He revealed that Mahatma Gandhi had written to him from Wardha saying that he was not hopeful of the result of an All-Parties Conference but that if Sir Tej Bahadur had decided to hold one Mahatma Gandhi would place his services at his disposal and would give all the help he could. If the Conference had been called, said Sir Tej Bahadur, he was certain that Mahatma Gandhi would have attended and would have been helpful.

It has been amply demonstrated that the willingness to solve the political deadlock is genuine on the Indian side except a number of Muslims led by Mr. Jinnah and a few self-styled leaders like Dr. Ambedkar. It is becoming increasingly clear that the difficulty lies on the other side. Until the British Parliament has decided to transfer real power to India, the proposed All-Parties Conference is very likely to share the fate of the Non-Parties Conference.

Sir Tej Bahadur on National Government

Giving his ideas regarding a provisional National Government Sir Tej Bahadur replied to the question whether complete Indianisation would satisfy him. "Frankly speaking" he said, "it would not satisfy me unless I knew what the powers were and what measure of control would be reserved to the Secretary of State.

If the measure of control to be reserved in the Secretary of State's hands is to be the same even with complete Indianisation, I should not be satisfied.

"The first thing to do before the Indian problem is sought to be dealt with is to ask the Secretary of State to make his exit. I should shed no tears at all if to-morrow morning I read that the India Office had been abolished. The Secretary of State must go. I have held that view for years past and that view has been strengthened since the advent of Mr. Amery. It is the one paralysing influence on the growth and development of the Indian Constitution."—A. P.

A National Government for the interim period, unfettered by Viceroy's or Secretary of State's veto, and responsible to the Indian Legislature might have been accepted by the Indian people. Changing of the colour of the officials on the Governor-General's Executive Council or an inflation in their number will not solve the problem.

U. S. Senate Debate on India

The Hindu writes in an editorial :

"It is only now that news is available that an important debate on India took place in the American Senate in the third week of August, a fortnight after the arrest of Congress leaders in this country. Mr. Reynolds, Senator from North Carolina, pointed out that India's adherence to the Atlantic Charter imposed an obligation on America to see to it that India was granted independence. If the United Nations were serious, he said, in claiming that they were fighting in order that the peoples of the world might have the governments which they desired, then they should demonstrate their good faith by calling on Britain to liberate India. If this was done, they could expect India to throw herself wholeheartedly on the side of the United Nations in their fight against the Axis.

The account of the debate that is available does not report the speeches of any other senators in favour

of the proposition put forward by Senator Reynolds, but it does contain extracts from the speeches made by such influential figures as Mr. Bridges, Mr. Norris, Mr. Pepper, Mr. Barkley and Mr. Tom Connally. . . . All the senators who took part in the debate declared themselves in favour of the ending of imperialism and the application of the Atlantic Charter but, with the exception of Mr. Reynolds, they thought that the time to implement the Charter was not now but after the war was over."

The paper concludes :

"The truth cannot be suppressed for ever and there is good reason to believe that America is waking to the dubious character of British policy towards India."

Catholics' Plea for Indian Freedom

BOMBAY, Nov. 13.

The suggestion that the British Government should get a Royal Proclamation issued or a short Bill passed conceding independence to India now, but postponing its execution till three years after the war, on the analogy of the Irish Home Rule Bill or the Philippine Independence Act, is made in a statement to the press signed by prominent Indian Christian leaders in the province including Dr. J. A. Collaco, M.L.A., President of the Goan Union, Dr. A. C. Rebello, President of the Kanara Catholic Association, Dr. B. P. Hivale, President of the Indian Christian Association, Bombay, Mr. A. Soares and Mr. T. Guide, M.L.C. (Bombay).

The signatories suggest that the interim period of three years' after the war should be utilised by the political parties, the minorities and the Government to agree upon a common constitution, "and the British Government should liquidate its responsibilities in India, withdrawing armed forces and civil personnel, except such as may be kept by mutual agreement. They stipulate that the withdrawal of British power should be absolute, irrespective of agreement or no agreement among the various parties, and in the event of there being no agreement among the parties there should be arbitration by international jurists.—A. P.

If the British Government are opposed to the transference of power *during the war*, if their willingness to part with power after the war be genuine, what objection can there be to accept the Catholic leaders' suggestion to issue a Royal Proclamation or to pass a short bill conceding independence to India now but postponing its execution till three years after the war. India is as much civilized as either Ireland or the Philippines. When the Irish Independence was conceded, Protestants and Catholics there had not ceased fighting, and any agreement between them had not been made a condition precedent to the independence of that country.

Gandhi and Nehru on Indo-Chinese Freedom

Mahatma Gandhi's views :

NEW YORK, Oct. 23.

The letter sent by Mahatma Gandhi to General Chiang Kai-shek before launching the Civil Disobedience Movement is published by Mr. Louis Fischer, author,

in this week's *Nation*. In it Mahatma Gandhi wrote :

"Because of the feeling I have towards China, and my earnest desire that our two great countries should come closer to one another and co-operate to their mutual advantage, I am anxious to explain to you that my appeal to the British power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defence against the Japanese or embarrass you in your struggle. I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the cost of your country's freedom. Whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China.—*Reuter*.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru sent the following message to the people of China through a Chinese Journalist who attended the A.-I. C. C. meeting at Bombay in August last. A facsimile of the message was published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on Nov. 21.

To the Chinese people I repeat that we shall keep faith with them whatever happens. We shall do so not only because China's freedom is very precious to us but also because with it is intertwined the freedom of India. With China unfree our own freedom will be endangered and worth little purchase. Whatever we do now, constrained by circumstances is aimed at the achievement of India's independence, so that we may fight with all our strength and will against the aggressor in India and China. Free India can do so effectively; not so subject India with all her great strengths chained up. So in this time of danger and peril we renew our faith to China. We believe that this great war is a mighty revolution which will only succeed on the basis of freedom for all peoples. Without Indian freedom now, it will fail of its purpose and lead us all into blind and dangerous alleys. This is the reason why India's freedom becomes an urgent and immediate necessity and cannot be postponed to the hereafter. The very peril that surrounds us calls for it.

To the people of China and their great leaders, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, I send greeting and pay homage to the heroism which has shown like a bright star during their past five years of war and infinite suffering.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Bombay, August 8, 1942

Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru were never guilty of demanding Indian independence at the cost of Chinese freedom.

Empire Press Union Discusses Indian Censorship

The *Hindustan Standard* reports :

LONDON, Oct. 22.

Press censorship in India was the subject for discussion at a meeting of the Council of the Empire Press Union under the presidency of Colonel J. J. Astor.

The Council considered a communication from Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stating that it was not practicable to inform the senders of press cables from Britain on every occasion when messages were cut and suppressed in India by the Government of India. Mr. Amery was, however, willing to inform the India Office's Information Office about cases where there were repeated deletions from or stoppages of

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specific correspondents' messages due to some obvious cause and the India Office would in its turn inform the correspondent concerned.

The Secretary of State for India further stated in his communication that the Government of India was giving their constant and anxious consideration to the question of transmission and delays in India.

The Government were further reported to have stressed that their censorship was liberal and deletions and stoppages were comparatively few and the percentage of words suppressed infinitely small. Government did not suppress straight news but had to take into consideration the ignorance of majority of the public in India of world affairs and personalities and the censorship was designed to prevent misinterpretation or distortion to the detriment of India's war effort.

The Indian and other press correspondents expressed their surprise at the India Government's statement as it differed from their own experience and impressions.

The Council unanimously adopted a suggestion that the India Government should be asked to undertake to notify editors in India about the number of words cut out from incoming press cables.

Another suggestion made at the meeting was that the India Government should be asked to inform the Empire Press Union the total number of words cut out from inward press cables and the India Office should be asked as to how many words had been cut in India since Mr. Amery's communication to the Council which was dated September 15, 1942.

The result of these discussions have not yet come to our knowledge. The number as well as the vital nature of the words cut out of cables going out of India may be an interesting subject of enquiry.

Home Minister Under Mr. Amery's Swaraj !

Mr. Kiransankar Roy, Leader of the Bengal Congress Assembly Party was arrested on Sunday, Nov. 22. On Monday, a question was asked in the Bengal Legislative Council requesting the Home Minister to state who was the precise authority responsible for his arrest. Mr. Fazlul Huq was unable to give any reply and promised to give the information on Tuesday.

As promised, Mr. Huq informed the House on Tuesday that Mr. K. S. Roy had been arrested on Sunday, the 22nd November by the Deputy Commissioner, Special Branch, under the Defence of India Rule 129 "to prevent his continuing to support the Congress movement." This information had been forwarded to the Chief Minister by the D. C., S. B.

Mr. L. C. Das enquired if the Chief Minister, who is also the Home Minister, knew anything in relation to the matter before the arrest was made.

Mr. Huq. No.

Mr. A Rahaman. Was the Chief Minister informed before the arrest ?

Mr. Huq. No.

Mr. Das further enquired if the Chief Minister, by that time, received any communications explaining the circumstances leading to the arrest.

Mr. Huq. Beyond what I have already read out, I have got nothing.

Sir B. P. Singh Roy asked if the Chief Minister had yet found no time—48 hours had passed since the arrest—to look into the circumstances of the arrest of a leader of the position of Mr. Roy ?

Mr. Huq replied that since he heard or read the news of the arrest of Mr. Roy he had asked for papers. And beyond what he had already told the House he had got nothing.

The Leader of a Party in the Bengal Legislature was arrested, the Home Minister had no previous knowledge of the arrest, did not know why the arrest was made, his consent was not sought or secured before making the arrest, he could not elicit any information from a Deputy Commissioner of Police beyond receiving a curt and vague reply that the arrest was made "to prevent his continuing to support the Congress movement !" Mr. Amery is fighting Fascism and telling the world that the Indian people in five provinces are enjoying *Swaraj* under Provincial autonomy !

Australia Builds India's Ships

In a broadcast talk, Admiral Fitz Herbert said :

"... From the United Kingdom and Australia we were getting the ships that we had long wanted. . . I have long said that India requires a cruiser squadron." During this war, only a few vessels for what is called the Royal Indian Navy have been built. Most of these are minesweepers or submarine chasers. Not a single destroyer or cruiser has yet been built.

The Indian Information, a fortnightly published by the Government of India's Information Bureau, in its issue, dated November 1, 1942, states, "Men-of-War like these that fought in the European conflicts of the period were built and repaired in India as long ago as the 17th century. In one port the site of the dockyard was chosen by the first of a distinguished line of Parsi ship-builders 200 years ago, and in it were constructed warships both for India and the Royal Navy."

India possesses her own steel, and skilled workmen. Indian people believe that not only cruisers and destroyers, but even battleships and aircraft carriers could conveniently be built in India, but that depends on a sympathetic National Government.

Russia's New Weapons

The Leader, Allahabad, writes :

If Stalin had not shown the foresight of establishing heavy industries far behind the Ural mountains, the

destruction and occupation of large industrial areas in western Russia would have led to the collapse of Soviet resistance. More than a decade ago Stalin, who felt that Russia would be attacked by a combination of powers and would have to fight for life, decided to create large industrial regions in the Urals and Siberia. Among the industrial centres in these regions may be mentioned Magnitogorsk, Perm, Chelyabinsk and Khalilovo. During recent months the Ural and Siberian industrial regions have received extensive additions. Entire factories, complete with machines, stocks, material and labour power have been removed from the industrial regions of Ukraine and from the western districts of the Soviet Union. The task of dismantling the plants, of transporting and erecting them and of providing them with motive power must have been of an enormously difficult nature. The Urals had large reserves of electric power which are being utilized. The erection of powerful industrial plant in the Urals and Siberia involved an expenditure of half the national income for ten years on capital investments. This industrial base, which has been further developed during the war, is capable of maintaining large Russian armies and is Russia's secret weapon on which the Soviet Union now mainly depends for defeating the German hordes. Its agricultural front, which may be regarded as the most vital front, has been considerably weakened by the occupation by the enemy of the most important wheat-producing regions. Therefore, President Kalinin, in his message to the Soviet youth, has emphasized the importance of the agricultural front. 'The most difficult task' he observed, 'lies in the domain of our agriculture.' The burden of maintaining the Russian population has fallen on eastern regions which have to grow more food. The Soviet which has worked wonders in the industrial field may be expected to grapple successfully with this 'most difficult task.'

India's economic resources, actual and potential, are comparable to, and in certain respects are superior to those of Russia. The only commodities, necessary for a modern civilised society, in which India is deficient are oil, tin, copper and lead. She has plenty of iron, coal, jute, cotton, hides, tea, oil-seeds and most of the essential minerals. Of the 14 strategic commodities "listed by the U. S. A., India can supply manganese, chromium, mica, cocoanut shell char, silk and shellac. She has large bauxite deposits. Her hydro-electric power resources are enormous. In the manufacture of arms, ships, railway engines, machineries, scientific instruments, chemicals, high quality glass, etc., the Indian workmen and technicians have proved their worth beyond any shadow of doubt. Indian capital has not been shy in the financing of industries, 60 per cent of the capital invested in the jute mill industry in Bengal is Indian. Indian capital got no encouragement from the Government, so common in every free country which develops its own industries. In important cases, there were definite indications of favouritism for the British capital and enterprise. It is no wonder therefore that in spite of her enormous raw

material, mineral, capital, labour and power resources, India should lag behind, while countries like the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. march steadily onward.

A comparison with Australia may be of interest. Australia's economic resources are in no way comparable to these of India but her Government has been making frantic attempts to industrialise her even during the war. The *Capital* writes :

"During the five months ended November, 1940, the Commonwealth Government spent £47,260,000 of loan moneys, in addition to £42,230,000 provided out of revenue. The latter was only some £2,600,000 ahead of the comparable amount for the previous year, but the expenditure of loan moneys shows an increase of nearly £38,000,000. The distribution of these large amounts has given a pronounced stimulus to secondary industries and through them to trade in general as well as to other sections of commercial activities, including transport and entertainment. As a result, employment is at an exceedingly high level and large numbers of wage-earners are receiving substantial sums for overtime on top wages at the higher rates now in force in most classes of industry."

In spite of the difficulty of procuring capital machineries, a backward economic country like Australia can forge ahead, but India with her great resources cannot move !

Why Do Rumours Replace Printed Words ?

Mr. W. I. Haley, Jt. Managing Director of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Evening News* and a director of the *Reuters*, said in a broadcast speech over the B. B. C. :

"If it would benefit Hitler to know some information then it must be kept secret. But if it was merely a matter of not wanting to give unpalatable facts, if it was a question of covering up this piece of bureaucratic bungling or that anti-social move; if it was merely that an item of news might be unwelcome to some interest or even to some nation, then there is no true case for suppression. To that principle we must hold fast."

The Tribune of Lahore made the following comment on it :

"Had this excellent principle been followed in this country, much of the bitterness caused against the Government would have been avoided. What the bureaucracy appears to aim at is not merely the withholding of information calculated to be of use to the enemy, but complete suppression of news unpalatable to the executive. In some cases the public has been deprived of its inherent right to voice its grievances against the measures taken by the executive through the press. This is not all. Even news scrutinised and passed by the officers of the Government in one part of the country is subjected to rescruity in another part. The result of this double censorship is that truth is almost blacked-out with the consequent growing lack of confidence of the general public in the printed word. This has given a blow not only to the professional credit of newspapers, but done harm to the cause of the Govern-

ment itself, for the general public having lost its faith in the printed word listens to rumours."

There is however hardly any indication that wiser counsels would prevail.

Forest Resources of India

The Conference of foresters at Dehra Dun has revealed how India can be independent in respect of forest products. India depended for teak wood on Burma; an Engineer from Maharashtra has claimed to have ended the era of tutelage to Burma teak and American ash and hickory. The war had displayed India's humiliating dependence upon foreign resources in respect of handles for tools. Fine quality handles were made of imported ash, hickory and like woods. A Botanist and a wood technologist from Bengal conjointly with a Welsh silviculturist, co-operated in determining suitable woods for aircraft building. A specialist in seasoning from the U. P., and a wood preservation expert from Mysore solved problems that enabled India to get along without imported plywoods, battery separators, shuttles used in cotton and woollen mills and the like.

It may be interesting to note the value of wood imported in 1939-40 :

Sweden	.. Rs.	4,56,000
Norway		2,19,000
Burma		1,95,33,000
Japan		2,74,000
U. S. A.		10,54,000
Total	..	2,15,36,000

Import of wood from the U. S. A. has increased to Rs. 16,98,000 in 1940-41.

Canada's Solution for Indian Deadlock

OTTAWA, Oct. 28.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, which is one of the main Canadian political parties urged the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, to take steps through the United Nations to re-open negotiations for "self-government for India now well, as after the war."

The party's leader in the Commons, Mr. M. J. Coldwell, submitted the following proposals as the basis for resumed negotiations :

"Negotiations should be resumed by a committee—acting for the United Nations. The Congress leaders in India should be invited to resume negotiations, after being released from prison, immediately on the understanding that the Congress would not carry on civil disobedience and that the Government would discontinue repressive measures. The negotiations should be based on the acceptance of the principle of self-government for India now well, as after the war. The negotiations should be linked with the immediate aim of totally defeating the Axis aggressors and such special conditions, as are necessary to ensure the victory of the United Nations, should by mutual consent be maintained."—*Reuter*.

Anglo-Indian Education

The Hitavada of Nagpur writes :

Mr. Frank Anthony's address at the dinner given by the old boys of the Christ Church School, Jubburpore, in honour of the Rev. G. C. Rogers, merits wide attention. It is an indication of the new spirit that is now permeating the Anglo-Indian community. Explaining why the Anglo-Indian, along with the European, has been the "best" hated community in India, the young Anglo-Indian leader blames the system of education, "divorced from the real conditions of Indian life—a system of pretentious Christian education divorced from elementary Christian principles of racial equality and communal brotherhood." Many of the Anglo-Indian schools, as Mr. Anthony points out, have been the factories of ignorance and anti-Indian outlook. These have inspired the Anglo-Indians as a class with a disregard for their motherland—which is India. Only a few years ago, the Rev. Rogers had to give up the headmastership of the Christ Church School in the circumstances which suggested that he was against racial and class discrimination.

The progressive Muslims may take a lesson from it and stop the attempt of reactionary Muslims to divorce education from the real conditions of Indian life.

Mr. Amery's Son at the Berlin Radio Station

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reports that Mr. John Amery, son of Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and one of the ablest Lieutenants of Mr. Churchill, has gone to Berlin from unoccupied France and has started broadcasting over the Axis Radio. The *Patrika* further reports :

SUNDAY, NOV. 22.

Germany is plugging every word of John Amery into England as well as India but everyone in London knows that John is a weakling and a source of immense sorrow to his father for whom there is very special sympathy and whose position in Government is not yet in any way endangered.

The Berlin Radio on Thursday night said : "It is possible that James Joyce *alias* Lord Hawhaw will broadcast to-night at the same time as John who originally came to Berlin to learn about conditions in Germany but the attack against North Africa has caused him to come out in the open. He will speak on the German Radio, English transmissions, thus joining P. G. Wodehouse who broadcast several times last year.

But in India, parents who could not control the political opinions or activities of their sons and daughters had to pay heavily by way of fines or forfeiture of pensions earned as a reward for his own personal past services rendered to the Government. The Government in India itself felt no sympathy for its own officers who were helpless in the matter, but in England "very special sympathy is felt" for Mr. Amery whose son has gone over to the enemy, i.e., has

committed the highest crime conceivable in a modern state.

Mr. Jinnah 'Afraid of Azad Muslims

In his Jullunder Speech, Mr. Jinnah emphasised that "he was no longer afraid of the British or the Hindus but of his Muslim brethren who pulled their weight in opposite directions."—*National Call*.

Consciously or unconsciously the sole vocal representative of "90 millions of Muslims" has at last begun to speak out the truth.

Mr. Amery on Akbar

Speaking at a crowded and distinguished gathering of British and Indians in London in celebration of the 400th anniversary of the birth of Emperor Akbar, Mr. Amery said :

"Akbar stands out as a man who in an age of passionate intolerance was the first to regard himself not as a Turk or Moslem ruling for the benefit of his fellow tribesmen and co-religionists but as a ruler of India from whom all its inhabitants could expect equal justice and equal favour."

Is Mr. Amery prepared to set an example by following in the footsteps of Akbar ?

Mr. Jinnah's Views on Quit India Proposal

Mr. Jinnah, addressing the All-India Muslim Students' Conference at Jullunder on Nov, 15, said, "Mr. Gandhi hit upon an extraordinary formula which was that the British must withdraw—I shall be very glad if they do it to-morrow : We shall settle our affairs all right. (Loud and prolonged applause.)"—*A. P.*

Like other bitter pills from Mr. Jinnah—his non-co-operation with war efforts, non-co-operation with Governor-General's Executive Council and the National Defence Council, rejection of the Cripps proposal—this one also has to be swallowed by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery. The need for recognising Mr. Jinnah as the "sole representative of Muslim India" is probably not yet over.

Rajaji Not To Interview The Mahatma

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports :

From our Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had an interview with H. E. the Viceroy this morning. The interview lasted a little over half an hour.

"It was a surprise to me" said Rajaji announcing the Viceroy's refusal to give him permission to see Gandhiji.

Rajaji promptly added "the decision is so wrong that it must be altered."

Later, Rajaji confidently added "I think the decision is bound to be altered soon." The only cause for satisfaction is that the Viceroy has promised to communicate to Whitehall his conversation with Rajaji.

The decision of the Governor-General disallowing Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to interview Mahatma Gandhi has displeased a large number of public men and parties in India. Rajaji himself made the following remark :

"His refusal means that a settlement of the political deadlock has been blocked. Even according to the British, no settlement is possible without the Congress or Gandhiji or both being in it, and when the Viceroy refuses permission to me to see Gandhiji, it means all chance of a settlement is shut off."

The refusal took place on Nov. 12. The Viceroy promised to communicate with the Whitehall. The Churchill Government, in spite of its advertised desire to end the deadlock, has not yet replied.

Gandhiji Is Not A Fifth Columnist

The *Hindu* reports the following tribute General Smuts paid to Gandhiji at a Press Conference in London :

"It is sheer nonsense to talk of Gandhi as a 'Fifth Columnist.' He is a great man. He is one of the great men of the world and he is the last person to be placed in that category. He is dominated by high spiritual ideals and holds views that I have just expressed about, the human family. Whether those ideals are always practicable in our difficult world may be questioned, but that Mr. Gandhi is a great patriot, a great man and a great spiritual leader who can doubt ?"

Harijans Denounce Ambedkar

LAHORE, Nov. 12.

Mr. M. L. Yatri, President, All-India Harijan League, Bhagat Amin Chand, General Secretary, All-India Harijan League, Chaudhuri Girdhari Lal, M.A., President, U. P. Provincial H. J. League, Ch. Jugul Kishore, Harijan M.L.A. (Punjab), Ch. Bhim Sen, Harijan M.L.A. (U. P.), Ch. Moola Singh, Harijan M.L.A. (Punjab), and Mr. Khandekar, Harijan M.L.A. (C. P.) have issued the following statement :

The name of the Harijans of India is being associated with the cry for separation and Dr. Ambedkar has demanded a separate home for them. We make it clear that the Harijans of India believe in Akhand Hindustan and as such can never be a party to any solution of the political problem of India which aims at the partition of the country in any shape or form. The Harijans are a part and parcel of the Hindu community and whatever be their grievances against the Hindus, we cannot forget the important fact that our future is indissolubly linked with them. We deprecate all attempts made by some of the Harijan leaders like Dr. Ambedkar to create a cleavage in our ranks by pursuing a policy which is tantamount to creating a party to support the scheme of vivisection of the country. The cry of a separate home for the depressed classes amounts not only to a betrayal of the best interests of the Harijans, but also

constitutes an abject surrender to the Muslim League and cry for Pakistan. Dr. Ambedkar does not represent the genuine opinion amongst the Harijans in this respect as they as a class believe in a united India—the home of all the communities residing in it.—*Tribune*.

Men like Dr. Ambedkar are themselves products of the separatist tendencies in India. It is only natural that they would foster disintegration in the national life of the country. The Harijans in a body have done well in dissociating themselves from interested and possibly inspired propaganda of the Jinnah-Ambedkar type. Categorical declarations of such nature have become necessary, because in their absence outside people have started to believe the separatists.

The New Currency Ordinance

The Bombay Chronicle has drawn pointed attention to the consequences of the New Currency Ordinance, disowning liability to honour Currency notes marked with political slogans, in the following words :

The reactions in the country against the Ordinance disowning liability to honour currency notes marked with political slogans can hardly be regarded as satisfactory even by Government. Businessmen and the public regard it as an unjust and arbitrary measure calculated to injure the interests of the Government and the people alike. The object in issuing the Ordinance was doubtless to check the progress of slogans like "Quit India." The actual result is that the practice of stamping the slogan on currency notes, which was necessarily very limited and which would have been short-lived, is given more publicity and a longer lease in one form or another. *Secondly, numerous notes marked with slogans must have been in the hands of absolutely innocent persons before they were penalised, and ever since the issue of the Ordinance many more must have passed into the hands of utterly illiterate persons incapable of detecting a political slogan. To declare all such notes as waste paper is an act of expropriation for which it is not possible to imagine a valid defence. The obligation to honour a promissory note must be regarded as a solemn duty which one cannot disown merely because the note has something annoying written on it.*

The financial results of the Ordinance are also most unfortunate. *Ignorant people, who have long been distrusting paper money and have been hoarding silver are now most reluctant to receive any currency notes, naturally fearing there may be some unseen risk lurking in them. As a vast proportion of our producers are ignorant and illiterate their distrustful attitude towards paper currency is a serious hindrance to business. That is not all. Their comments on Government's policy are hardly complimentary, yet by sheer repetition they become current among millions. The shortage of small coin has added to the common people's suspicious attitude. Government will do well to note all these trends of thought carefully and retrieve their blunder before its pernicious consequences go further. Perhaps they themselves realise that the Ordinance may do grave injustice to many persons. And probably it is for this very reason the Ordinance gives the Reserve Bank of*

India the discretion to "refund as of grace, the whole or part of the value" of the penalised notes. But *the discretion without any published rules to guide it, only adds to the arbitrary character of the Ordinance and may be a source of flagrant discrimination and corruption.* The best way is to repeal the Ordinance forthwith without making a fetish of prestige. (Italics ours.—Ed.)

The saturation of Indian Currency with paper, to the extent of one-pice notes issued by a private company and freely circulating in the market, has already created distrust against the Currency authorities in India. This drastic Ordinance, legalising expropriation in a regime which professes respect for private property, is bound to add to that distrust.

Who Fought the Battle of Egypt

In his Mansion House speech Mr. Churchill said that the battle of Egypt "has been fought almost entirely by men of British blood and the Dominions." What did, then, the Indian troops, Free French, Greeks, Czechoslovaks and others do ?

Racial Discrimination ?

The Punjab branch of the Indian Medical Association presented a memorandum to Mr. N. R. Sarker, when he visited Lahore, which states *inter alia* :

The extent to which the racial policy has been pursued would be clear to you when we tell you that even aliens like Czechs and Poles, whose qualifications may not even be registrable in this country, have been offered, when employed in the army as civil medical practitioners, the rank, pay and allowances of a lieutenant of the R. A. M. C. (Rs. 675 to Rs. 825 per mensem) in the first year and of captain of the R. A. M. C. (Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,500) during the second and subsequent years, with free accommodation admissible to R. A. M. C. officers, while Indians have been employed on Rs. 250 or Rs. 350 per mensem without any rank.

The Black Girl who was searching for God was once told, "two blacks do not make one white." *Vide G. B. S.*

Paper Commandeering Order

Government of India have commandeered 90% of the paper produced in India. This drastic action will result in the almost total stifling of the vehicles of mass education. A pandemonium has already been created in the paper market and the monthly and weekly periodicals have been placed in a very difficult position. India has abundant raw materials for the manufacture of paper but only a dozen mills have been established. Government of India had never had the foresight to encourage production of paper in the country. Now when import has

become difficult, they have taken the shortest route by issuing a commandeering order without the slightest regard for the welfare of the country.

Finance Minister of Bengal Resigns

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Finance Minister of Bengal, has resigned his seat on the Governor of Bengal's Council of Ministers. In a statement published after his resignation he brings out the character of the provincial autonomy in the following words,

"Let me tell them without any exaggeration whatsoever that the constitution that functions under the so-called system of Provincial Autonomy is a colossal mockery. My experience as a Provincial Minister for 11 months justifies me in stating clearly and categorically that Ministers, while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the legislature have very little powers specially in matters concerning rights and liberties of the people."

The disagreement between the Governor and the Finance Minister arose over the conduct of relief operations in Midnapore and the collection of collective fines. These are issues on which the public expects the Ministers' voice to prevail over those of the Executive officials. Just at the time when Japan entered the war, parties and persons in Bengal Legislature, who were violently opposed to one another on political and communal considerations, agreed to stand on a common platform and succeeded in rallying an overwhelming majority of the Hindu, Muslim and Scheduled caste members of the House together in the Progressive Coalition Party. The communal tension in the province was greatly eased. Interested parties and vested interests who did not like this combination tried hard to break up this alliance with the help of the reactionary Muslims but failed. The Governor's reaction to this Ministry was not beyond criticism. Since August last, after the beginning of the present movement in the country, the reliance of the Governor more on the diehards of the Civil Service and the consequent supercession of the Ministerial Government became apparently clear. The serious allegations against Midnapore officials have neither been answered nor has any action been taken against them. The manner in which collective fines are being imposed and collected has also been a subject of strong criticism and Dr. Mookerjee's statement to the Press has made it clear that even the Ministry as a whole failed to obtain any legitimate redress in this behalf.

Mr. Allah Buksh described the provincial autonomy as "a farce and a fraud." Dr.

Mookerjee's experience for eleven months at the Secretariat confirms the same view. The sooner the public get disillusioned of the apparent charm of provincial autonomy, the better for the country.

Sir Zafarulla's Two Alternatives

Sir Zafarulla Khan, who has been appointed a member of the Indian delegation to the Pacific Relations Conference to be held in Canada, suggests two alternatives as a likely solution of the Indian problem. According to a *Reuter* message received from New York:

First, he said, the All-India Congress should agree to Mr. Jinnah's demand for the establishment of Pakistan in the north-west and north-east areas. Secondly, let Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and their colleagues admit that there is "a reasonable basis" for the Moslems' fear "and let them suggest the adoption of an agreement providing for the protection of the rights of Moslems and other minorities before asking for the withdrawal of the British. In either case there would then be a reasonable hope for an early settlement," he said.

With reference to Sir Zafarulla Khan's first alternative, he is already aware how intensely bitter and widespread is the resentment that has been generated by this agitation by a section of the Mahomedan community for the division of India. He cannot deny that this feeling is shared also by a very large and influential part of the Mahomedan community. If, on the acceptance of the second alternative, an early settlement is possible, it is surprising why no suitable steps are being taken by the responsible British authorities to resolve the difficulty. Prof. Laski goes to the root of the matter when he observes (in his book 'Where Do We Go From Here'—Penguin Series) thus: "But as long as every vested interest in India is, like the Moslem interest, encouraged, openly or secretly, to believe that it will get better terms from dependence upon us than from a real attempt at accommodation with other Indian interests, of course agreement between them is not forthcoming. We patronise these dissidents from unity in the same way, though much more subtly, as the Conservative Party has so long patronised the separation of Ulster; and with the same evil consequences." It must be stated in this connection that the manner of constitution of the delegation has naturally caused very great dissatisfaction in the country.

S. K. L.

Mr. Jinnah's New Formula

In the course of his numerous speeches and utterances made at Lyallpur and elsewhere,

during his recent visit to the Punjab, in connection with the session of the Muslim League Conference, which met at Lyallpur a few days ago, Mr. M. A. Jinnah propounded a new-fangled formula with reference to his project of Pakisthan. From the summaries of his pronouncements available to us at the time of writing, it appears that Mr. Jinnah bases his pet project on two principles. First, according to him, Hindus and Mahomedans constitute two different nationalities. Secondly, he says that his demand for self-determination applies to those provinces which are the "homelands" of Muslims and not where they constitute a "sub-national" group. A writer in *Conscience*, a new weekly, published from Adyar, Madras, under the editorship of Mr. G. S. Arundale, deals at some length with both these points. With reference to Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory the writer says :

"It is curious how suddenly Hindus and Muslims have become for Mr. Jinnah two Nations, for till very recently—till the Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940—they were sister communities of a common land. This sudden awakening of Mr. Jinnah to the 'two-Nation' idea reminds us of Hitler-instigated Germans in Europe clamouring at first for minority rights, rising to the demand of self-determination, and then becoming a part of the German State machine. Mr. Jinnah started with his famous fourteen points, has now asked for right of self-determination, and will probably end with a Pan-Islamic Federation threatening the integrity of India. Methods of appeasement failed in Europe; methods of appeasement will fail in India too. The breaking-up of India's Unity is too big a price to be paid for the appeasement of Mr. Jinnah."

With reference to Mr. Jinnah's other point the writer observes :

"Let us see which are the homelands of the Muslims. Is Sind their homeland? The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro bear eloquent witness to the fact that centuries before Muslims came to India Aryans from Central Asia had established a mighty Hindu civilization on the banks of the Sindhu, now known as the river Indus. The very name of the country—Hindustan—is derived from this splendid civilization in the land of the Sindhu. If Mr. Jinnah respects history and does not depend upon fiction for his facts, then he should realize that Sind has been for centuries the homeland of the Hindus."

"But has the Punjab been the homeland of the Muslims? History once again tells us that the Buddhist and Hindu Empires extended up to the Punjab and their armies contacted the forces of Alexander the Great in this land of the Five Rivers. This was of course long before the Muslim invasions of India. Mr. Jinnah has a Pakistanic interpretation of history, and naturally sees Muslim homelands wherever he wants to see them!"

The writer very appropriately asks why is Mr. Jinnah silent as to "whether more than 45 per cent. of the Hindus of Bengal form a sub-national group; whether nearly 50 per cent. of Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab and more than 30 per cent. of Hindus of Sind constitute a sub-

national group. Further, when does a sub-national group rise to the sublime status of a national group? Or does the term national group apply only to the Muslims of the Sind, Punjab, North-West Frontier and Bengal? Does Mr. Jinnah put the Hindus and the Sikhs of these provinces on the same footing as the 15 per cent. of Muslims of the United Provinces?"

S. K. L.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's Scheme

A few weeks prior to the advent of Mr. Jinnah in the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan had announced a new formula for the solution of the problem of minorities. A press message published by a Calcutta contemporary from its own correspondent at Lahore early in November gave an idea of Sir Sikandar's scheme. The message states :

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, is busy discussing with certain Hindu leaders about securing the right of self-determination of the Punjab Muslims in accordance with the League objective.

The Premier's plan is that the Punjab minorities should be given the same right of self-determination which the Muslims are asking for themselves.

The plan briefly is that after the war 70 per cent. of the newly-elected legislators should settle the question of accession in favour or against. Votes shall be taken as registering the opinion of the Punjab masses on this constitutional issue.

If, however, 70 per cent. members are not forthcoming to support or oppose accession to the All-India Federation, the matter will be referred to a referendum of the respective communities. If as a result of the referendum 60 per cent. Muslims vote in favour of non-accession and similarly 60 per cent. non-Muslims vote in favour of accession, the province may be so divided that both communities can exercise the right of self-determination in respective regions.

Sardar Valdev Singh, the Development Minister, has convened a meeting on the 4th November of prominent Sikh leaders to find out ways and means for some solution regarding the minorities' right of self-determination so far as the Punjab is concerned.

In the course of the discussion that his scheme evoked Sir Sikandar made it clear to Hindus and Sikhs that he sought to extend to them in the Punjab the right of self-determination which the Muslim League had been demanding for the Muslims of India and maintained that it was for the Punjabis to say as to whether they would remain in the Indian Union or go out of it. It will be remembered that long before this, while discussing the Pakistan idea, Sir Sikandar had declared that any attempt to isolate the Muslim community from the rest of India was un-Islamic. Subsequent to this he advocated a scheme of his own with a Central Government of India, against the Pakistan scheme.

S. K. L.

Mr. Jinnah versus Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan

Mr. Jinnah took advantage of the opportunity afforded by his visit to the Punjab to condemn in unmeasured terms a scheme

such as that propounded by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan prior to Mr. Jinnah's visit, without, of course, mentioning his name in this connection and also disowning any knowledge of it.

According to the proceedings of the meetings held at Lyallpur as published in the press, Mr. Jinnah criticised "the latest scheme floated in the Punjab granting self-determination to all communities and characterised it as a mischievous idea." He, however, assured the minority communities that their interests would be fully protected in Pakistan and quoted verses from the *Quran* in this connection. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan who spoke later explained that he fully subscribed to the Lahore resolution of the League, which provided for territorial readjustments and added that his new formula was not in conflict with the Lahore resolution. He assured the minorities that their interests were being fully safeguarded and urged for communal settlement to expedite attainment of India's freedom.

Mr. Jinnah is reported also to have made the following observations in the course of one of his addresses :

"Who is the author of this new formula that every community has the right of self-determination all over India? Either it is colossal ignorance or mischief and trick. Let me give them a reply that the Mussalmans claim the right of self-determination because they are a national group on a given territory which is their homeland and the zones where they are in a majority. Have you known anywhere in history that sub-national groups scattered all over be given a state? Where are you going to get a state for them? The Muslims are not sub-national, it is their birth-right to claim and exercise the right of self-determination."

Although Mr. Jinnah, just like a truant school-boy, avowed in public his utter ignorance of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's latest scheme, his reference in the extract quoted above could not but be in respect of the Punjab Premier's new formula.

S. K. L.

Lahore Chief Justiceship

It is announced that Sir Trevor Harris, Chief Justice of Patna High Court, has been appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Sir J. D. Young, Chief Justice of Lahore High Court, proceeding on leave with a view to eventual retirement. This arrangement supersedes the claims of capable Indians, especially of Justice Bakshi Sir Tek Chand, who had already officiated in that post with conspicuous ability. The announcement has naturally, therefore, caused deep public resentment. Raja Narendranath and *The Tribune* very appropriately give expression to this feeling. In a statement to *The Tribune* Raja Narendranath states :

"I was extremely disappointed, in fact astounded, to read in the papers that the Chief Justice of Patna was to come over here in place of Sir Douglas Young. More than 50 years ago an Indian was appointed for a short time to the office of Chief Justice in Calcutta by Lord Ripon. Since then several Indians have been appointed Chief Justices of various High Courts and have done their work with credit. Sir Shadi Lal was Chief Justice in the Punjab for a number of years. Sir Muhammed Suleiman was Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court. He has been succeeded by Sir Iqbal Ahmed. Even now Sir Fazal Ali is to succeed Sir Trevor Harris in Patna. The puisne judge of Lahore High Court who was eligible for appointment for a few months before his own retirement is Bakshi Sir Tek Chand, whose judicial and administrative ability is beyond all praise. He officiated as Chief Justice this year for a short time. His legal acumen and high sense of impartiality are admitted by all. I do not know why his claims have been overlooked. I expected that he would succeed Sir Douglas Young and would be succeeded in turn by Kanwar Dalip Singh and probably after a time by Mr. Justice Abdul Rashid. The transfer of the Chief Justice of Patna to Lahore is a retrograde step much to be deplored.

The Tribune says that besides this appointment, another Britisher, a member of the Indian Civil Service, has also been appointed as an Additional Judge of the Lahore High Court. This has been done even "in the presence of Indian lawyers of undoubted eminence and competence in the Province." The action of the authorities not only "involves the supersession of the claims of Indian lawyers whose appointment to the bench would by general admission have shed lustre on it" but also wholly overlooks the claims of the Sikh community, no member of which having so far been appointed to the bench of the highest court in the Province. We desire to protest in the most emphatic terms against the utter unfairness, injustice and spirit of favouritism displayed by the authorities by these and numerous similar other appointments, such as the recent recruitment of sixty Britishers to the Survey of India Department, as disclosed in a New Delhi report. The policy followed by the Government fully justify Raja Narendranath in making the following remarks :

"I have been of the opinion that the British Government have ceased to be as just and neutral between the communities as it used to be 60 years ago. The Hindus are in disfavour in all provinces, whether they happen to be a majority or a minority in that province. This anti-Hindu feeling might have been accentuated by the recent disturbances started by the Congress. But the disregard of Bakshi Sir Tek Chand's claim might not be due to this anti-Hindu feeling. I hope, however, that in making future appointments the claims of the local members of the High Court Bar, which is predominantly Hindu, will not be overlooked and that there will be no tendency to reduce the present proportion of the Hindu judges in the High Court."

S. K. L.

Death of Kaliprasanna Das-Gupta

It is with regret that we record the passing away of Srijukta Kaliprasanna Das-Gupta, M.A., the well-known writer and teacher, at the age of 71 on the 13th November, 1942. He rendered notable public service as an unselfish and energetic worker at the time of the Anti-partition and Swadeshi agitation. He subsequently joined the National Council of Education and rose to be its Basu-Mallik Professor. He was the author of a number of Bengali books on a variety of subjects. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family. S. K. L.

The Late Satyendrachandra Mitra

The premature death of Srijukta Satyendrachandra Mitra, M.A., B.L., President Bengal Legislative Council, on the 27th October, 1942 at the age of fifty-four is felt with regret by those who had come into contact with him. He was an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court. It was quite early in life that he began to take active interest in all public and political activities. He suffered more than once continued incarceration at the hands of the authorities as a result of his intimate association with the work of the Indian National Congress. He was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1924 as a member of the Swaraj Party of the Congress. He was subsequently elected a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. On the introduction of the new constitution he was elected to the Upper House of the Province by members of the Lower House in 1937 and was also elected as its President. He was for some time a Director of the Reserve Bank of India, Eastern Circle. The numerous tributes paid to his memory bear testimony to the ability, independence, dignity and impartiality with which he discharged the duties of the first President of the newly-constituted Bengal Legislative Council. We offer our sincere condolence to the members of the bereaved family. S. K. L.

The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker's Convocation Address

In addressing the Convocation of the University of Agra on Saturday, the 14th November, 1942, the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member of the Government of India, delivered an interesting and thoughtful speech. He discussed in the course of his address a number of very important problems relating to educational advancement in India. We are able just to refer very briefly to two of these questions. He said:

"People who do not believe in education under any circumstances militarists and others whose vision does not extend beyond the immediate job on hand, must

naturally deprecate the expenditure of public money on objects which they regard as of doubtful value and of no assistance whatever to the war effort. Small wonder that such people cannot help casting covetous eyes on educational buildings and staffs for war purposes. The former are suitable for hospitals, offices, barracks, A. R. P. posts and so on and to the people in question nothing seems easier than to requisition educational buildings as a short-cut solution of the difficulties in finding suitable accommodation.

'Such a tendency displayed itself in Great Britain both immediately before and after the outbreak of war, but had been resolutely resisted, and it is now agreed that educational buildings should only be requisitioned under circumstances of extreme urgency. With war at our very door, we must be on our guard against a similar tendency raising its head in India, but I sincerely hope that the lessons learnt by Britain in this matter will not be lost upon us.'

In view of the grievous inroad that is being made in this country in the entire sphere of education, on the plea of exigencies of war, it behoves public spirited citizens to follow the example of England, China, the United States of America, and other countries where even to-day the paramountcy of educational expansion and progress is almost universally recognised. The other point in the address to which we desire to refer is the need of insistence, "whatever be the cost, on improving our educational system in spite of war and at the same time consider how we may equip it to deal with those special problems which will arise immediately the war is over." Experience of the last war suggests, Mr. Sarker adds, that unless we can solve these problems more satisfactorily than we did on the last occasion, our exertions will be wasted and the fruits of victory will go in vain. It is of the utmost importance to the future welfare of India that steps be taken to tackle this problem immediately. The situation demands that our educationalists and public men should direct their attention to the question of a complete overhaul of the present effete and ineffectual system of education with a view to its adaptation and adjustment in accordance with the spirit and needs of the time. S. K. L.

American Comments on the Indian Situation

A number of distinguished writers and publicists have during the last few weeks dealt with the Indian situation in the American Press with consummate ability and independence. Mr. Louis Fischer has exposed in the columns of *The New York Nation* the sophistries of the die-hards in Britain and India and shown how the Cripps proposals were sabotaged at their instance. It is clear from the negotiations on the defence formula, he says, that the Indians wished to do more for the defence of their country than the British were ready to allow.

them to do and that Gandhiji's pacificism did not enter into it. Mrs. John Gunther, wife of the eminent American journalist, in a letter addressed to the *New Republic* writes :

"India's will for independence is expressed by her major political party, the Indian National Congress. All else told by England such as that majority rule does not apply in India, or that democracy is impossible in India without autocracy, or the insanely involuted nonsense about the Moslems, the Castes, the Princes, etc., etc., is self-delusory hallucinatory lying of a most dangerous order."

Mr. Wendell Willkie who visited the Middle-East, Russia and China, in the course of his report on the trip said that many of the people he saw asked him the question

"which has become almost a symbol all through Asia: What about India? Now, I did not go to India. * * But it has one aspect in the East which I should report to you. From Cairo on, it confronted me at every turn. The wisest man in China said to me: When the aspiration of India for freedom was put aside to some future day, it was not Great Britain that suffered in public esteem in the Far East. It was the United States."

A very recent message received from the London correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* states that Mr. Edgar Snow, an eminent American publicist, who had recently visited India has contributed an important despatch to the American Press. Mr. Snow writes :

"The grievances listed against Britain by the Congress likewise are shared by virtually every educated Indian as well as the large section of the masses than is generally supposed."

Mr. Snow demands a proper solution of the Indian problem. urges that "India must be saved for the Allied cause, if humanly possible" and speaks of the unique position held among the masses by Gandhiji whom he visited at Sevagram.

The reactionaries in Great Britain and the British Empire appear to have been violently perturbed by the numerous pro-Indian statements that have appeared of late in the American Press. This is shown by the treatment accorded to Mr. Wendell Willkie who was asked beforehand not to mention India or the British Empire in his speech at the formal civic reception proposed to be held in his honour at Toronto and was also told that on his not agreeing to the proposal no such reception would be held. The die-hards have not only not deflected from the unholy campaign against India in which they are engaged but nothing daunted they are proceeding with their propaganda of misrepresentation with greater vigour and energy.

S. K. L.

Revenue Minister's Statement In Council :

Hon. Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Revenue Minister, made the following statement in the Bengal Legislative Council, on Nov. 12 :

Hon. Mr. P. N. Banerjee began his statement by saying that the heavy cyclone from the Bay which passed over several districts of Bengal began at about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning on the 16th and spent itself up in the early hours of the morning of the following day. In the afternoon of the 16th, there was a high tidal bore forced up by the cyclone from the Bay which broke into the main land and devastated a considerable area in the southern part of Midnapore and 24-Parganas. The cyclone was accompanied by heavy rain—at certain places it was as heavy as 12" in less than 24 hours. All the rivers in these districts were in heavy flood. In the worst affected areas, there was a heavy loss of human lives—the present estimate being 10,000 persons in the Midnapore and 1,000 in the 24-Parganas. The loss of cattle was nearly 75 per cent. Practically every kutcha house was severely damaged or destroyed and only pucca houses except those with corrugated iron roof remained standing.

Continuing the Revenue Minister said that in the five coastal thanas of the Midnapore district most severely affected there were, according to 1931 census, 1,03,613 occupied houses (i.e., families) with a population of 5,56,125 persons.

In nearly the whole of this area practically all huts had been destroyed and at least 75 per cent. of the cattle had perished. Assuming that each house had on an average of 3 huts and 80 per cent. of the families had on an average 1 head of plough cattle or milch cattle, nearly 3 lakhs of huts and 60,000 heads of cattle had been destroyed in this belt alone. In the remaining 7 thanas of Tamluk and Contai Subdivisions and 13 other thanas of the Sadar and Ghatal Subdivisions, there were 4 lakhs of occupied houses with nearly 20 lakhs of people. Even at a moderate estimate about 4 lakhs of huts must have been blown down and the death roll of cattle also should be about 15,000 in this area. Thus, nearly 7 lakhs of huts had been destroyed making over 15 lakhs of people homeless and nearly 75,000 heads of plough and milch cattle had perished. The loss of moveable properties such as foodstuffs, clothing, utensils, etc., had been in a proportionate scale as also damage to roads, embankments, etc.

The news of the cyclone first reached the Revenue Secretary on the 19th morning. The Collector of 24-Parganas rang up the Revenue Secretary to give the news which referred only to the devastation caused in parts of the Diamond Harbour Subdivision. The same afternoon some information came from an R. A. F. pilot, who had flown along the Howrah-Midnapore Railway line. Later in the day a wireless message was received from the Collector of Midnapore in which he stated his apprehension that the southern part of the district must have suffered badly.

Immediately on receipt of the news steps were taken to send down relief parties. The Collector of 24-Parganas sent down a party on the 20th with foodstuffs, 12,000 gallons of waters, doctors and disinfectants. A wireless message was sent to the Collector of Midnapore to try and send relief parties from Kolaghat down the Rupnarayan to the coastal areas which must be practically cut off from the mainland. Simultaneously relief parties were organized from Calcutta to reach the coastal areas of Tamluk and Contai Subdivisions. The parties left with doctors, disinfectants and with foodstuffs in four batches between October 22 and 30. Rice sent was 8,952 maunds.

It was perfectly true, the Revenue Minister admit-

ted, that help did not reach the affected localities as quickly as it was ordinarily done. The breakdown of all telegraphic and telephonic communications, blocking up of roads, political trouble in one of the districts which had made certain areas unsafe for Government officers to work in without police escort and lack of transport particularly boats as a result of denial policy were the factors which prevented immediate help reaching there.

The local officers in the Midnapore district spent the first 4 or 5 days in restoring communications without which no relief work could be done. They then sent out relief though in the conditions prevailing the relief could not be adequate to areas which were considered safe for Government officers.

Towards the end of the month, the Revenue Minister along with some of his colleagues visited the affected areas, and on return to Calcutta arranged to release information about the disaster to the press which had been held up understanding instructions. An Additional Commissioner to direct and co-ordinate relief operations was appointed to take charge of relief operations in each of the most affected subdivisions under the direct order of the Collector, and denial and security measures were recommended to be relaxed to the fullest extent possible. Steps, the Revenue Minister stated, had since been taken to give effect to those recommendations.

The Additional Commissioner visited Midnapore on the 9th of this month and allotted definite areas to non-official relief organizations to work in. The Ramakrishna Mission, Bharat Sevashram Sangha, and Nava Bidhan Relief Society had already started work in the area. The Marwari Relief Society had been allotted a considerable area to work in. These organizations would render immediate relief in food and clothing.

Government had decided, the Revenue Minister said, that relief should be given without any discriminations. Non-official co-operation should be sought for and facilities given to non-officials to the fullest extent to help in relief work. Non-political philanthropic societies if necessary would be assisted with contributions from Government, but political bodies like the Hindu Mahasabha or the Muslim League should work, if they desired with their own funds.

Relief circles and centres would be formed and officers would be asked to make a detailed survey of the families affected. Ration cards would then be issued to each family that sought relief and rations to all claimants for a fortnight would be given after a summary enquiry. Well-to-do people who were not entitled to free rations might be given a temporary loan not exceeding Rs. 20.

Government, the Revenue Minister said, had arranged for gratuitous relief. Rice, dal, salt and malted or other milk and barley for children would be supplied. One week's relief for one or a group of villages would be distributed on a fixed day of each week from a given centre. Each family would be given a ration card for the purpose. Relief to the earners of a family would be discontinued as soon as the earners were offered test work. No persons capable of earning would get free rations for more than 4 weeks. Every adult would get 8 chittaks of rice, $\frac{1}{2}$ chittak of salt and $\frac{1}{2}$ chittak of dal per day and every child between 2-14 years at half the rates. Infants below two would be given barley, sago with misri or malted milk, etc., per day.

As regards water supply, immediate steps must be taken to sink tube wells, where possible, to bale out saline water from tanks or to sink new wells. The Chief Engineer, Public Health Department, had been asked to reserve tube well materials for 50 tube wells of an average depth of 30 ft., of which materials for 6 had already been supplied to the Contai area, and 14 water

tanks for water to be supplied by boats to the most difficult areas. For medical relief, instructions had already been issued by the Director of Public Health.

For reconstruction of huts, Government proposed to help a family to have one ordinary hut for each married couple plus one small kitchen shed. For clothing, bedding and utensils, help would be given in cash or kind. For purchase of seeds help in cash and kind for rabi crop and for agricultural implements might be given. Agricultural loans would also be advanced.

The Revenue Minister made another statement before the Council on Nov 13 :

The Revenue Minister made it clear that he was not yet satisfied that relief had reached every affected village of the district. The task was big, and he was told, even now normal conditions of communications had not been restored in certain portions of the affected areas.

Mr. Banerjee said that information of the disaster reached Government on October 19 at night. With difficulty Government managed to secure a barge from the Port Commissioner, and after a full day's loading with foodstuffs, medical requisites, etc., an officer of the Revenue Department was sent down to some of the affected areas on the 21st morning. Government then sanctioned agricultural loans to the extent of five lakhs of rupees and gratuitous relief in cash of Rs. 24,000 for both the districts involved. Government had also sent foodstuffs to the value of rupees one lakh.

In reply to various queries by members, the Revenue Minister stated that every effort humanly possible was made to reach immediate relief to the devastated areas. But the task was great and difficulties enormous. The Collector of the Midnapore himself was upset, and he reported that there were about 20 deaths in the Midnapore town.

In this relief work, the Revenue Minister said, whatever reasonable amount would be required to give the people a little comfort must come forward from the public exchequer, and public organizations were also raising funds for the purpose. Government, the Revenue Minister emphasised, was quite prepared to give any reasonable amount required for the relief work. Rupees 24,000 given in gratuitous relief was not the maximum or the ultimate. *Italics ours.*—Ed., M. R.

H. E.'s Appeal

An idea of the widespread havoc caused in the district of Midnapore as a result of the recent cyclone and flood was given by His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, who flew over the affected areas in that district a few days ago, in a broadcast talk from the Calcutta station of All-India Radio on Tuesday night, the 17th of November.

His Excellency said that flying over the affected country, he could see villages which could only be reached with great difficulty by land or water. He also toured some of this area by road.

"From the air," he added, "I saw villages without any sign of life, completely isolated by the floods, and areas of many square miles destitute of cattle and crops. On land, I found almost every tree uprooted, huts uninhabitable, pucca houses unroofed, and even a solid 12 ft. brick wall blown flat by the gale."

Continuing His Excellency said : "You will understand from this that the problem to be faced is immense. Countless houses have been destroyed. A tidal wave has washed away the 'bunds' as in 1864 and has not only destroyed the crops, but has probably affected the fertility of the soil, throughout a strip along the sea-coast several miles in width. Livestock have perished wholesale. It follows that many thousands of persons

have been deprived of their homes, possessions and means of livelihood."

His Excellency pointed out that it was people such as these who had been deprived of their fertile land, the source of everything to them; for from their land only could they earn money for building materials and clothing, and from their land only could they win food for themselves and their families—who stood in need of their help. *Government were ready to take up the task.* Engineers had surveyed the damage and repairs would be made. Estimates of losses were being prepared, and compensation would be assessed, seed would have to be provided; cattle to be obtained. But these were long-range methods of relief.

"At the moment there are thousands of families homeless, destitute, starving and without clothing. To keep them we want funds, supplies of food and clothing and many willing workers. Now is the time for every man and woman of goodwill, irrespective of race, politics or religion, to join Government in this good work; and they may rest assured that Government will assist and co-ordinate their charitable efforts in every way."

His Excellency referred to the deplorable disorders which persisted in parts of the province and in particular in the very areas where the cyclone had wrought most havoc, and said, "*I must make it clear that Government consider it their duty, are able, and intend, to suppress all violence and disorder of this kind.* But does not the call of humanity appeal in this crisis to persons of all ways of thinking? Is it not tragic that those engaged in suppressing the campaign cannot divert their energies, as they would wish, to the task of helping the distressed?"

The Governor expressed the hope that those who were now engaged in fighting the forces of law and order would join with them in the contemplation of the highest ideal in sight—aid to their own people in their extremity—and that all thoughts and acts of violence would be laid aside so that all persons, whatever their opinions, might be able to join together harmoniously in the great work of charity.—A. P.

Governor Addresses Central Cyclone Relief Committee

At the inaugural meeting of the Central Cyclone Relief Committee, convened on November 18 at Government House, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal addressed representatives of all the leading organisations which had approached problems of relief. His Excellency, explaining the policy and purposes of founding a joint fund, emphasised the necessity of co-ordinating all efforts in order to achieve the most practicable and efficient results.

His Excellency began his speech by impressing upon all present the importance of approaching the task simply as a humanitarian one.

"I addressed you today," he said, "as one whose sole concern is to alleviate suffering. If this principle is to guide us, we must take steps to ensure that relief is given irrespective of politics or creed."

Recalling the events immediately following the cyclonic disaster on the 16th October, 1942, His Excellency pointed out that there was some delay in the reports reaching the Government owing to the complete disruption of communications.

"When the full facts reached me at Darjeeling," His Excellency continued "I was deeply shocked to learn how serious the devastation had been. Returning to Calcutta immediately, I was further shocked to find that the delay in the news had resulted in suggestion that there was delay in the action being taken. But I was reassured to find, however, that the Government

had already met the emergency with the utmost resource and promptitude."

His Excellency then referred to the difficulties confronting the Government relief workers, and particularly to the lawlessness of certain elements in the worst affected areas. "This lawlessness must stop," he said, "if humanitarian assistance is to be rendered with the maximum effect, we cannot permit its hindrance by people who oppose the maintenance of law and order. There is ample scope for relief work of non-official bodies, and they can be of great assistance to us. But they must co-ordinate their efforts with one common end in view—to pool resources for the equitable distribution of relief throughout the affected areas." *Italics ours.*—Ed., M. R.

Relief Commissioner's Report

CALCUTTA, Nov. 26.

Impressing the need for immediate action before the second sitting of the Central Relief Committee, His Excellency quoted the following extracts from a tour report submitted by Mr. B. R. Sen, I.C.S., Additional Commissioner in charge of Relief:

"I returned this morning to Calcutta after several days of intensive touring in some of the most affected areas of the Contai and Tamluk Subdivisions of the Midnapore District. The devastation which I encountered beggars description. Village after village, once populous, showed no signs of human habitation, except for collections of debris in ponds and tanks. These emitted so foul a stench as to suggest that dead bodies were pinned beneath. Only a few trees were left standing and their torn branches and dead leaves illustrated the fury which had passed over them. In one village only a single person had survived out of a population of 150; and in another 132 families out of 135 had been wiped out completely.

"I visited one area with a party that was carrying drinking water in boats. There all the drinking water supplies had been polluted by saline water, and people of all ages came in hundreds for glasses of water to quench their thirst. About 50 per cent. of the people who survived the cyclone have left that particular area on account of the lack of drinking water. Wherever I stopped I was surrounded by large crowds of people who were in a state of utter destitution and were asking for water, clothes and blankets. Most of them had lost all their belongings and were in rags. They were living practically in the open and had no protection against the weather."

"In the belt of the country near the sea I saw very few children and I was told that most of them had been drowned. Those whom I did meet were suffering from dysentery for lack of milk. I did not see a single live head of cattle for many miles in that coastal belt, and the problem of milk supply there which is acute, can only be solved satisfactorily by importing milch cows from outside."

The Cyclone and its Aftermath

Let us examine the facts as published in the above statements together with others that are now widely known to the public. On the 16th of October a cyclone of a violence surpassing anything within the memory of living man struck certain areas in the District of Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Howrah and Burdwan. This was accompanied by a cloudburst and a tidal wave in the estuarian region. The result was extreme devastation and a death-roll of a magnitude

seldom paralleled in the history of the British Empire so far as intensity of destruction within a limited area is concerned. At a conservative estimate about 30,000 persons lost their lives and about two millions were rendered almost completely destitute. The devastation extended to the soil itself as salinity will render cultivation almost impossible over large areas for at least two years to come.

We are told that the Government got news about this catastrophe on the 19th. We are not informed as to whether the meteorological department issued any warnings and if so what use was made of them. The places of occurrence are less than half an hour's flight by any plane from Calcutta, we are not told why the authorities did not try to make any use of aircraft to investigate the reasons of continued silence in an area which was both "disturbed" and "strategic." The communication that finally did come from Midnapore on the evening of the 19th came by wireless. Why was this channel of communication left unexplored previously? Are we to believe that the transmitters at Midnapore had been put out of action and then repaired by some local genius who took full three days to set them right?

Regarding the action of the authorities at Midnapore we are told nothing at all. Did they institute rescue operations, did they relax punitive measures like curfew orders, boat denial, etc., to help people escape? Were the few available boats put at the disposal of volunteers for rescue work or were they used by the officials themselves for such laudable work?

We are told that the District Magistrate communicated with Calcutta on the evening of the 19th. What was the nature of the communication we do not know. But we find that the first reaction of the Government in instituting relief work was started on the 22nd, *six days after the occurrence* although the water-route, by which the relief was sent, had remained open all the time and stocks of food, etc., were available in plenty at Calcutta. If the Magistrate did send out an S. O. S. this delay would be very difficult to explain indeed. Now for the relief operations, the censor had ordered a complete blackout, and therefore it was all the more essential that the Government should have made a strenuous endeavour to relieve the victims of the disaster who were literally facing death in hundreds of thousands. The Government sent 8952 maunds of rice up to the 30th of October. We are not told as to how this amount was distributed nor as to the method of distri-

bution, but plain arithmetic tells us that this quantity works out at $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce of rice per head per diem, for the 14 day period after the storm for the $1\frac{1}{2}$ million people mentioned by the Revenue Minister.

The first high-official who was sent to Midnapore to investigate the nature of the catastrophe was Mr. B. R. Sen of the Revenue department. He went on the 27th of October, *eleven days after the occurrence*. The Revenue Minister stated that it took four or five days to restore communications. We may presume therefore that after that period there was nothing to prevent an investigation from the head-quarters if such were deemed necessary. Then on the 29th of October three Ministers went to investigate in person, and that was *thirteen days after the occurrence*. We are not told what the ministers saw nor as to what action they took. All this period there was an absolute blackout of news.

The first news was released to the public on the 3rd of November, *on the eighteenth day after the occurrence*. Such a prolonged blackout, while tens of thousands were perishing for want of relief, was done under "*standing instructions*" according to the Revenue Minister.

The first Government statement on the subject was made by the Revenue Minister on the 12th of November in the Bengal Legislative Council, *twenty-seven days after the occurrence*. The next day the Revenue Minister made a further statement before the same house. He had very little to say as to what measures of relief had already been administered although nearly four weeks of the most intense misery had been already undergone by the stricken "million and half." He was full of plans for the future, and made it clear that "he was not yet satisfied that relief had reached every affected village." He did not say how many villages were actually receiving relief on that date.

The first statement and appeal by the Governor was made on the 17th of November. He had made a tour over the affected areas by air, returning to Calcutta by air, on the 13th of November. About four weeks had elapsed by then, since this terrible calamity visited the people of Midnapore and 24-Parganas.

The first public appeal for help by the Governor was made on the 17th of November, *thirty-two days after this dread visitation*, affecting over two millions of people.

All-Bengal Cyclone Relief Committee Formed

In a crowded meeting of the citizens of

Calcutta held on November 27, the following resolutions were passed :

"This public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta extends their heart-felt sympathy to the inhabitants of the Cyclone-affected areas in the districts of Midnapore and 24-Parganas and other areas and appeals to the generous public for contributions in cash and kind to relieve the terrible distress caused by the unprecedented calamity which had caused a heavy death-roll of about 40,000 people and has inflicted terrible suffering on about 20 lakhs of people and which has destroyed over 7 lakhs of huts and exterminated about 90 per cent. of the live-stock in the affected area.

That in order to effectively remove the impediments which have obstructed and are still obstructing the organization of relief work and the distribution of the necessities of life amongst the people affected by the terrible disaster and further in order to restore a peaceful atmosphere in the Midnapore District, this public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta demands in the name of the suffering humanity :

(a) That full facilities should be afforded to all workers engaged in relief operations and that a liberal and co-ordinated relief policy be adopted allotting as many centres as possible to non-official organizations working in collaboration with the authorities.

(b) That general amnesty to all political prisoners in the district of Midnapore be granted.

(c) That all restrictive and administrative orders which hamper the movement of the relief workers and accentuate the spirit of distrust on the part of the people be abrogated forthwith.

That the Curfew Orders and other restrictive orders, including permit system be immediately withdrawn. That all difficulties in the way of relief work such as lack of transport, boats, motor-lorries, cycles, and the hopeless insufficiency of stock of rice and other provisions in the affected areas and the deplorable lack of arrangement for supply of drinking water be removed without delay.

(d) That raids by the Police and the Military which have been and are being carried on in certain areas be immediately stopped.

(e) That Collective fines be cancelled and Chowkidari Tax, and realisation of other taxes and impositions be withheld.

(f) That cottage industries be organized in the areas, specially in respect of salt and together with proper organization for marketing of the same. Immediate steps be also taken for utilising local labour for the reconstruction of the embankments and roads and re-excavation of tanks.

(g) That this meeting also appeals to all leaders and workers in the affected area to stop all political agitation and to concentrate all their attention and energies for the purpose of organizing relief work and reconstructing the economic life of the people in the affected areas.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee was elected President of the Committee.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee States The Reasons For His Resignation

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, who resigned the Finance Ministership of the Bengal Government on November 20th, has issued a statement which throws a considerable amount of light on the situation at Midnapore and elsewhere in Bengal. We quote some relevant portions below.

Calcutta, Nov. 23.

One of the main reasons why I did not tender my resignation three months ago has been the peculiar position which Bengal occupies during this critical period. In spite of the all-India situation being what it is, there would have been justification for my continuing in office if I could, even in some measure, serve the interest of my people and minimise the hardship and suffering thrown in them during the period of war. The British Prime Minister and the Secretary of State have from time to time taken pride in declaring that even today millions of Indians are living under a system of administration where the functions of Government are in the hands of Ministers responsible to the Legislature. *Let me tell them without any exaggeration whatsoever that the Constitution that functions under the so-called system of Provincial Autonomy is a colossal mockery.* My experience as a Provincial Minister for 11 months justifies me in stating clearly and categorically that Ministers, while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the Legislature, have very little powers, specially in matters concerning the rights and liberties of the people. In Bengal a dual Government has functioned during the last one year. The Governor has chosen to act in many vital matters in disregard of the wishes of the Ministers. If the British Prime Minister or the Secretary of State has the courage to direct an enquiry into the manner in which popular rights have been disregarded against the advice of responsible Ministers, the hollowness of their claim that Dominion Status is already in action in India will stand exposed.

Apart from my general dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Governor, two specific matters in respect of which I have failed to obtain relief, even partially, relate to the imposition of collective fines and the handling of the situation in Midnapore. I make bold to say without going into details that collective fines have been imposed in Bengal in disregard of the Ordinance itself. Fines have been imposed on Hindus in general, irrespective of their guilt. Uptill now the Governor has declined, in exercise of his individual judgment, to give relief or to reconsider the present policy, although repeated demands were made by us. As regards Midnapore, I do not ignore that the political movement took a serious turn in some areas of the district. From the point of view of Government, legitimate measures taken to check lawlessness are understandable. *But the repression that has continued there has been of an extraordinary character.* Allegations affecting the lives, properties and honour of men and women have been made which are of a most serious character. We are powerless to order enquiries. But the staggering feature of the administration of Midnapore comes after the havoc caused by the cyclone and flood on 16th October. *There is not the least doubt that there has been grave negligence on the part of certain officers of Government with regard to the organisation of immediate relief.* We have been helpless in securing redress on account of the dilatory and unsympathetic attitude of certain officials and of the attitude of the Governor himself. I have no hesitation in asserting that unless the situation is radically altered in Midnapore, relief operations will become meaningless. From what I have personally seen and my discussions with various people inside and outside jail, I feel sure that if the situation is approached with tact, sympathy and a little humane touch, all sections of people in Midnapore will rise to a man to co-operate with Government in conducting relief operations. Public opinion must immediately assert itself both with regard to collective fines and the Midnapore situation.—*A.P. Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.*

AN APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE

By PROF. TAN YUN-SHAN,

Director, Visva-Bharati Cheena-Bhavana

BEFORE making my appeal, I must make myself clear to those to whom I shall appeal. All my friends know that I am a pure and simple Chinese Buddhist scholar. Though occupying the position of a University Professor, I regard myself as a pilgrim to India. My humble ideal and mission is to bring these two great nations, India and China, together through cultural intercourse and co-operation, not only for the good of our two countries but for the good of the whole world. I have nothing to do with any kind of politics. I also do not know much about politics. But the present political situation in India prompted and compelled me to make this appeal although this seems to involve political problems. However, my motive is pure and unadulterated, conscientious and humanitarian, not at all political.

The present political deadlock and chaotic situation in India cannot in any case be any more prolonged and should not be allowed to last longer. It will do good to nobody but help the common enemy. It will serve neither the purpose of Great Britain nor the purpose of India but will be a tempting invitation to the aggressive and avaricious Japanese militarists. It is just like the kingfisher and the clam in a Chinese story : When a clam exposed itself to the sun, a kingfisher stuck its beak into it. The clam immediately closed its shell and caught the beak of the kingfisher. The kingfisher said to the clam : "Today it will not rain, tomorrow it will not rain, then you must die." The clam retorted : "Today you will not get out, tomorrow you will not get out, then die will the kingfisher." Then came a fisherman who caught both the kingfisher and the clam. Therefore both of them became the victims of the fisherman. Now the Japanese fisherman is watching at the gate of India with vigilant eyes and a malicious mind. He will surely avail himself of every opportunity to catch both the clam and the kingfisher. If it happens, it will be most unfortunate and tragic, not for India alone but for the United Nations and human decency. A Chinese proverb says : "Don't let your kinsmen feel pain and your foes feel

happiness." The present situation in India causes great anxiety to India's friends, but make Berlin, Rome and Tokyo, Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo laugh so loudly in their broadcast. Therefore I make this appeal.

First I must appeal to my Indian brethren :

All of you know that I am a great lover of India. I love and regard your country just as much as my own. I use to claim the privilege for myself of being half Indian and half Chinese. Your aspirations for the freedom and independence of India have all my sympathy and enthusiasm. In fact, your aspirations are also mine. But your present actions and movements, especially the ways and methods of your actions and movements such as looting shops, derailing trains, burning post-offices, raiding government offices, and killing government officials, are not at all desirable and advisable. So far as I understand, such actions and movements are not included in the programme of the All-India National Congress and such methods and ways of movements and actions are hated by Mahatma Gandhiji. Mahatmaji has declared several times that India should not embarrass the British and the United Nations in their prosecution of the war against the Axis. He also said very often that India should sacrifice herself for a greater cause.

Now the present war is not merely a war between the United Nations and the Axis. In other words, it is a war between the Democratic powers and the Aggressive forces. It is a war between freedom and slavery, between justice and injustice, between good and evil, between morality and demoralization, and between humanitarianism and brutality. Therefore, India not only should not impede and harass the British and the United Nations in their effort of prosecuting the war, but also should join them to fight the Axis, especially the Japanese. For the Japanese have already knocked at the door of India and will be your most dangerous, ruthless and cold-blooded enemies when they get into your country. Of course, I quite understand your bitterness caused by the recent happenings in India. You say

that you cannot fight with the British who have denied freedom itself to India; that until India has been independent you cannot join the war with anybody or declare war against anybody; that this war is also merely a war among the hypocritical imperialists for their power, and the mastery of their colonies; and that if you join the war unconditionally at this stage, it will only help the British Imperialists to perpetuate their grasp on India. If this is really the case and if the present war is really so simple, you are right to say so. But the problems in the present war are not so simple and the future of India will not be simple either. When the war is over and the United Nations win it, India will surely be independent and free. There will be no power on earth which could refuse the right to India to regain her independence and freedom, provided only India joins the war. The British cannot and will not, anyway, deny or delay India's freedom and independence any more. But if, unfortunately the United Nations lose the war, there will be no such thing as independence or freedom not only for India but for the whole world. There will be only the terrible tyranny of Germany, Italy and Japan, most probably of Germany alone. All the other nations and peoples will be trampled under Hitler's iron heel; even Duce Mussolini and General Tojo will be only Herr Hitler's obedient jacks.

So I most earnestly appeal to you, my dear and respected Indian brethren, for the sake of India's own defence, for the sake of the United Nations' common cause, and for the sake of peace, justice and humanity : You must cease the present mass movement against the British Government, and turn the present movement into a fighting campaign against the Japanese invasion. If you do not like, for certain reasons to join hands with the British, you can join the war shoulder to shoulder with the United Nations. There are United States troops in India. You may also join the war in various ways. If you do not all of you like to fight with the United Nations in arms, you can fight even non-violently by organising the people and giving them necessary information and instructions about the war, by telling the people about the danger of the Japanese invasion and training them how to resist it, and by doing nothing which may be considered harmful to the United Nations and helpful to the enemy. You must realise the ruthlessness and mercilessness, the atrocities and brutalities, and the immorality and inhumanity of the Japanese militarists. You

must not listen to the Japanese propaganda which is merely deceit and lie. You must not think of having a change of master as Mahatmaji once said. If unfortunately the Japanese come to be India's master, it will be worse for you, worse than the domination of any other imperialist power. You can easily see this from what the Japanese have done and are doing in Korea, Formosa and in occupied China. Moreover, you must not be disappointed and dismayed by the present situation. The future of India is very great, hopeful, bright and glorious. You have only to fight for it by now by joining the United Nations in this war. My dear and respected Indian brethren, cease your present mass movement against the British Government, join the United Nations, and fight the aggressive Axis, especially the Japanese invaders !

Now let me appeal to our great ally, the British Authorities :

For everybody's sake and for many reasons you must first declare India independent and free immediately, then form an Indian National Government as soon as possible. This is the aspiration not only of the Indian people but also of the peoples of the United Nations. Even your own British people, most of them I dare say, have the same desire too. Perhaps only our common enemies would not like you to do so; because if you declare India independent and free, their propaganda will be useless and they will lose their hope of getting the Indians on to their side. Otherwise, Hitler may cry loudly again and again : " If Mr. Churchill can set India free I will kneel down before him ;" the Japs may daily broadcast to the Indian people : " The British would not give you freedom and we shall come to relieve you ". I, therefore, most humbly and earnestly pray to you, you far-sighted British statesmen, to declare India free and independent immediately. Let Hitler kneel down before Mr. Churchill, let the Japs shut their evil mouths and may their day-dreams evaporate.

I say you must first declare India independent and free immediately because this is the first and most important and urgent thing you must do. This is what we call " Chen-Min," in Chinese, meaning " to rectify names." Once the greatest Chinese saint Confucius was asked by his disciple Tsu-Lu what he would do first if he had to administer the government. Confucius answered : " First, I would rectify names." He again said : " If names be not rectified, words will not be in accordance with

the truth of things. If words be not in accordance with truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success." When you declare India independent and free, the name of India and the present war will be immediately rectified, and the present deplorable situation of India as well as of the war will be entirely changed for the better. Then you can very easily form an Indian National Government at your earliest convenience. To declare India independent and free needs not much time. It takes only a few minutes to complete the task. But it takes a little more time to form an Indian National Government. Still I hope you will accomplish this work as soon as possible. For the Indian National Government will help and join us to carry on the war against the Axis. The sooner this Indian National Government be formed the better will it be for us all. By declaring India independent and free, you will lose nothing; by forming an Indian National Government, you will get everything not only for yourselves but also for the United Nations.

You may say that you have promised India freedom and independence already, but this is not the time to declare it; and that you are ready to grant India self-government, but until the Indians themselves settle their internal quarrels you cannot form it. If we only think of one side and look at it from one standpoint, it is quite right to say so. But if we also think of the other side and look from another standpoint, we shall have quite a different view. I am fond of quoting proverbs. Another Chinese proverb says: "The onlooker is always more clear than the man who is inside the affair." As an onlooker and outsider as well as a well-wisher, I think this is the best and most favourable time to declare India independent and free. This is a golden opportunity to declare India independent and free. For the desire and demand for India's freedom and independence has never been so eager, so great and so urgent. You should not miss this golden opportunity. If you declare India independent and free just now, you will not only gain the hearts of the 400 million Indian people, but also obtain the praise, enthusiasm, appreciation and admiration of all the United Nations. You will not only win the war but will write the most glorious page in the history of mankind. When you declare India independent and free, the Indians will naturally settle their internal quarrels and come together to form a National Government. Although there are discords and controversies among the different sections and parties

in India, the desire and demand for India's freedom and independence are the same everywhere. Even if the Indians cannot settle their internal quarrels and form a National Government after your Declaration, the blame and fault will be theirs, not yours. Then you have done your duty and justice is on your side, your Government will remain there, and it will only increase your dignity and strengthen your hold on India.

There is no need of fearing that when India becomes independent and free and has her own national government, she may make peace with the Japanese, or she may not join the war, or she may oppose the United Nations to carry on the war in India. It will be exactly the opposite. When India becomes independent and free, she will totally and whole-heartedly join the war with us. The Indians will neither make peace with the Japs nor oppose the war to be carried on in India. For the All-India National Congress and other parties have declared more than once that if they have their independence and freedom they will join the United Nations and fight the Axis at all cost. It was because they had not got their freedom and independence, they said, that they could not join the war. We may not believe in anybody else but we must believe in the sincerity, the honesty, the truthfulness and the sublime personality of Mahatma Gandhi. We may not trust other people but we must have trust in the zeal, the eagerness, the great effort and enthusiasm of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to fight against the Italian Fascists, the German Nazis and the Japanese Militarists. As a matter of fact, the Indians also cannot make peace with the Japanese or oppose the war even if they liked to do so. For the power is still in your hands and the United Nations troops are here. But if they cannot get their independence and freedom, they may be deadly disappointed and may despair. Great disappointment and despair may compel them to do anything and everything to harm not only the British Authorities but also the common cause of the United Nations.

Again, you need also not fear that when India becomes independent and free you will lose your relationship with and your advantage, profit and benefit in this country. It will again be just the contrary. You will not only not lose all these things but will gain more and more. The truth is that human feelings are reciprocal and mutual, and the natural law is relative and respondent. When there is a sound, there must be an echo; when there is an action, there must be a reaction; when there is a movement, there

must be a response, and when there is a cause, there must be an effect. So far as I know, most of your intellectuals and scholars do not read much of other Chinese philosophers but like to read Lao-Tzu. If you statesmen also read Lao-Tzu, you will understand all things I said above. It is a very small book, only about five thousand words in Chinese and there are several English translations. So you can read it very easily. Lao-Tzu told us: "The more you do for others, the more you will have; the more you give to others, the more you will gain." He said again: "If you want to gain it, you must give it first." Again he said: "If you want to hold it, you will lose it." The Indian people is a very philosophical and sensible, hospitable and benevolent, friendly and thankful people. If you give them freedom and independence, they will surely ever reciprocate your kindness, your goodness, and your greatness. The relationship and friendship between you and the Indian people will be ever increasing. So also will be your benefit, your advantage and your profit. Then no Hitler or Mussolini or the Japanese can break the concrete link between your two great nations. Nor can they interfere with your benefit, advantage, and profit in India. But it will be better for you not to think of those old terms, Dominion, Autonomy and Self-Government. Let India be completely independent and free and make her your equal and true ally. After this war, there must be a great Union of all the United Nations; there should be no Empire either like the old German, Italian and Japanese or like the French, the Dutch or your own Empires. It will be very good for you to take the lead and start this movement now in India. If you can take the lead and start this movement just now in India, you will surely be crowned with success. And the whole world will really bow down to you.

Moreover, you have declared again and again that you and the United Nations are fighting this war for freedom, for peace, for justice, for democracy and so on. How can we deny the very freedom to India whose population consists of one-fifth of that of the whole world? If such a great number as the Indians

are do not join us or unfortunately side with the Axis, how can we be sure to win the war? Even if we can win the war without setting India independent and free, what will be the significance of the war? To fight to win the war or to defeat the Axis is not enough for us. We must fight and destroy the very cause of war. Hitler might have thought if the British could dominate such a large country as India in Asia, why we Germans would not dominate such small countries as Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, etc., in Europe? Therefore, Hitler said at the very beginning of the war: "If Mr. Churchill can set India free, I shall kneel down before him." The Japanese might think that if Great Britain could rule such a great nation as India from so far away, why would not the Japanese conquer China and thereafter the whole of Asia from so near-by? So the late Tanaka made his world-famous "Memorial." Of course the real cause of the war is not merely due to your domination of India. But by setting India free and independent, you will break the excuse and pretext of the Axis for their aggression and thereby remove one of the causes of war. At least you will show a noble example to them and relieve your responsibility for causing further wars. Until the cause of war be removed, there will be no peace, no freedom, no justice or the like even after this war. Therefore, I most earnestly and humbly appeal and pray to you far-sighted British statesmen, for everybody's sake and for many reasons, to declare India independent and free, and to form an Indian National Government, enabling the Indian people to join the war totally and whole-heartedly to finish the Axis as soon as possible.

The above appeal to both, my dear and respected Indian brethren and our great and honourable ally, the British Authorities, comes from the depth of my heart. It is from my conscience that I appeal to your conscience. As an admirer and lover of you both, my words are very frank and simple. I hope both of you will not misunderstand me. Anyhow, I must wish you both well and pray for peace and an earliest settlement between you both!



INDIA AND FREEDOM

By PROF. P. A. WADIA

THE Oxford Press has done well by the public in reproducing in a neat and cheap form the speeches and broadcasts of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India and Burma.* These speeches were delivered between 1940 and 1942 and most, if not all of them, bear on the constitutional problem of India, though incidentally they raise wider issues like war aims and the characteristic contribution of the British Empire to civilization.

In a review of this kind it is difficult to resist the temptation to consider a little in detail the statements of one who is in a sense responsible for the policy of Great Britain towards India on the constitutional and the larger Indian issues. When considering in these speeches the benefits that British Rule has conferred upon India, it is not unnatural that the Secretary of State should have confined himself mainly to the influence of British Rule on the political life of our country.

"We gave to India," he says, "the unity of Government which was her first need. We gave it to her in the only form in which she could then conceive of Government, namely, Government from above. Our rule, if autocratic, was never arbitrary. Wherever it extended, the British Rule brought with it the reign of law. . . And if we did not and could not give India British Political Institutions at the outset we made them inevitable in the long run by our gift of the English language, the strongest unifying force in India, not merely as a common medium but as the common foundation of all political thinking among Indians of every race and of every creed."

Mr. Amery then traces the successive steps by which Great Britain made possible the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. Obviously, therefore, the greatest benefit that British Rule could confer upon India was the approach to a political system of a Parliamentary type, such as characterises the political life of Great Britain; and yet there is a significant confession by the Secretary of State for India in the speech that he delivered in April, 1942, that the introduction of British Political Institutions may not be suited to the traditions of a country like India.

"Our British System," he said, "which we have developed in a homogeneous country, is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India. There is no sealed pattern of freedom. It is by making Indian Statesmen conscious that the solution of the problem is their own undivided responsibility

and ours that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to emerge."

Thus even from the political point of view according to the Secretary of State for India the process of conferring the benefits of British Political Institutions has not been a process un-mixed with evil. There is nothing so natural even on the part of practical politicians as the belief that institutions of any kind, social, economic or political, which have been suited to the genius of the British Nation and have been attended with beneficial results must also prove suited to the genius of India and, therefore, prove beneficial to the country. We have evidence of this in the economic field in the past when Cornwallis introduced the permanent settlement in Bengal. Similarly, because the economic development of Great Britain in the 19th Century demanded a banking system that was purely commercial and intended to help in the growth of London at one time as the banking centre of the Western World, so it was thought in the 19th Century that the best system of banking suited to the requirements of their dependents in the East must be equally a system of commercial banking. And so in the field of political life a method of parliamentary government based on the party-system which had worked so well in a homogeneous country like England was taken to be the best for a subject country like India till during the last few years the consciousness has dawned on our British Rulers that they may have committed a mistake and some other method of ensuring political freedom for the people must be devised.

But when we are weighing the political benefits of British Rule in India we have to take account of a shadier side of the picture. Hitherto, that is, down to 1935, it might have been legitimately said that the greatest benefit from a political point of view which our country derived from British Rule was the consolidation of our country into a single whole and the creation of a sense of common nationality amongst the divergent people of the country through a common system of administration and the introduction of a common language in the shape of English amongst the educated classes. This common system of administration was based on a highly centralized unitary form of government with a bureaucracy adapted to this centralized method of rule. One is irresistibly reminded of a similar consolidation of the people into a common nation under the centralized

* *India and Freedom*: By the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for India and Burma. The Oxford University Press. 1942. Price Rs. 3.

government of the Bourbon Rulers in France. But in a sense all this meritorious work was undone when under a federal form of government the country was broken up into rival provinces, each being asked to look upon itself as a completely autonomous and self-governing State with comparatively feeble links connecting it with the centre. The whole process of the establishment of federal institutions which has marked the history of other countries, like the U. S. A. has been reversed in the case of India. In the case of the American Colonies States which had previously been exercising sovereign rights surrendered some of these rights and divided them with the central government for the sake of the larger civic life which the federal union opened out to their citizens. In the case of India a country which was growing into a sense of unity in the course of a century of strong rule was broken up into a number of separate units, each imbued with the idea that it was to be supreme in its own province and only brought into a larger union for the sake of defence, internal and external. As a result, there is a tendency in the last few years for provincial rivalries and provincial animosities to run amuck. The citizenship of British India tends to be broken up into a citizenship of the separate provinces. Each province has a tendency to discriminate against the subjects of other provinces and the process, which is hitherto confined to the administrative field, may extend itself to the educational and economic fields. The India of the future is no longer to be a single India but a number of separate Indias, a Moslem India, and a Dravidian India, a High Caste and a Low Caste India. We do not suggest that disintegrating tendencies did not exist amongst the people of India in the past. What we fear is that the process of overcoming these disintegrating tendencies which reconciled us to the British Rule in this country has now been replaced by another process in which new political institutions tend to strengthen rather than weaken these disruptive elements.

When from a larger point of view we look at the benefits conferred by British Rule on our country we cannot do better than quote the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Amery to the Oxford Union of the 6th March, 1942.

"I believe that the British Commonwealth can survive but only on certain conditions. The first is that each part must individually organise its own life far more effectively. We here shall have to recast our social and economic life. I believe we can do so without loss of individual freedom... the same is true of each

of the dominions. It is above all true perhaps of India, whose future problem is even more a question of raising the general standard of life and of creating that surplus above bare existence which means both welfare and power. Nutrition, industrial development, improvement of agricultural methods, education, these are perhaps the most important of all issues that will face India after the war, whatever her form of government."

There can be no more disappointing confession on the part of a British Secretary of State for India than the confession involved in these words. That after a century of British Rule there should be grave problems of nutrition, industrial development, agricultural methods and education is enough to shake the enthusiasm and admiration which many of our own countrymen sometimes evince for the new phase of political life that dawned with the proclamation of 1857.

Turning to the second and larger problem raised in these speeches, namely, the problem of war aims and peace aims we have Mr. Amery's views expressed more particularly in a speech delivered at Blackpool in August, 1940. We find in this speech a reproduction of the platitudes which we have been so accustomed to during the last three years and more. Here we have one such exposition of what the Allies are fighting for.

"It has often been said that the victory of Nazism would mean the destruction of all the spiritual and moral heritage of our Western Christian Civilisation. So far as Europe is concerned that is true. We are heirs of a civilisation to which ancient Greece gave the love of intellectual and political freedom, to which Rome gave the sense of law and order, to which Christianity contributed that reverence for the underlying equality of every individual human being before God, to which medieval chivalry added the regard for honour between equals, courtesy to women and pity for the weak. The Nazi creed denies and despises all these things... It is not only our religion and our civilisation here in Europe but all civilisation and all true religion that are threatened by barbaric forces of spiritual even more than material destruction which are embodied in Nazi Germany today. That is what we are fighting against. What are we fighting to maintain? We speak of this war, and rightly, as a fight for freedom. But what do we mean by freedom? We mean the freedom of nations, their right to live in their own way, to develop their own culture, their own political traditions. We think of the freedom of the individual citizens, man or woman, to attain to the fullest growth of mind and heart, not at the expense of others, but in co-operation with them."

We have had subsequently the exposition of four kinds of freedom in what is known as the Atlantic Charter. Political memories are short and perhaps it is desirable that they should be short. But they cannot be so short as to make us forget the first paragraph of the Tokyo Agreement between Japan and Britain signed in July, 1939.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom fully recognise the actual situation in China where hostilities on large scale are in progress, and note that, as along as that state of affairs continue to exist, the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purposes of safeguarding their own security, and maintaining public order in regions under their control, and that they have to suppress or remove such acts or causes as will obstruct them or benefit the enemy."

A little earlier this was what the Secretary of State for India said in a speech in connection with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria :

"Japan has got a very powerful case based upon fundamental realities." "She was quite right in acting with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continual aggression of vigorous Chinese Nationalism. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan."

And for the United States of America here is a predecessor of Roosevelt, his own namesake, expressing himself in the following remarkable words :

"We must play a great part in the world and especially perform those deeds of blood and valour which above everything else bring national renown... The Navy and Army are the sword and shield which this nation must carry... We do not admire the man of timid peace. In this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound to go down in the end before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities."

If we listen to pronouncements of other representatives of Great Britain or the United States of America, we get an impression, right or wrong, of another character. As late as the 30th October, 1942, Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary spoke of the necessity at the end of the war for Great Britain remaining a world power due to the long experience of government and the highly developed sense of human values which the people of Great Britain possess. And in the same month a little earlier Mr. Sumner Welles, the Under-Secretary of State, referred to the necessity for planning a world order for the future in which physical control of all the sources of supply of raw materials was to remain in the hands of the nations that possess them to-day and of the courtesy which was to be extended to all other nations of giving access to these raw materials if they have the power to purchase them in the world markets.

In brief, the problem that faces us in the present war is not capable of so easy an answer as the Secretary of State for India would suggest. If there is to-day a conflict of ideals in the world fought out in the present war it is not a conflict between freedom and dictatorship, not a conflict between democracy

and totalitarianism, nor even a conflict between the powers that are in possession and those who want to be in possession. Can we call it a conflict between the Anglo-Saxon tradition of sober passionless moralism, with a deep belief between right and wrong, with its ready theory of conscience and with its lack of vision without which the nations shall perish on the one hand, and the mass enthusiasm; the mysticism, so characteristic of Judaism which to-day finds expression in the totalitarian conception of the State, with its stress on emotions, with its parties transformed into new churches, with the complete surrender of the small individual soul, stirred beyond material gains to the love of a Duce or a Fuhrer or a Comrade Stalin ! Those who refuse to see anything in the Nordic or Communist tradition but the embodiment of force, of perdition and of destruction, fail to realize the value and the power of emotion which has to be brought to bear on the defence of whatsoever things are considered noble and beautiful and of good report. The British Empire has been called, by an exponent of the best British traditions, "a ramshackle, Hapsburg Empire of which the Windsors are the Hapsburgs and London the Vienna."

"What has our vast black Empire got to do with Anglo-Saxon Culture?" So asked a few years ago a typical exponent of this culture. "What is it more than an administrative and money-making (or money-losing) appanage? If we handed over these black colonies to Hitler to-morrow, from the point of view of our own nation and culture, it could be argued to be a beneficial and self-advantageous act"

We have no desire to sit in judgement, when we ourselves are in a position that calls for daily judgement on ourselves in relation to the Harijans. But in the clash and conflict of the present war, when reason gives way to emotion and the power of ideals over our whole life attitudes, we may well ask ourselves if the winding ways of nature's rivers and bays and gulfs are not to be preferred to the straight, artificially cut channels through which ready and immediate fulfilment of our war aims and peace aims is promised,—the coming of the millennium and the salvation of humanity. In the ups and downs of the history of humanity the ways of Providence remind us of the windings of rivers, and of the coming tides, now retreating now advancing, and let us leave ourselves to His Guidance, with no feverish impulsiveness to judge, trusting that His purposes are being fulfilled even through the tribulations through which we are passing, that if winter is on us, spring cannot be far behind.

THE ECONOMIC PROSPECT

By D. K. MALHOTRA, M.A.,

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As the third war year approaches its end, the economic scene seems to grow more desolate. While, on the one hand, the discomfort and hardship of the civil population are increasing, on the other, men, property, accumulated and newly-created wealth are all being destroyed at a terrific speed. In times such as these, one question, like a caged bird, persistently beats against the bars of many a mind: what sort of future can there be in store for men who indulge in this tragic waste? A man of thirty has perhaps some advantage in attempting an answer; for he can look backwards and forwards through a period of fifteen years and say with the poet: "Before my magic countenance, the years recede, the years advance." As he glances backward through a vista of fifteen years, his eye perches on the year 1927. It was about that year that the shell that had encased a young mind burst and the world appeared as full of life and movement. That first intoxicating touch with the things that matter brought a sense of exhilaration that blended harmoniously with the feeling of gathering strength in a war-scarred world. The impressions of these fifteen years have woven themselves into the texture of a growing mind.

It is hard to find another period of fifteen years so momentous, so fateful in humanity's history. It began on a promise of prosperity for the world and it has ended in the holocaust of war. The illusion of prosperity was brief, didn't last for more than two years but it was powerful enough to lead the then President of the U. S. A. to think of the possibility of banishing poverty from man's estate. Then came the American stock market crash of 1929 heralding the great depression of 1929-32. Painfully it was realized that the economic structure of the post-war world had been raised on insecure and shaky foundations. The price for that folly had to be paid. The old structure could not stand; it began to totter and tumble in ruins. In the inner crypt of those four years of depression lie buried more tales of unemployment, destitution, disillusion and frustration than would ever be told. During those four years, world trade shrank and trade barriers rose,

figures of unemployment mounted and production slowed down. In some mysterious, inexplicable way it even became profitable to destroy a part of the none too abundant stock of world's wealth. One would have thought that those hard years would drive the leaders of people all over the world to take common counsel and evolve a common line of action to pull humanity out of the morass. But that was not to be. There was instead a blind pursuit of the parochial self-interest, an unseemly *saute qui peut*. The Monetary and Economic Conference held in London in the middle of 1933 was probably the last opportunity and the last attempt of the nations to find a basis for economic co-operation and lay the foundations for enduring prosperity. The opportunity was missed. Things were allowed to drift. Nations went their own way though not exactly in different directions. A measure of co-operation was still found possible and even helpful to national efforts for recovery. And some recovery there no doubt was. Four dark years of depression were followed by four years of returning hope and strength. After that there was one year of transient boom. But it created no illusion; there was no jubilation. There were only apprehensions. The old economic order of the post-war world was approaching its end. Nations were feverishly arming themselves to give it the final, staggering death-blow. And the blow fell on a fine September morning in 1939.

The old economic order is now dead. We have seen it dying. In the loud boom of guns and shriek of bombs, its death-rattle has been heard. It is now gone never to return. It never deserved to live. All that is to be done now is to bury it deep and write on its grave the epitaph: "A wicked interloper in a war-weary world which gave neither peace nor happiness."

Nature hates emptiness. In place of the old, the outmoded and out-worn which it ruthlessly discards, it invites the new, the fresh and the young. A new economic order must replace the old and it must be brand-new to be of any use. It must not be the disinterred skeleton of the old clothed in a new style. In fact, it should have no resemblance to the old; no, not

even in its features. It must radiate a new hope and a new message to the war-maimed humanity, to the orphans and refugees, to the hungry, the despised and the downtrodden. It must be firmly rooted in the principles of equality, justice and liberty for all and every one.

Cynicism of age may well enter an emphatic protest against the repetition of these empty and high-sounding words—equality, justice, liberty. They have been spoken in the past and have lifted men's hearts to a new plane of hope. But in the end, their echoes have died down leaving behind a trail of disillusion and despair. Today men will have something more than mere principles and words. They want to see a clear outline of the shape of the post-war world so that in the hour of their severest trial they may be held up by the thought that even if they don't live to see it, they are helping to build a world better than the one they have known.

It is too early, some say, to attempt to visualise the shape of the post-war world. For them it is enough that men are hacking their way, ruthlessly and remorselessly, to victory. They are confident that men who can do this hacking will also know the way to build a post-war abode worthy of their ambitions and zeal. Their aim is victory, first and last. Such men frankly cannot be trusted. They speak with a mental reservation which betrays a narrow vision. They may be confronted with H. G. Wells's apt observation: "War without declared war aims is a sort of epilepsy."

For, consider for a moment what victory means. It means that the enemy lays down arms, the last shot has been fired and all fronts are quiet like the graveyard. Humanity heaves a sigh of relief. Men will fight no more; they must return to normal avocations of life. All weapons of warfare become useless for the moment and the industries that produced them must transform themselves with the quickest possible speed into instruments of peacetime production. Wounds inflicted by the war must be healed; devastated nations and areas must be rebuilt. Unwanted controls on consumption, prices, production, trade and employment must be removed. Standards of living that have touched the rock bottom levels must be raised. The structure of public finance must be re-adjusted and schemes framed to reduce bit by bit the heavy load of public debt. Above all, means must be found to draw all nations and peoples together into a great collaboration to restore the functioning of the economic machine—to set new parities for the currencies of the

world, to open up the channels of international trade and to find a new basis for economic relations.

These are only a few things that will have to be done; they indicate neither the magnitude nor the complexity of the task. But one thing is certain: there will be no time to gloat over victory. Victory will be only the turning point, the signal for a long and heavy trek in the reverse direction. If, therefore, men have prepared for victory alone and refused to brace themselves to the situation that victory will usher in, the hour of their victory will become also the hour of their greatest defeat.

The contours of the new economic order have to be drawn here and now; the task cannot be postponed. To leave it to the discretion of the statesmen and politicians will be to invite repetition of old mistakes and old disasters. Thoughtful men are already aware of the necessity of drawing the shape of the steel framework of new economic order that the politicians will not be able to break. There appears to be more discussion about post-war reconstruction now than there ever was during the last war. The initial reluctance to draw up the war aims seems to have been gradually overcome and besides the joint Anglo-American Declaration of the 14th August, 1941 (known as the Atlantic Charter) there are the speeches and pronouncements of several statesmen of allied nations. To these one has to turn to know what kind of economic future is promised to mankind.

These charters, declarations and pronouncements, one quickly discovers, are good enough in their own way, but they hardly stir the imagination. They promise something, hold back something and are silent as to the means by which the promise will be made good. Take, for instance, the four essential human freedoms laid down by President Roosevelt—freedom of speech and expression, religious freedom, freedom from want and freedom from fear. We are immediately concerned with freedom from want. What the people expect from their economic system in this direction may be given in the President's own words as:

"Jobs for those who can work. Security for those who need it. The ending of special privileges for the few. The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress for a wider and constantly rising standard of living."

Or take the five principles which Mr. Cordell Hull, the U. S. Secretary of State, thinks should serve as the basis of peace. These are the elimination of extreme nationalism expressing itself in excessive trade restrictions, non-discrimi-

nation in international commercial relations, equal access to raw material supplies, proper framing of international agreements regulating supply of commodities so as to protect the interests of consumers and an arrangement of international financial institutions to ensure smooth payment by processes of trade and harmonious economic development of all countries. Turn now to the eight principles of the Atlantic Charter. Omitting the first three which abjure every intention of territorial aggrandisement and promise liberty and self-determination for nations, the remaining five have some direct or indirect economic significance. The fourth promises access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world; the fifth relates to fullest international economic collaboration to secure improved labour standards, economic adjustments and social security; the sixth, to establishment of peace which assures freedom from fear and want; the seventh, to freedom of seas and the eighth, to disarmament of aggressor nations pending the establishment of a paramount system of general security. And take finally the recently concluded Anglo-Russian Treaty for 20 years' collaboration between the two nations, both for winning the war and 'for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe' after the establishment of peace. The collaboration for purposes of reconstruction after peace (according to Eden's statement in the House of Commons) will be on the basis of principles set out in the Atlantic Charter. These, then, are the representative ideals and dreams of a reconstructed world. The sentiment behind them is flawless, even tinged with unctuous virtue. But somehow they appear to be insipid and stale like old remedies set out in a new style. They fail to arouse the white-hot fervour of the spirit.

Plainly enough, the strategy of post-war economic reconstruction is yet to be planned. The old, discredited moves will never lead mankind to the promised land. Is it necessary to repeat that the world is much smaller than it was a hundred years back, thanks to the conquests of science, and that whether men wish it or not, they already form a family? Does it not appear strange that statesmen should still think in terms of the reconstruction of only Europe or of the collaboration of only some 'like-minded' nations? Surely, the first move

in the post-war reconstruction strategy should be that every nation and people is brought within the range of an all-embracing collaboration. There must at last be a world union of nations. In the second place, the talk of equal access to raw material supplies and of trade on equal terms must cease; for it is redolent of the old attitude of exploitation of the European nations towards the raw materials and markets of backward Asiatic countries. It may, therefore, be enunciated as a principle that economically backward areas of the world shall be rapidly developed for the benefit of their inhabitants and the necessary measures to secure this shall be taken. Consistently with such development, trade and production shall rest on the principle of division of labour and free exchange. The third move should be to break the power of entrenched privilege wherever and in whatever form it appears—whether as a monopoly, cartel or discriminatory trade treaty. This inevitably implies that the area of collective ownership and control of means of production and distribution will be widened. If these moves are successfully accomplished, the threat of war and with it the wasteful expenditure on armaments will of themselves largely disappear. Then may be drawn up a charter of man's economic rights—right to work, right to leisure and right to a decent wage.

This is no more than an outline. It may have about the haze of a dream. And events are seldom so tractable as to shape themselves after the pattern of a dream. Moreover, even for the partial fulfilment of such a dream one must postulate the victory of the United Nations. In the event of their defeat (*Absit omen!*), the New Economic Order of the Nazis and the Japanese will roll itself over Europe and Asia and a somewhat unfamiliar economic philosophy with extremely centralised control and direction as its keynote will rule the world. The economic prospect for mankind is not very bright either way, but if there is victory, men may perhaps be spared the pain and hardship of a novel and totally unfamiliar readjustment. A great deal of readjustment in economic affairs is, however, inescapable and it is time that all those post-war plans and schemes which represent nothing more than vested interests prowling about in the guise of intellectual conviction were known for what they are.

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER—THE GITA*

By SHRI SHANKARACHARYA (DR. KURTKOTI)

VARIED and various are the solutions that have been suggested for the numerous problems confronting the world at this critical point of time. Arguments have been adduced by or on behalf of their different protagonists to emphasize the correctness of their pet theories developed from their own analysis of the world situation. But none of them has been so far satisfying. Let us see how the Bhagavadgita views the self-same problems, how it envisages they should be dealt with and what solution it offers. For, the Gita is peculiarly and specifically a Crisis Book. It serves as a guide to victory in the epic war of the Mahabharata. Antecedent to the actual clash of arms, it marks the culmination of the intellectual conflict—the counterpart, if you like, of the war of nerves, but quite different from it—between the futility of non-resisting inaction and submission on the one hand, and the inevitableness of a struggle and ultimate equipoise on the other. The same drama as of today perhaps is enacted there:—rights denied—peaceful settlement spurned—violence and aggression increasingly triumphant—and the climax, a war to the finish resulting in the establishment of peace, but only subsequent to the triumph over the doubts, despair and despondency assailing the mind of the victor-to-be. And victory at last. In the terminology of war, the Gita was the Emergency Measure promulgated on the battle-field—the measure that helped and hastened the war to victory. Revealed on the battlefield and meant to revive and inspire the hesitant warrior it is yet the Book of Peace, for, it evolved tranquillity out of conflict, faith out of doubt, order out of chaos. Thus the Gita today fills the bill to the full.

The world, as we see at this juncture, looks complex and contradictory. There confronts us a bewildering array of ugly facts, a baffling series of misfortunes for the good and an unending succession of sordid phenomena so much so that we are prone to wonder if they at all permit of being analysed to arrive at the root cause. But a careful study would reveal that the world suffers from one and only one major

ailment and not from a myriad diseases. In the *cliche* of the present day it may be dubbed the Problem of Poverty—stark naked poverty of every kind on every plane of life. Scarcity of food, lack of work, want of understanding, absence of faith, starvation of the intellect, need of comradeship, dearth of compassion—and what not. And if satisfaction is rare, contentment is unknown. Poverty, then, is *the problem* in general affecting humanity as a whole and its entire field of activities, though one facet of the problem may be more acute here, another more obtrusive there and a third more persistent elsewhere on the earth. This circumstance only tends to make it more perplexing and apparently more difficult of solution so that it becomes what might well-nigh be called the *problem of problems*. And then every country, class, or clime, has its own problems—major and minor, immediate and ultimate, religious and political, social and economic.

If poverty be the main problem then the solution that suggests itself to reason is one for liquidating that poverty of mind and matter and means. That is to say, we should concentrate on achieving the opposite of Poverty, namely, Fulness or Abundance. So, poverty must be abolished and plenty made to take its place, scarcity should go and abundance come in its stead. But will that help solve completely and once for all the problem? No, emphatically no. For *poverty* is only the result of *plenty*. That is the paradox. They are the inevitable, ever-recurring sequence of each other—one the counter-part, or can we say the complement, of the other. If poverty is one end of the scale, fulness is the other. In terms of relative Time and Space where we have our being, abundance is nothing else than garnering at one and depleting at another. Accumulation of necessity implies that some others be denuded. And we know that soaring mountain peaks can only be measured in terms of pigmy foot-rule, familiar to human conception. Shallow waters only enable us to comprehend the unfathomed depth of seas. We do even reckon the immeasurable Eternal Time by the seconds. And as for the immortal Soul we seem to take cognisance of a birth as the only beginning and to be aware of death as the certain end.

As long as we fail to realise this funda-

* Being the summary of the concluding chapter from the author's forthcoming book, *Equality—A Study in the Bhagavadgita*.

mental paradoxical principle in life, so long will we fail to arrive at the correct solution of the Problem. That is why history bears ample testimony to the fact that human endeavour at reform or revolution has ultimately ended in failure. Reforms engendered reaction. Revolution brought in its wake counter-revolution. And in most cases the remedy proved worse than the disease. It seemed so perplexing that they called it the Law of Cycles and left it at that.

Religion was ostensibly meant to establish peace and goodwill, but in practice, too much of organised religions has been the one endless and unending source of strife and hatred amongst men, and the root-cause in keeping divided the human family. A Prophet asseverated the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, but has been found in effect to have left a legacy of warlust and vandalism and mischievous proselytisation. A Messiah chanted the Gospel of Love, but it was corrupted into supporting an Inquisition or a Star-chamber and has been now turned into a mercenary Message as an instrument of mass conversion. An Enlightened One preached the attainment of Peace, but practice has made it a soulless passivity of inaction. In spite of all the religious teachers, faith today is a faint name: fanaticism alone reigns supreme and passes for faith. Belief there is, but is a prelude to bigotry. There is prayer on the lips, but murder in the hearts.

Turning to the political field it is a case of confusion worse confounded. Monarchy once flourished, then floundered and now fades out. Still, many "kings" endure in all walks of life without the least tinge of kingliness. Democracies have been evolved but dictatorships have been consummated. Capitalism has led the way to communism. Political individualism has been swept away by succeeding waves of socialism. The so-called civilized Christian countries have accommodated themselves almost complaisantly to barbarous militarism. And the establishment of a League of Nations has been succeeded by innumerable undeclared wars of unchecked aggression. Lust for land and greed of wealth have become insatiable. Every power wants an empire and nobody is prepared to release an inch of land—other peoples' land—annexed by brutal force, conquered by treachery, taken by stealth or grabbed in other questionable manner. Empires have not changed their ways, but have taken up masks of differing names. They have used every artifice and

pretence to retain their possessions, if they could not add to them. The Empires' mere "possessions" slowly got transferred—in name only—into colonies, dependencies and more respectably "dominions" and latterly to the grandiose name of "commonwealth"—the one idea being that whatever happened, the imperial country should have its unshakable and unseverable hold on the "possessions." They want to maintain at any cost the *status quo*. The possessions also naturally want to possess some land at least their own, if not other peoples'. And thus the tug of war for freedom and self-determination goes on within the empires. And then great empires themselves fly at one another's throat—almost in a death struggle.

There is also chaos in the social and economic planes. While distances have been eliminated, neighbourliness has ceased to have much meaning. The hand of one man is readily raised against another. Increasing contact of the peoples of the world has only increased envy and hatred. Worse than the snarling and fighting denizens of the jungle have the men become transformed. Production has increased, means of production have multiplied, scores of new opportunities for work have been made available, communication and transportation have been made easy and cheap, more and more money has been put into circulation; and yet with all these improvements, facilities and advantages food is scarce, unemployment is rampant, free intercourse of peoples and goods has become impossible. Labour-saving devices give no rest to the toilers. Only famine, disease and death are easy, free and abundant.

Civilization boasts of taming cannibals who killed to feed, but preaches blood-lust and legalises slaughter of innocent human lives. Civilization boasts that slavery has been abolished, but keeps in bondage the vast majority of the human family and condemns them for life to unredeemed misery. Civilization boasts of *discovering* lands and countries that had existed for aeons upon aeons, and tries to encompass this wide expanse of God's good earth in imaginary border lines and frontier walls. Civilization boasts of having emerged out of the Stone Age and done with the cave man, but has *built* the slums that would make the cave dwellings flush with elation and encumbered man with death-dealing machines. Civilization is thus a mere name, only savagery persists. Such in brief is the state of our present day civilization which has become a

process for the rapid multiplication of human vanities and miseries instead of an attempt to help humanity live and thrive. To this extent, under the stress of modern civilization man becomes more dependent on external circumstances and has become a mere creature of Nature instead of realising that he has it in him to transcend her trammels.

These then are the signs of our times, such are our problems in general. There is one distinct feature in the world unrest, and that is the universal conflict of interests. It might take the form of a struggle against imperialist domination of one nation over another or it may take the form of resistance to one group lording it over another within the same nation. It may be the attempt of a suppressed culture and civilization for self-expression and growth, or it may be the revolt against the persecution of one race by another, whether it be the Jew in Christendom or the coloured "native" in Africa and America. It may manifest itself as the familiar struggle between the *haves* and *have-nots*. Thus broadly speaking we see political turmoil, cultural antagonism, racial conflict and economic clash—all in one form or another throughout the world.

From a bird's eye-view of the world situation in general it can be asserted, speaking relatively, that the West is responsible for the unrest and turmoil that is evident all over the globe. For, she has made herself the mistress of the earth enslaving the natives and suppressing their culture. Time has come to be computed according to her calculations, culture and civilization have come to be measured according to her standards and life and labour have come to be shaped according to her behests. Currency and exchange are manipulated to suit her interests, trade and commerce are carried on for her sole advantage and political and economic "developments" engineered for her benefit. Thus the West has become dominant throughout the world. Yet there is no satiation for her lust for power. The greedy countries of the West are now again in a death grapple of inhuman war—to determine or demonstrate their own individual superiority of brute force. God fulfils himself in many ways, we witness today in this terrible spectacle of war-torn and bloody Europe whose "empire countries" are fighting one another to "save" or "secure" empires.

. It was these super-Christian countries that perpetrated the "discoveries," that is, stealing

other people's lands and despoiling the little happy coloured children of God—the black, the brown, the yellow and the red inhabitants of the Earth. It was their civilisation that perfected the art of brigandage as a political testament and spread slavery and economic exploitation throughout the world. Beginning with the Christian "visitations" centuries ago, the tragic tale of pillage and plunder has not yet ended. Even when hidden across the wide seas, behind barriers of high mountains and kept far from the preying eyes of these Christian Powers, the happy lands of Earth could not continue their isolation and peaceful life. They could not escape the European Empire-builders. And today the cycle of Karma has come its round and European countries are expiating their past deeds of robbing the freedom of others. Karma is taking a heavy toll. Out of all this deluge of death, a new and better Europe and world will emerge which may recompense for all that is past and gone. The White Man's burden will have vanished—will have evaporated. There will be no colonies—only peoples' homes; there will be no empires—only human families; there will be no "haves" and "have-nots"—none will grab but all will equally possess. There will be only natives of the world and none will be a non-native, unless he be a visitor from another planet.

How then to achieve this universal peace and amity, how to bring about this equitable state of affairs? These are the questions that are exercising the minds of thoughtful leaders of many countries. They are also formulating their schemes for a new world order meant to establish concord, engender goodwill and sustain a commonwealth of the earth. Let us see how the Gita helps us in this task.

As has been pointed out, the Gita is a byproduct of a war, the biggest of those times perhaps—a war to end wars then as at present. Sri Krishna here demonstrated to Arjuna the futility of his supposedly benevolent action, the extreme of *inaction* against the other extreme of *aggression*, and urged him to view things in their proper perspective and not to lose his sense of proportion, his sense of equanimity. This, Sri Krishna called *Samatva* (समत्व) and declared it as the basis of life.

Samatva is a Sanskrit word not easily translated. It means equality—not envisaged as an ideal but asseverated as an ideology and as the correct ideology of creation as well as of human endeavour. *Samatva* connotes the subtlest abstract as well as the most concrete quality

of equability, equanimity, equilibrium and equality. Samatva is the explanation of creation as it were: it is also the process of evolution, the basis of the universe: the summum bonum of Existence. Samatva of mind, Samatva of means, Samatva of purpose: equanimity of temper, equipoise of attitude, equilibrium in daily life and equality in society—the one as necessary as the other to achieve the equability of spiritual perfection and to realise the truth of creation which is equity. Samatva is almost a prefix connoting the “equi-ness” in all planes of life. It is a substantive, literally meaning equality that predicates the entire nature of the universe in creation, in evolution and in absolution. It is not only a mere mental postulate or a metaphysical abstraction. It is and it must be understood to be a concrete reality, a physical possibility and an everyday phenomenon. It is both subjective and objective. This is the refrain of the Gita and it is this message that has a direct bearing on the present conflict and unrest and tension. It is this aspect of the Gita that will help us to rebuild for ourselves a world from which will have been swept away all the terror of the horrible contrast of Plenty and Poverty, of science and ignorance, of culture and barbarity and of faith and fickleness. It is only through this Samatva that we can hope to establish and attain to enduring peace in the world.

Sri Krishna after propounding the Ideal of Samatva as the basis, the being and the becoming of all Existence, unfolded to Arjuna how he could realise the great truth, attain to

that Knowledge and experience that Bliss. The discourse embraces all strata of creation and all planes of consciousness—from the dormant mundane being to divine creatures of higher spheres, from puerile ignorance to conscious realisation.

Sri Krishna first dwells on the fundamental reality of the great experiment of Creation, the great Symphony of Existence, the need for all that are, the use of all that be, the seemingly inextricable conglomeration, the complexity, the diversity and the conflicting variety;—but all ultimately resolving into one single, simple, harmonious, undivided Entity. He then explains the relative values in life—the grades in attainment and the planes in the evolution—so that Arjuna may understand beyond the shadow of doubt true from false, may be able to differentiate good from evil and so strive to attain the Eternal instead of the ephemeral. The Lord disabuses the latter's mind of many false notions and finally unfolds his plan to achieve perfection.

Let us also follow the same course. Because the Gita was a personal advice to a certain individual at a particular period of time, it cannot be argued that the world problems were and are beyond its scope. It does not need much stretch of imagination to conceive of Arjuna as symbolising mankind, for his other name was Nara, man. So there is scriptural sanction for taking the Gita not as a mere talk to Arjuna, but an object-lesson to all humanity throughout eternity. Therefore, the ideal life taught to him may be looked upon as the ideal existence and the way of living prescribed to him may be regarded as the Path of Progress destined for all.

HOW INDIA CAN GROW MORE FOOD?

Lessons from Japan and China

By CHAMAN LAL,

Author, “Hindu America”

TWENTY years ago the late Deshbandhu Das appealed to the Congressmen assembled at Gaya to go back to the villages and put new life into them by improving their economy, health and general conditions, but the Congress could not translate that appeal into practice.*

* Rabindranath Tagore had insisted on such constructive work some decades earlier and set an example in his Estate and at Sriniketan, Surul.—Ed., M. R.

Ten years later Gandhiji raised the slogan of “Back to the Village” and he was partially successful in arousing the conscience of the country. The Congress governments during their short regime adopted some relief measures to help the villagers but it is the present war that brought home to us the real significance of the village. It is our food-giver. If we want to exist, we must see that the villages remain

functioning, that they produce more and more food, that they meet the war scarcity. The security of the village is no doubt a great problem in the present emergency, but the main problem is of food. As a villager and student of agriculture I beg to offer the following practical suggestions :

I. AGRICULTURAL ADVISERS

Training of at least one hundred thousand agricultural advisers is necessary. India is a land of seven hundred thousand villages. One such agricultural adviser (a peasant with six months' training in essential agricultural reforms) should take charge of seven villages. Let us make a beginning with at least ten thousand trained workers from among the village people and the educated unemployed who want to serve the country and serve themselves. Let us follow the plan of the training of workers in China. I can give details, space permitting.

II. MASS PRODUCTION OF FERTILISERS

Manufacture of fertilisers on mass scale is necessary. If our agricultural advisers and research scholars are honest they should immediately bring out schemes of mass production of fertilisers. The Showa Fertiliser factory near Bokohma produces the cheapest fertilisers in the world, but being in alliance with the Imperial Chemicals (a British concern) it was not, until recently, allowed to sell its produce in India so that the British concern might reap huge profits. Monopolies must go and the State should run such essential industries.

III. PRESERVING THE NIGHT-SOIL

We should introduce the manure preservation system prevalent in Japan and carry on a crusade against burning of animal manure, such as cow-dung. We have long been lamenting the waste of human night-soil and animal dung so essential for enriching the soil. Unless we follow the Japanese system of the preservation of night-soil we shall not be able to derive valuable manures from this source. In spite of Japan having become the most modern country in Asia, she faithfully clings to the old practice of preserving the night-soil in the dwelling houses in towns and in the fields in the villages. When I took a house in Tokyo I wrote to the Municipality to send me a sweeper twice daily to clean the closet. This request shocked the officer-in-charge who wrote back saying that as a special favour he was prepared to send me a sweeper every tenth day although regular collection of night-soil from homes was made only once a month. Every home is provided with

some disinfectant which is used twice daily to destroy the smell and the night-soil is preserved in a deep pit until the sweeper comes on his round with a clean wooden container (not the open buckets as used in India). The containers are loaded on carts and sometimes on animals. They used to be carried by sweepers too, but the practice has been abandoned. How I wish the sweepers in India could be provided with the same facilities. I asked an official in Tokyo, "Why don't you flush the entire night-soil into the sea?" He retorted, "That would be waste. We throw nothing away. It is worth a great deal." The peasant realises the value of night-soil so much that notice-boards hung up on the road-side invite passers-by to use his field-lavatory for his benefit.

IV. Every village should have a peasants' club (Chaupal) and a small library containing vernacular books on how to improve their economic condition by following improved agricultural methods.

V. Village school teachers (one from each school) should compulsorily be made to learn a course in agriculture to be able to advise peasants about improved and paying methods.

VI. Every village should, as far as water supply and rainfall permit, have a fuel wood forest of its own and put an end to the practice of burning valuable manure for fuel.

VII. Every village must revive the old system of preserving and maintaining pasture-grounds for the village cattle.

VIII. A panchayat (community) dairy should be established in every village to provide milk to all children and especially the sick and the poor.

Co-operative dairies for supplying milk to neighbouring towns and cities should be opened in every circle of ten villages.

IX. Modern agricultural hand machinery should be manufactured in villages. I have seen most inexpensive machinery used in Japan for sowing, weeding, cutting and thrashing of crops. Some of the machines are worked by foot and cost hardly seven to ten rupees each. Especially the machines for cutting and thrashing save a lot of time and are easy to work. I worked them personally when I spent a few months in a village in Japan.

X. The system of increasing space for crops by raising bamboo or sarkanda structures which help growth of plants should be introduced.

XI. The wastage of land should be reduced by shortening the width of village roads which usually take a lot of space.

XII. WANTED MORE CROPS

The number of crops should be increased. Both Japan and China are reputed for growing much more crop per acre than we in India do. I have seen how intelligent and hard-working the peasants of Japan and China are and how they make every inch of land pay. Two crops of rice are commonly grown each year in southern China and during the winter and early spring, grain, cabbage, peas, beans and ginger may occupy the fields as a third or even fourth crop, making the total year's product from the land very large. The amount of thought, labour and fertilizers spent to secure this increase is even greater and beyond anything our farmers can dream of.

XIII. Fishing is an industry which brings millions of rupees to Japan. Japan has been exporting fish all over the world. I met Japanese fishermen in Mexico, Hollywood, Honolulu, Singapore, Colombo and Manila. They have made it a very paying industry. In China fish culture is a great village industry. Fish culture is practised in both deep and shallow basins, the deep permanent ones yielding a rent as high as a hundred rupees per acre. The shallow basins which can be drained in the dry season are used for fish during the rainy period only, being later drained and used for planting some crop. The permanent basins have often come to be ten or twelve feet deep, gaining in depth with long usage, for they are practically drained by pumping, and a foot or two of mud which has accumulated, removed and sold as fertilizer to planters of rice and other crops. India can develop this industry in all those areas where water supply and rainfall are abundant. India's huge water fronts provide a large field for fish industry run on co-operative lines.

XIV. The Sea Weed industry of Japan offers not only a great solution of the food problem but enables Japan to earn quite a few millions from various by-products. We can also introduce this industry in our villages on the coast.

MAKING THE VILLAGE SELF-SUPPORTING

I suggest the following experimental measures to make the village self-supporting and even prosperous.

1. Every yard of cloth required for the village should be manufactured in the village

itself. Dealers of cloth should be asked to secure supplies from the village alone.

2. Every village should try to grow enough food for its inhabitants and only the surplus should be sold. The village panchayat, the co-operative society or the village bania (if there is no panchayat or society) should be persuaded to stock the grain for the use of the village.

3. No cloth, white sugar and foreign toys should be imported into the village. The banias and the villagers should give pledge to that effect.

4. Camphor wood culture. To produce camphor in India is not difficult since our climate is suitable. Until recently Formosa has been supplying most of the camphor. It had a virtual monopoly.

5. Mushroom culture. Japan exports mushrooms worth millions to Europe and America. It is so easy to grow mushrooms in dark rooms or in the pine forests. Mushrooms are more delicious than meat and first class mushrooms (Dhingri from Peshawar) cost from four to six rupees per seer.

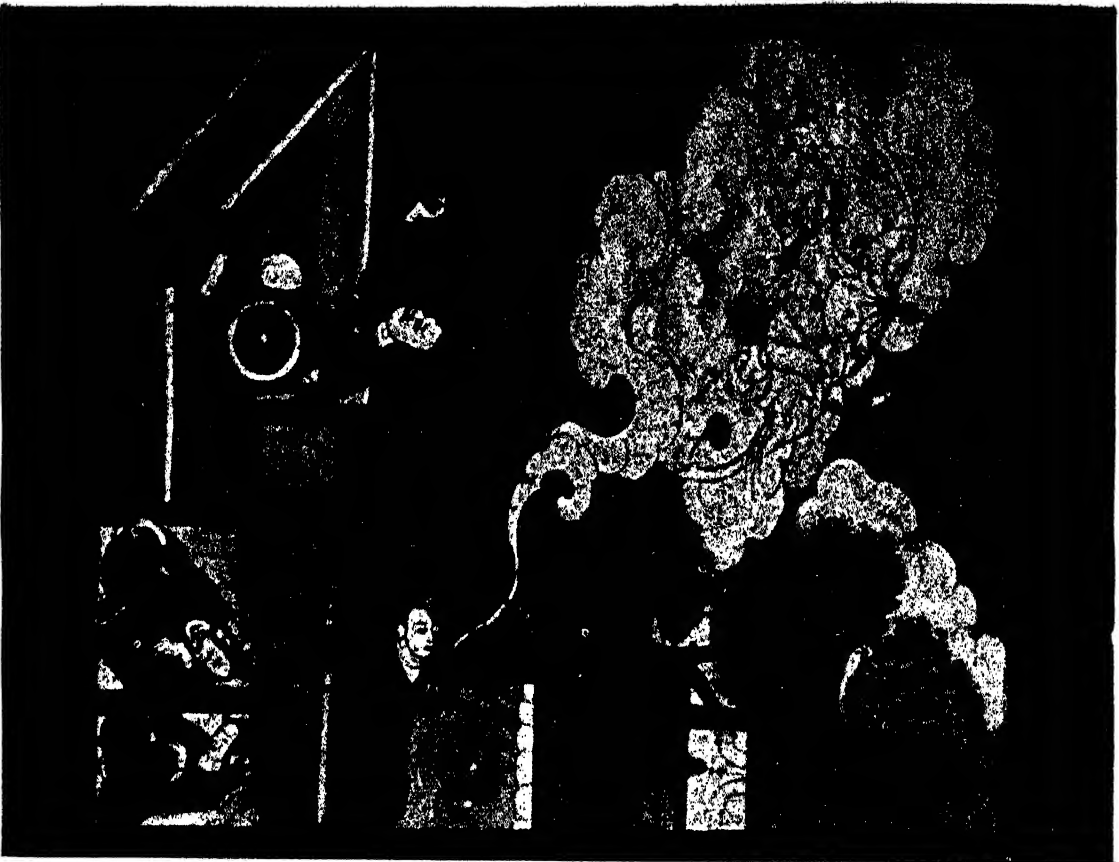
6. Fruit culture and manufacture of jams, pickles, chutney and dry vegetables. Dry turnips, carrots, eggplants, cauliflowers, etc., fetch very good prices and jams and pickles can find a ready market.

7. A central organisation for herb collection and utilisation should be formed with its branches in the areas where herbs are in abundance and this organisation should guide the villagers to cultivate more valuable herbs and pay them their full share by manufacture of medicines from those herbs, which were in the past exported abroad at a very low price. A list of such valuable herbs can be supplied to the readers.

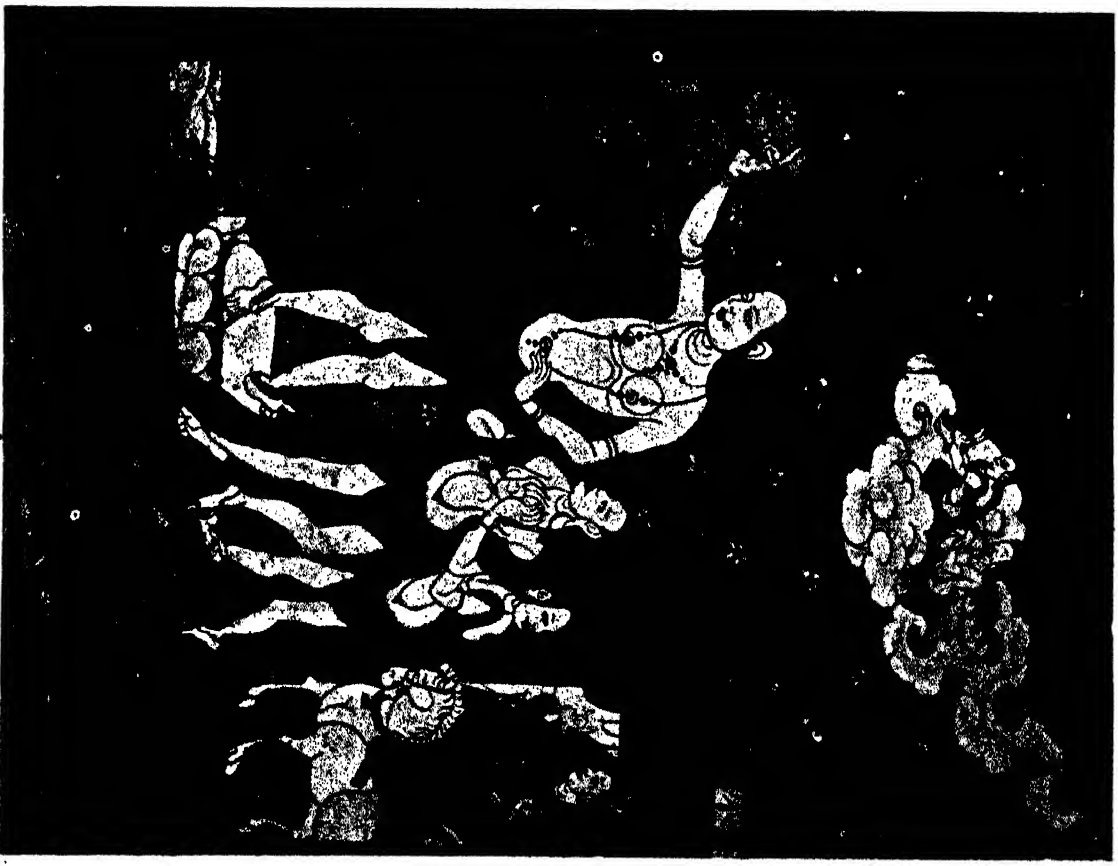
8. To grow Asparagus a valuable nourishing and delicious food imported from abroad. The demand will be tremendous and I have seen in California how abundantly vigorous is the growth of the plant like Aladin's lamp.

The list can be added to according to the possibilities in different localities.

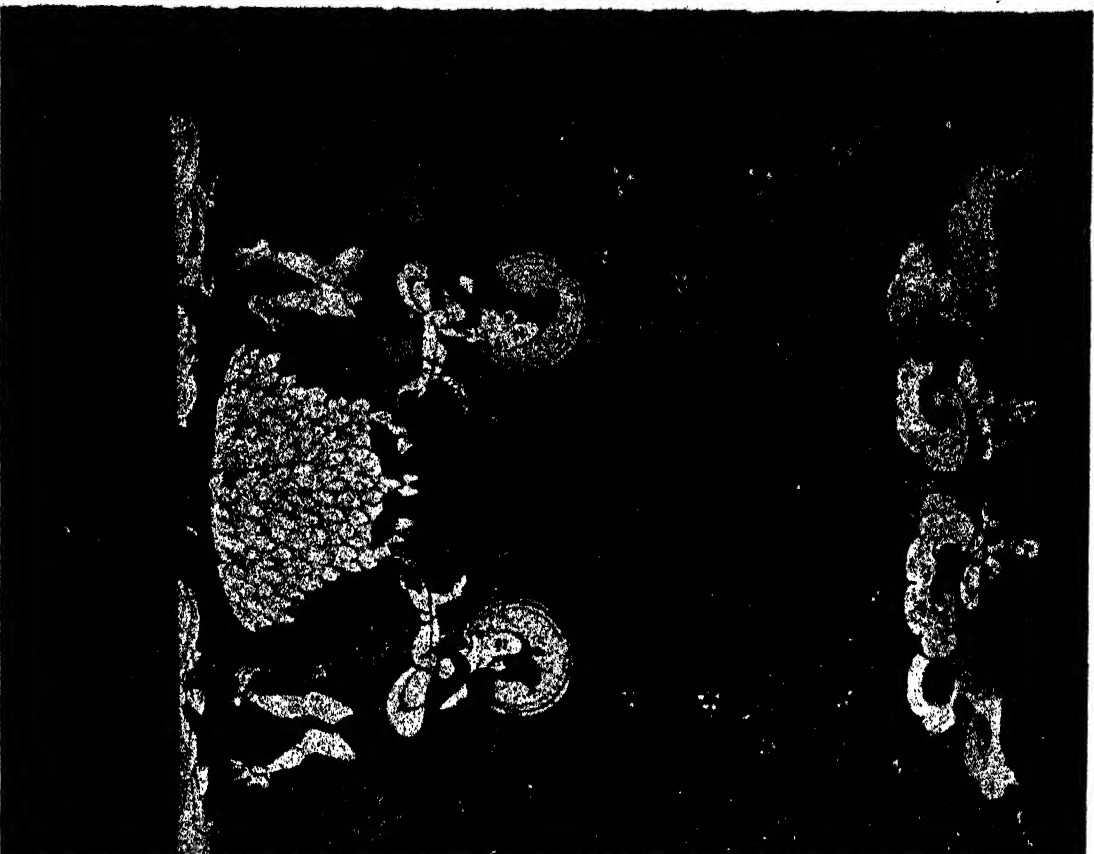
Delhi, 26th June, 1942



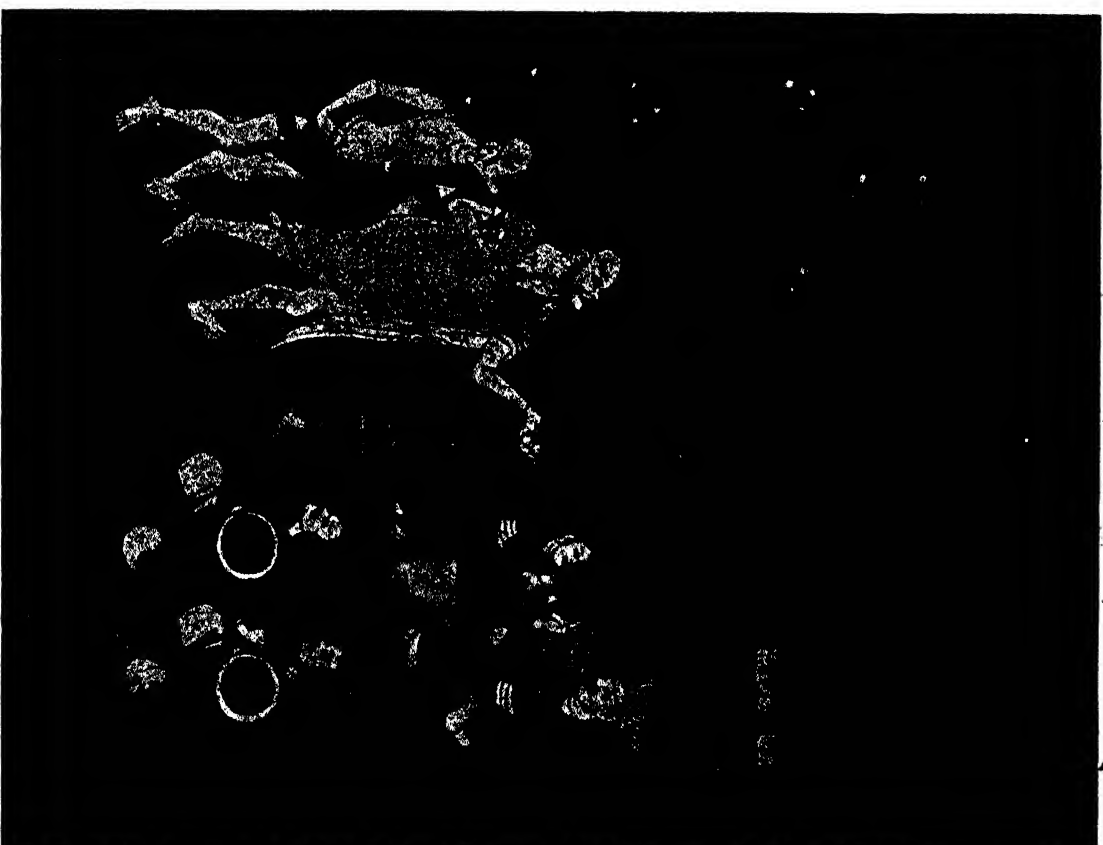
Conception of Maya (Plate 1)



Birth of Siddhartha Gautama. He is coming out of his mother's right side. Brahma receiving him in a golden net. Maya holding the branches of a tree (Plate 2)



At the birth of every Buddha, there fell on his head a stream of cold water and one of warm, which washed him (Plate 3)



Hermit Asita's prophecy. He is holding the baby Siddhartha on his palm (Plate 4)

BUDDHA AND EVOLUTION OF BUDDHISM

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

THE founder of Buddhism was a historical person, living in the 6th century B.C. His father, Suddhodana, was the King of the Sakyas, whose capital, Kapilavastu, was situated on the border of Nepal. The Buddha bore the names of Siddhartha Gautama, the latter being that of his family. "Buddha" ("Enlightened") is a title; the tradition is clear that Siddhartha is only one of a long series of Buddhas. Of his other titles the most familiar are *Sakyanuni* ("Sage of the Sakya"), *Sakyasimha* ("Lion of the Sakyas"), *Tathagata* ("He who has come and gone" like his predecessors), and *Bhagavat* ("Blessed One").

The tradition declares that this great being, destined for Buddhahood, had performed countless meritorious acts in over 500 previous existences as bird, beast, man and god, and that he was at the time of the marriage of his parents existing in the *Tusita Heaven*.

BIRTH, EARLY LIFE AND MARRIAGE

The Bodhisattva ("He whose essence is enlightenment"), as he and all other Buddhas Elect are called, chose Maya, the wife of King Suddhodana, as his mother, and passed into her right side in the form of a white elephant while she slept (Plate 1). At the end of ten months Queen Maya, feeling that her time had come, asked her husband's permission to return as was customary, to her father's house. On the way she gave birth to her child in the Lumbini grove, while she clung to the branches of a sal-tree. The babe issued from his mother's right side, in the presence of the gods, Indra and Brahma, the former receiving him in a golden net (Plate 2).

At the time of Siddhartha's birth there was dwelling in the Himalayas an aged hermit, Asita, who at once flew through the air to the royal palace at Kapilavastu. Here he took the child in his arms (Plate 4), and prophesied that he would become either a universal monarch or, having renounced the world and all its glory, "a fully enlightened Buddha." Seven days after the birth of her son Maya died and was reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. Her sister,

Mahaprajapati, became Siddhartha's foster-mother.

Miracles attended the Bodhisattva even in his infancy. During a ploughing festival the curiosity of his nurses induced them to leave the child under a jambu-tree. At last, fearing lest the shifting of the shadow cast by the tree should expose him to the heat of the sun, they hastened back, but found, to their astonishment, that the shadow had not moved. At school the precocity of Siddhartha astonished his master, who discovered that the boy knew more systems of writing than he (Plate 5).

The occasion of the future Buddha's first meditation on the misery inherent in all life was a ploughing festival to which his father took him. The ploughing oxen and their drivers were for him the embodiment of suffering. Fearing lest Asita's prophecy of Siddhartha's renunciation of the world should come true, Suddhodana sought for him the hand of Yasodhara, the daughter of a neighbouring king. Custom demanded that the young prince should first shew his skill in contests of archery, swimming and other sports. He easily defeated all his rivals, and the marriage was performed (Plate 6).

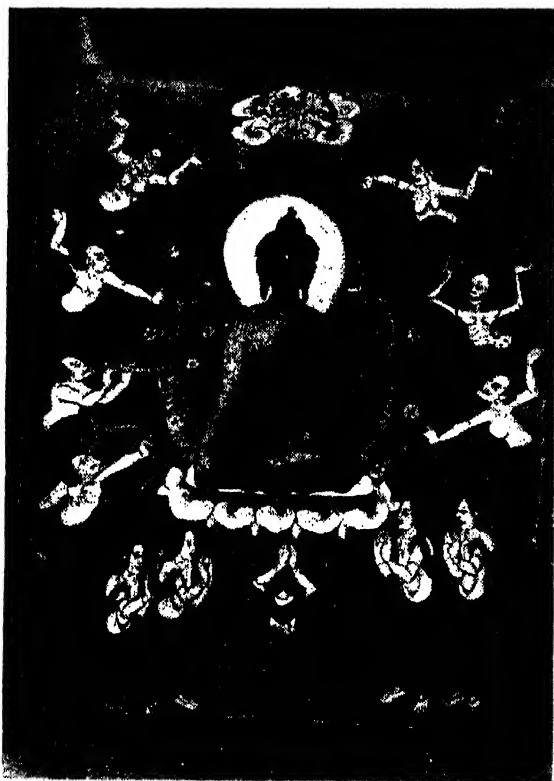
Suddhodana did his best to surround Siddhartha with every delight, and gave orders that no distressing sights or sounds should intrude upon him. The Bodhisattva's life was spent within the grounds of his palace. It was with great difficulty that he four times persuaded his father to permit him to drive through the city of Kapilavastu. Each time a god presented himself to the Prince, first in the form of an old man, then as a sick man (Plate 7), then as a corpse being carried to the funeral pyre, and lastly as a holy ascetic (Plate 8). These apparitions once more revealed to the Bodhisattva the tragedy and futility of life.

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION

Siddhartha now determined to abandon his heritage and to devote himself to solving the riddle of universal pain and death. He therefore ordered Channa, his charioteer, to saddle his horse, Kanthaka, and rode away from the

palace at night, leaving his wife and son asleep (Plate 9). Gods upheld the hooves of his horse, lest the inhabitants of the town should awake and thwart his purpose (Plate 10). Outside Kapilavastu, Siddhartha met a huntsman with whom he exchanged his garments. He then cut off his hair (Plate 11), the relics being reverently received by kneeling gods.

The Bodhisattva spent many years at the feet of one teacher after another, questioning them as to how man could escape from "the wheel of rebirth" and gain eternal peace. But



Assaults of Mara (Plate 13)

none of them satisfied him. For years he practised frightful austerities, only to realise that self-torture was not the way to truth. He therefore returned to a more normal life and was, in consequence, abandoned by the five ascetics who had joined him as disciples.

ENLIGHTENMENT

One day as the Bodhisattva sat meditating, Sujata, the daughter of the chief of a neighbouring village, offered him some rice-milk, thinking that he was a god. After bathing in the Nairanjana river he seated himself under a fig tree (the Bodhi Tree). Here he suffered the assaults of Mara, the Buddhist Power of

Darkness and ruler of sensuous beings, who surrounded him with a host of armed devils and sent his daughters to seduce him. Touching the ground with his right hand (the attitude in which he is commonly portrayed) the Bodhisattva called on the Earth Goddess to vindicate him (Plate 13), and Mara's army was put to rout by an earthquake.

Deep and steadfast meditation under the Bodhi tree brought the Bodhisattva his reward. He was able to penetrate into the heart of reality and felt the bonds snap that bound him to recurrent birth and death with all their inherent misery. He had attained enlightenment and was now the Buddha (Plate 15).

THE FIRST SERMON

He first preached the Doctrine to the five ascetics who had forsaken him. This first sermon, which was spoken in the Deer Park at Sarnath, near Benares, is known as "*The Turning of the Wheel of the Doctrine*." Its theme was sorrow, its cause and cessation, the "Noble Eightfold Path" of self-discipline, compassion for all living creatures, and meditation, whose goal is *Nirvana*, deathless peace.

MIRACLES AND CONVERSIONS

For forty years the Buddha remained among men and gained a large number of disciples. The prince who had renounced the world returned to Kapilavastu and converted his father, his wife Yasodhara and his son Rahula. He was persuaded to permit his foster-mother, Mahaprajapati, to form an order of nuns. He performed many miracles. At Uruvilva, he caused a great serpent, which dwelt in the fire-temple, to creep submissively into his alms-bowl, and at Rajagriha he subdued the black snake. At the latter place he also tamed a drunken elephant, which his wicked disciple, Devadatta, had sent to kill him. He ascended to the *Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods* to preach to his mother, Maya, and descended in the company of the gods, Indra and Brahma. On one occasion a monkey and an elephant brought him offerings. He fed five hundred persons with the remnants of the food in his alms-bowl. He was able to fly through the air and to walk on the waters. His most famous miracle took place at Sravasti, where he converted King Prasenajit and six heretics by causing fire to issue from his head and water from his feet, and by multiplying his form in every direction.

His many converts included Bimbisara, the

King of Magadha (Bihar); Anathapindada, a rich merchant who purchased the site for a Buddhist monastery by covering the ground with ten million gold pieces; a courtesan, Amrapali, who surrendered her house for the use of the Buddha and his monks; a ferocious robber, Angulimala, who specialised in chopping off fingers; and Hariti, a cannibal she-demon, the mother of five hundred sons, who now figures in Buddhist mythology as the protector of small children.

DEATH

Death came to the great teacher when he was eighty years of age. He expired at Kusinagara between two sal-trees, amid the lamentations of his followers. The Buddha's last words to his favourite Ananda were: "Seek no other refuge than yourselves Decay is inherent in all component things. Be diligent about your own salvation..."

WORSHIP OF RELICS

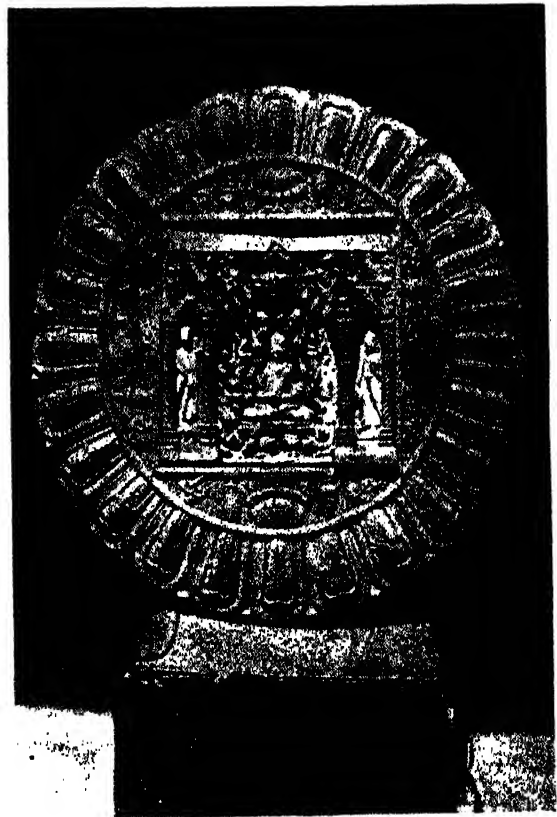
The corpse was placed in an oil-filled iron case, from which it was moved for cremation. Eight nations of India (including the Sakyas, the Mallas, the Licchavis and the Koliyas) fought for the possession of the ashes, until a Brahman named Drona persuaded them to divide the sacred relics into eight parts. The tradition is that these were originally enshrined beneath brick mounds (stupas) at eight places in North-East India, but that later they were re-distributed. Stupas were erected at various times over a wide area of India. "The Stupa of Kanishka" at Shah-ji-ki-dheri, near Peshwar, which was excavated in 1909, contained a casket in which were three calcined bones. This stupa has been credited for nearly 2,000 years with possessing relics of the Blessed One.

Buddhism, or the Dharma ("Doctrine"), is still the religion of most of the inhabitants of Ceylon, Burma and Siam, who, on the whole, profess the more primitive form of it known as the Theravada ("Way of the Elders"). The Buddhism that flourishes in Tibet, Mongolia and Bhutan, and largely among the peoples of China, Korea and Japan, varies in many respects from the Theravada, and is named by its adherents the Mahayana ("Great Vehicle"), while to the Theravada they give the title of Hinayana ("Little Vehicle").

THE THERAVADA OR HINAYANA

Primitive Buddhism was an ethical philosophy rather than a religion. The existence of

the Hindu gods was admitted; but the universe was regarded, not as the work of a Creator, but as the embodiment of the innumerable good and bad actions of myriads of beings, whose first beginnings are untraceable. Gods are no less subject to cosmic law than men and animals, and every individual must undergo a long series of rebirths (symbolised as a wheel), his condition in each life being the fruit of his actions (Karma) in the life that immediately preceded it. "All is fleeting, sorrowful and unsubstantial."



Assaults of Mara. A miniature ivory carving (Plate 14)

The driving forces of rebirth are desire, hatred and ignorance, and their extinction demands the steadfast practice of self-control, compassion for all suffering creatures, and deep meditation ("The Noble Eight-fold Path"). Self is the last illusion, which must be overcome in order to experience Nirvana—a state of perfect peace, beyond life and death, in which the seeds of rebirth can find no soil. To attain thereto, each one must rely on himself alone. Buddhas are but teachers who have first trodden the way. The founder of Buddhism, Siddhartha Gautama, formed an order of mendicants (the Sangha), whose duty was to seek Nirvana for

themselves and to proclaim the Dharma ("Doctrine").

According to the Hinayana there are three classes of candidates for Nirvana—(1) a Pratyekabuddha ("Independent Buddha"), who gains enlightenment by and for himself alone; (2) a Sammasambuddha ("Highest Buddha"), such as Siddhartha, who, having become enlightened, brings others by his teaching to the goal; and (3) an Arhat ("Worthy" or "Noble"), who only attains Nirvana after instruction from a Sammasambuddha. Arhatship is all that most men can aim at.



Buddha. Repousse work. Gilt Copper (Plate 15)

THE MAHAYANA

The Mahayanists substituted for the ideal of the Arhat that of the Bodhisattva. The status of Bodhisattva ("He whose essence is enlightenment") was that of Siddhartha in his last life before he became a Buddha. Only a Buddha can have been a Bodhisattva, and to few men, said the Theravadins, is it given to become a Buddha. This was denied by the Mahayanists. They condemned the ideal of Arhatship as selfish and exhorted all to aspire to Buddhahood. A Buddha, however, who has shuffled off the coils of space and time, is unable

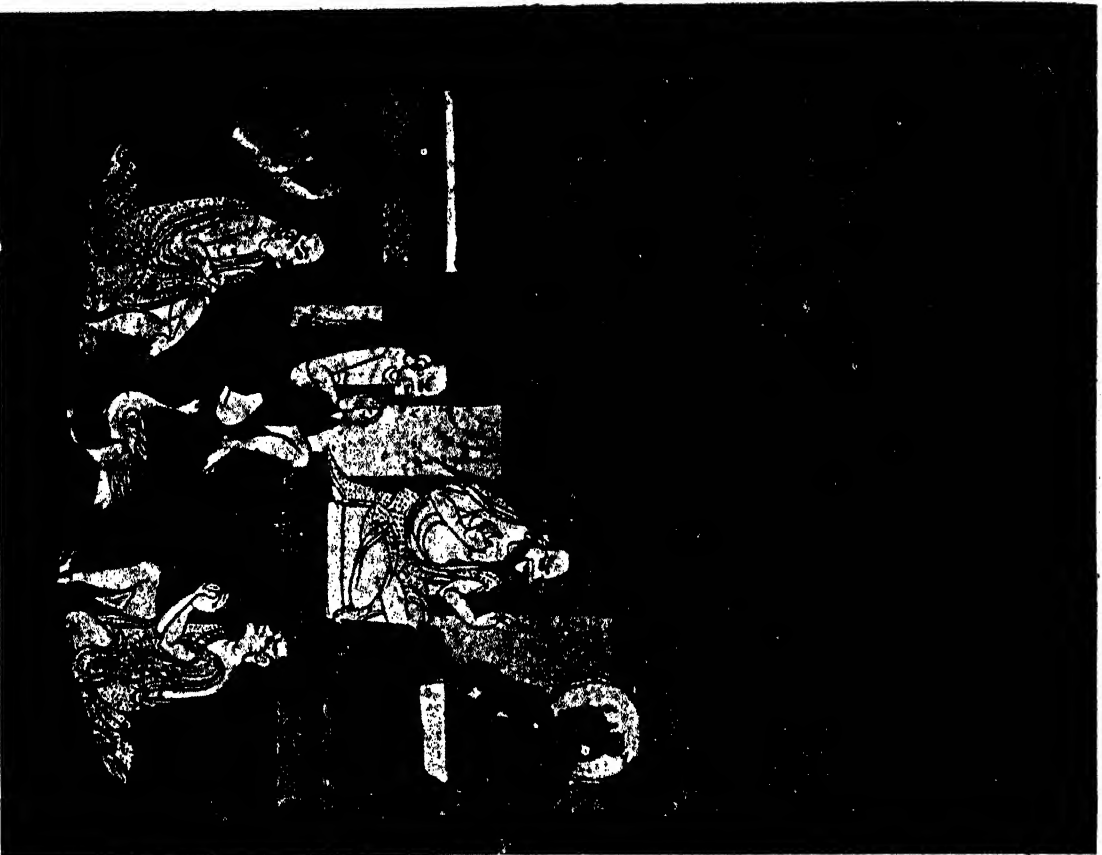
to help the suffering world. In fulfilment of the vow of universal redemption, which they have taken, innumerable Bodhisattvas have postponed the attainment of Nirvana, in order to share and alleviate the misery of creatures. The fertile imagination of the Mahayanists peopled the universe with such beings, both male and female. They further taught that the good deeds of these saviours create a sort of "treasury of merit" for the less spiritually advanced.

As Bodhisattvas were multiplied so were Buddhas, and the basic idea of a Buddha underwent a radical change. Originally a Buddha was a man who by his own efforts had gained enlightenment. But within a comparatively short time after the death of Siddhartha he had come to be regarded as altogether supernatural, and was credited with infinite power and knowledge. In the Mahayana there was evolved the mystical doctrine of the Trikaya ("Three Bodies"), the Dharmakaya ("Body of the Doctrine"), the Sambhogakaya ("Body of Bliss"), and the Nirmanakaya ("Body of Transformation"). The first is the Buddha's ultimate essence as the ground of all reality, the second his glorified manifestation to the Bodhisattvas in the Tusita Heaven, and the third his appearance on earth. Only the first of the Kayas is real; the other two are merely the illusionary reflexes of the Dharmakaya. Of the two chief Mahayanist schools, the Vijnavadins name the Dharmakaya "Suchness" (Bhutatathata), the unthinkable Absolute, while for the Sunyavadins it is the "Void" (Sunya), not nothing but no thing.

The idea of the Trikaya seems to be mythically reflected in a triple hierarchy of sacred beings, which is found in most of the Mahayanist systems. This hierarchy consists of five Dhyani ("Meditation") Buddhas with five Dhyani Bodhisattvas emanating from them, and with a further emanation of five Manushi (Human) Buddhas. Amitabha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise, is the fourth of the Dhyani Buddhas, and his reflexes are the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (incarnate in the Dalai Lama of Lhasa) and the Historic Buddha. Maitreya, the "Loving One," Siddhartha's successor, is the reflex of Amoghasiddhi.

At a still later stage in the evolution of the Mahayana a primordial Buddha (Adi Buddha), described as "Self-born" (Svayambhu), was imagined to have produced the five Dhyani Buddhas by mystic Meditation.

Indian Tantricism infected profound



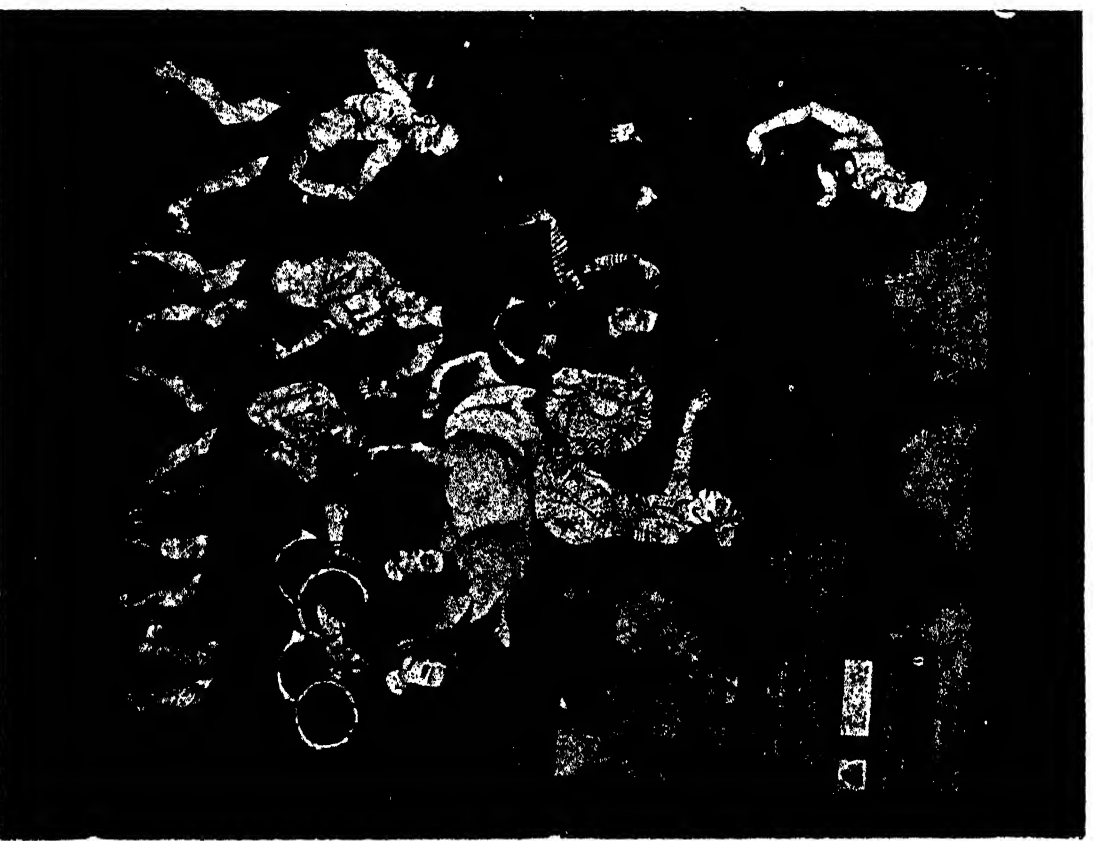
Siddhartha in his school (Plate 5)



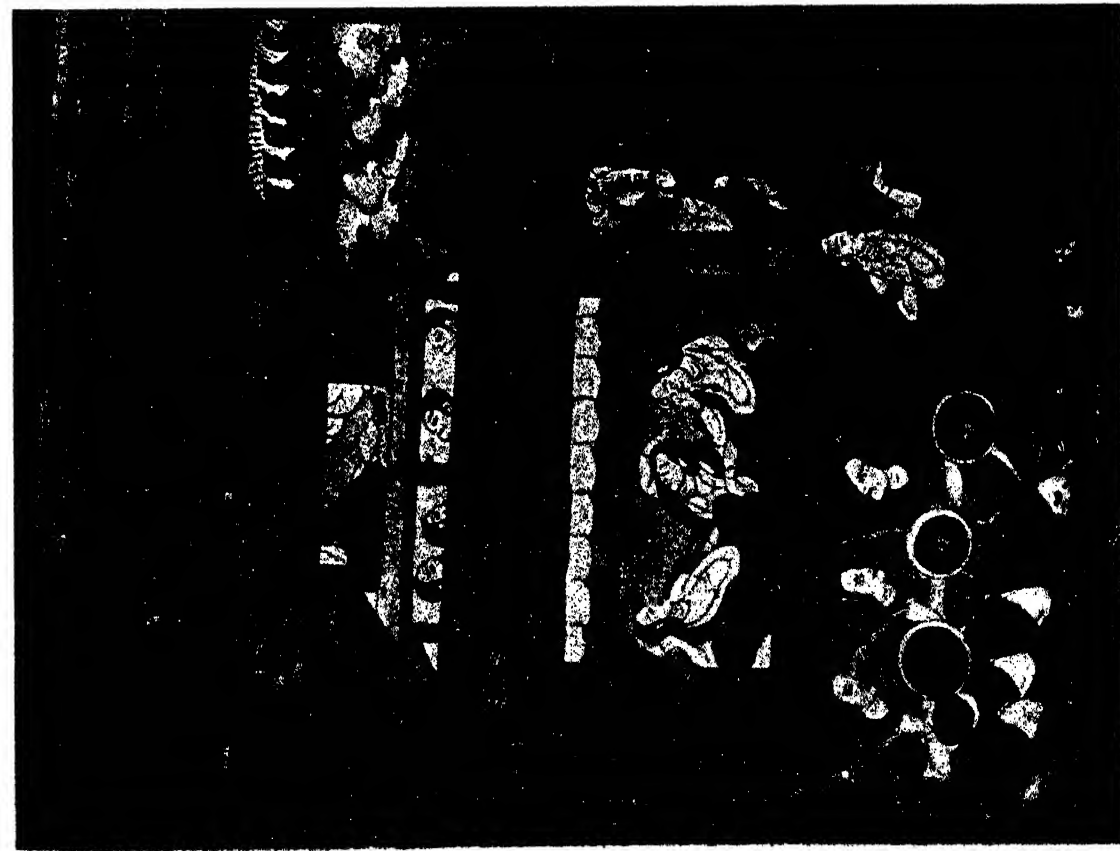
Siddhartha contesting his rivals before marriage (Plate 6)



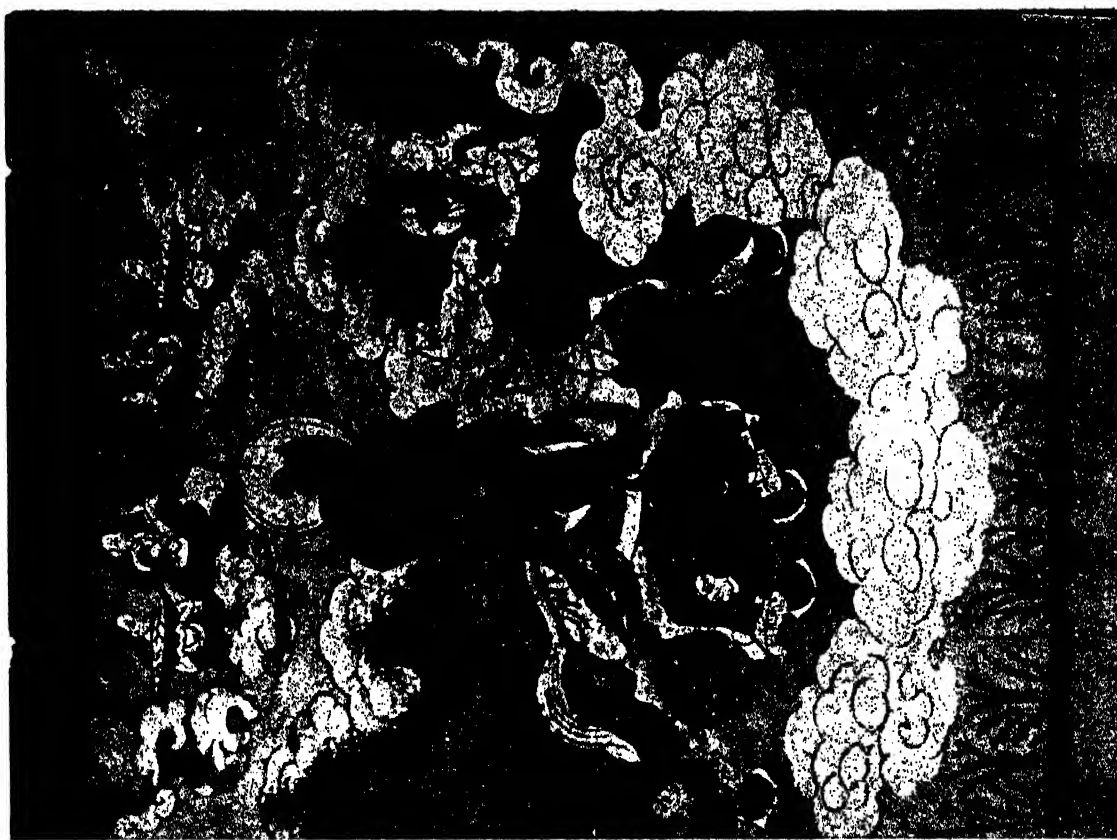
Siddhartha meeting an old and a sick man during his drive through the city of Kapilavastu (Plate 7)



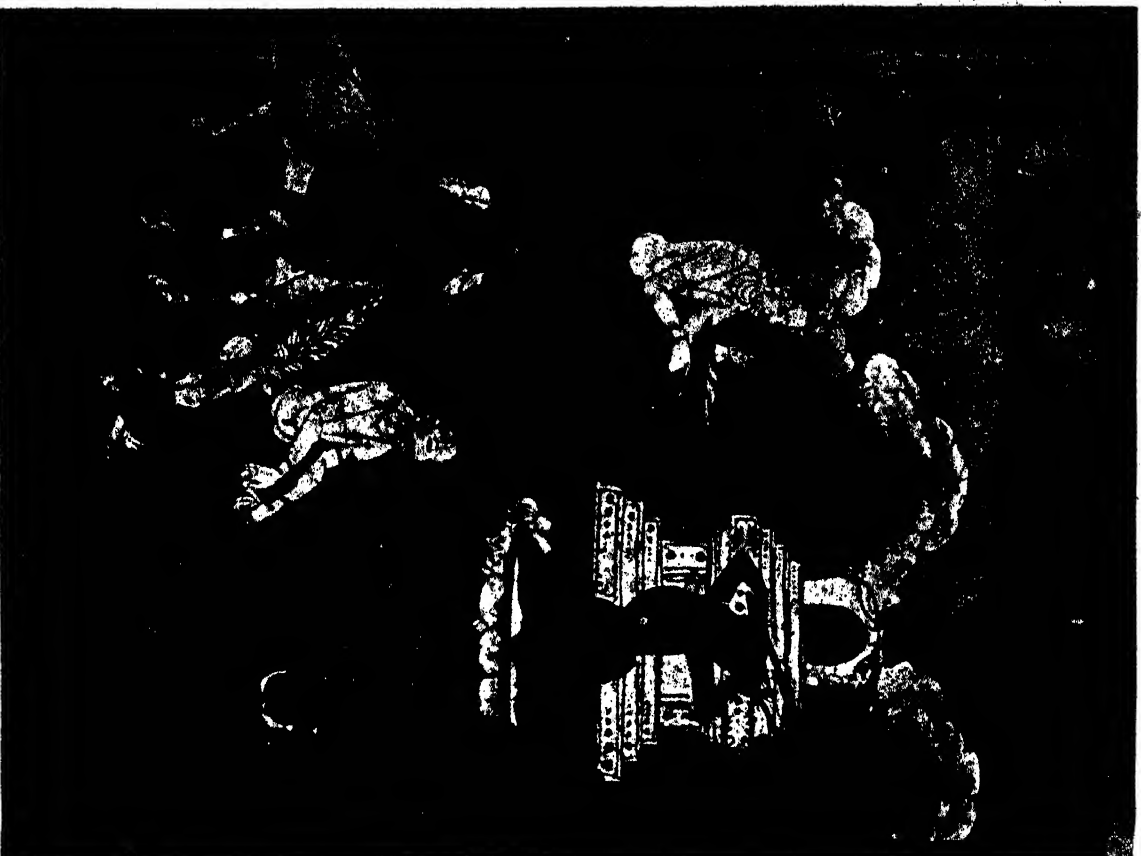
Siddhartha meeting a corpse being carried to the funeral pyre and a holy ascetic (Plate 8)



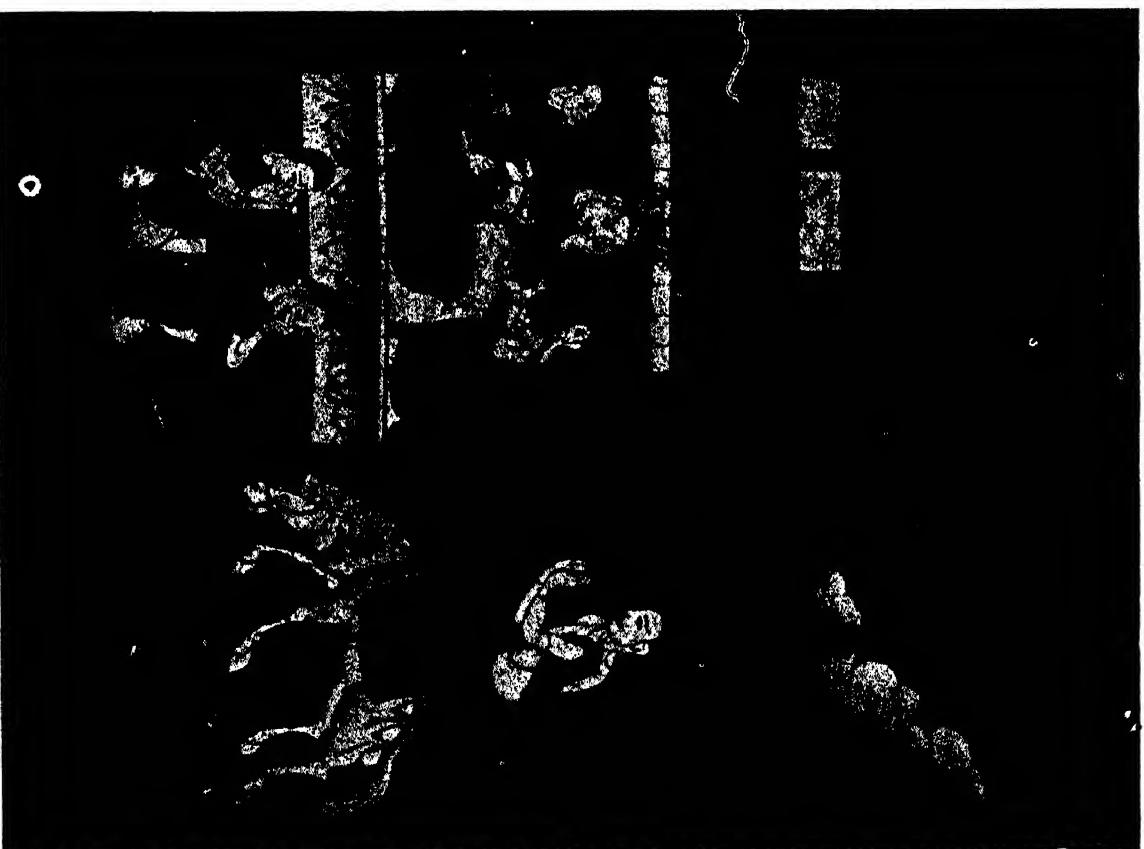
Siddhartha leaving the palace at night. Note his favourite horse
Kanthaka and his charioteer Channa (Plate 9)



Gods upheld the hooves of his horse, lest the inhabitants of the
town should awake and thwart his purpose (Plate 10)



Outside the city Siddhartha exchanging his dress and cutting off his hair (Plate 11)



Return of Channa the charioteer with Kanthaka and the head gear of Siddhartha (Plate 12)

many of the Mahayanist schools. The work is derived from the Sanscrit Tantra ("treatise") and is used to cover a number of rites, incantations and ritual gestures; the goal of Tantras is absorption into God. In itself the divine essence is sexless. But the illusion of time and space polarises it as male and female, and this fact may be mythically represented as the love-embrace of Siva and his Sakti ("energy"), Parvati (or Kali). Tantric Buddhism has provided the various members of its intricate pantheon, including the Adi Buddha himself, with Saktis, who figure as saviouresses and defenders of the faith.

The use of hand-gestures (mudra) and incantations (dharani and mantra) has been carried to great lengths; and it is imagined that such serve as spell to control the destinies of men and the behaviour of gods and demons.

The worship of Amitabha ("Infinite Light"), the Buddha of the Western Paradise, has taken on special features, notably in Japan, which remove it very far from the teaching of Siddhartha. One of the largest of the Japanese sects, the Shin ("Truth"), promises salvation by faith only, the grace (Tariki—"another's power") of Amitabha being all-sufficient. In this sect the clergy are allowed to marry, and in their philanthropic and religious ministrations they approach the idea of a Christian pastor. Nirvana is almost forgotten, while rebirth in the Western Paradise is the universal aim. The famous bronze image at Kamakura in Japan, which was cast in 1252, is believed to represent Amitabha. With him Chinese and Japanese Buddhists often associate Kuan-yin (Ja. Kwannon), the Goddess of Merch, a transformation of the male divinity Avatokitesvara, the reflex of Amitabha, into a female Bodhisattva, who is worshipped as a benign providence and a giver of offspring. Jizo (Sans. Kshitigarbha) is another popular Bodhisattva, who in Japan figures as the protector and comforter of the souls of dead children.

Primitive Buddhism had very little ritual. The building of stupas or artificial mounds to

contain relics of the Buddha and saints created a cult. Stupas later became temples, and a priesthood developed practising an elaborate ceremonial, often involving magic, which superficially recalls the ceremonial of other historic religions, both in East and West. The Lamaism of Tibet and of the countries it has influenced marks the culmination of this evolution. There the simple order of mendicants founded by Siddhartha has given place to a vast hierarchy, whose chiefs figure as incarnate divinities.

THE BUDDHIST CANON

The Dharma of the modern Hinayanists is contained in an immense body of sacred writings, the Tripitaka ("Three Baskets"), which has three divisions:—Vinayan ("Discipline"), Sutra ("Discourse"), and Abidharma ("Commentary"); its language is Pali, the vulgar tongue of the Buddha's contemporaries. The language of the Mahayanist canon, or rather canons, is Sanscrit, although much of it exists only in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

DIFFUSION

Although Buddhism, which first made headway in the ancient kingdom of Magadha (Bihar), never ousted the other religions of India, it was very widely diffused there for many centuries and enjoyed the patronage of several powerful dynasties. This religion first came into prominence in the reign of Asoka (c. 273-232 B.C.). By the 12th century it had practically disappeared from the country of its birth, but persists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cochin-China, Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan. In its Lamaist form it is found among the Buriasts of Siberia and the Kalmuck Tartars of S.-E. Russia. Formerly, it flourished in Kashmir, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and parts of the Malay Archipelago. In Central Java the ruined stupa of Borobudur (8th century A.D.) is one of the most imposing of Buddhist Monuments.

(Plates 1 to 13 are taken from a Nepalese illustrated MS. namely "Sarbartha Vijaya," dated 1790 A.D. —S. N. Sen).



NANDALAL BOSE—THE MAN

By GURDIAL MALLIK

It was evening. The sober rays of the setting sun had given to the tree-tops at Santiniketan a strange sort of beauty. The students were still on the playground. The teachers were seen dispersing one by one, after taking their daily cup of tea at the Teachers' Club, either to return to their respective rooms or to go out for their wonted walk. Only one of them, clad in earth-coloured garments, wended his way along the by-paths of the *Asrama*. His eyes were turned towards the ground, while he moved on with the stately slowness of the autumn clouds. He stopped here and there to pick up some scraps of waste paper or bits of broken glass, thrown carelessly on the road.

My first feeling on seeing this "scrap-collector" was that perhaps, he was one of those

in a campaign which is intended not to achieve victory on the battle-field, but one over the proclivities of the thoughtless people who dot the landscape with specks and symbols of dirt. He is evidently a commissioned officer in the service of the Beautiful One."

And I speeded up to overtake this servant of Beauty. As I drew nearer, I folded my hands in respectful salutation to him to which he responded in a similar manner but with a bend of his head wreathed in humility, to boot. I found myself face to face with Sri Nandalal Bose, the renowned Indian artist!

"Cleanliness is an aspect of beauty," said he straightaway, though I had not as yet opened my lips to provoke that pregnant remark. But I understood its significance and suitability against the background of what he had been engaged in erstwhile. Had he not been unveiling the hidden glory of the landscape by removing from its face all visible blots and blemishes?

• And I pondered over his words in the silence of the deepening darkness of the oncoming night. What peculiar notions our people have about beauty! Most of them bracket it with a blazing colourful show or sheen, forgetting that thereby they convert the beautiful into the bizarre. It never enters their head that true beauty has the meekness of mellowness and the sense of the synthetic. That is why they do not see how scraps and shreds, rags and tags deface the inside of our dwelling-places and their environs, as improper wearing of our everyday dress takes away from it the splendour of simplicity. May it not be that cleanliness is part and parcel of the moral order of the universe, consequent on which the sage exclaimed epigrammatically long ago, "Cleanliness is next to godliness?"

Sri Nandalal's studio as well as his own living apartment is a little poem on perfect cleanliness. They have the atmosphere of the holy of holies where you are hushed into reverence. They give a lie to the general impression that genius and disorder go together.

Beauty and morality are happily blended in this great artist. It is almost an axiom with him that only a moralist (in the broadest sense) can be a true artist. For, what is art but an expression of the spiritual values and verities of life, howsoever various and variegated be the forms they take? As he says to his students in his own homely way, "Keep your



Nandalal Bose in Kalabhavan, Santiniketan

persons, who have volunteered in these days of war to assist in the campaign (non-violent in appearance, but violent in actuality!), which is often headlined in the newspapers and posters as "Scrap for Victory."

But I was soon disillusioned as I followed this "scrap-collector" at a distance. Now and again he would look round to see whether any one was watching him, and if there was no one within the range of his white spectacles, he would empty the contents of his palms into the dust-bins, placed at various points in the Poet's paradise. And I said to myself, "His is a part

heart clean and your head cool if you wish to be creative in your work."

Sri Nandalal is an internationalist in art, but a nationalist of warm and wide sympathies in politics. His intuitive sense of the unity of all life enables him to make a brother of the stranger, but the present condition of his country compels him to serve first his own next-door neighbour. This is the reason why he is such a trusted friend of his students, colleagues and the villagers in the suburbs of Santiniketan.

Apart from the sincerity and simplicity of approach of human affection to him, there are also several others. Draw an original picture and at once you win him over. Sing to him and your initial association with him ripens immediately into friendship. But if you weep out your woes to him, he becomes to you something more than a friend who loves you; he assumes the aspect of a father who protects you.

Being a believer in the truth of One life he is an earnest student of its myriad sides. As such, his interests are a legion; from medicine to music, from spirituality to service and from literature to love and logic of birds and beasts.

people and plants. He has, therefore, always a ready recipe for what ails one physically, morally and spiritually.

This poet of colours has in him the conviviality and "correctiveness" of a Puck. Not seldom in the midst of fun and fumes of smoke (he indulges in a cigarette, Indian made of course, and a cup of tea) when argument is at a pitch of passion, all of a sudden with his face draped in dark seriousness, he hurls down a humorous remark or a bolt of criticism which at once changes the complexion of the whole scene.

Such is the man Sri Nandalal Bose. My friendship with him expands over nearly quarter of a century. It has been one of the most precious blessings of God to me. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday which falls this month, I offer him the humble homage of my heart. He has taught me many modes of aesthetic appreciation and full-blooded human conduct. And if every time I meet him there is any prayer which I utter within the hearing of my soul, it is this:—Lead me from the passion of beauty to the compassion of Truth.

THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF TEHRI-GARHWAL

By JAMES WALTON, B.Sc. (London), Dip. Ed. (Leeds)

THE buildings which comprise the villages of that interesting Himalayan State, Tehri Garhwal, fall markedly into two divisions:

(a) Houses of two storeys characterised by a carved wooden balcony and a verandah, built of stone and roofed with slate. These may be subdivided into: (i) Those with a verandah running along the entire length of the house, which is usually much larger than any other type, and (ii) Smaller houses, one end of which is occupied by a verandah open to both sides and serving as a reception chamber.

(b) Gable ended buildings of one storey, roofed with slates or thatch, and serving as cow-houses, upland habitations or dwellings for the poorer classes.

Those included in Group (ai) are built of irregular masses of limestone or slate bound together by a kind of mortar composed of lime and mutti, the walls being left either rough or covered with a smooth layer of whitewashed mortar. They are rectangular in plan, with gable ends, and consist of two storeys the upper one of which is reached by one or more flights

of stone steps leading on to the verandah. The roof is laid on stout rafters which end in carved terminations and consists of thick boards laid side by side. This timber covering is overlain



Two-storeyed house with long verandah

by a thick mass of irregular, overlapping slabs of blue or red slate which out-rops along the valley sides below the limestone. The ridge is protected by a covering of similar slates placed

horizontally. The first floor rests on beams which extend beyond the walls and are also the subject of carving and it is divided by a number of wooden partitions into rooms, occupied by various branches of the family. The front and the back walls of the upper storey are very often

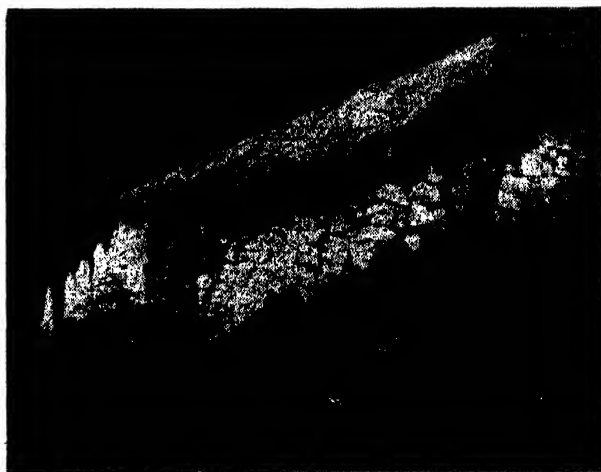


Typical balcony with carved pillars

composed of vertical wooden boards, about nine inches wide, which are coloured alternately say red and yellow. The ground floor is also subdivided into rooms one of which serves for cooking whilst the others are used for housing cattle and storing agricultural implements. These more pretentious dwellings are usually occupied by the Brahmans or Rajputs but in the same village one may also find smaller dwellings, differing from the above only in size and the arrangement of the reception verandah, which may be occupied either by Rajputs, Khasiyas or the labouring castes. In these habitations the verandah, or "usara," is placed at one end of the upper storey and is open to both sides, apart from a low solid wooden balcony. The doors are very low, only about three feet six inches to four feet in height, and light is provided only by tiny openings which may be closed by means of hinged wooden doors.

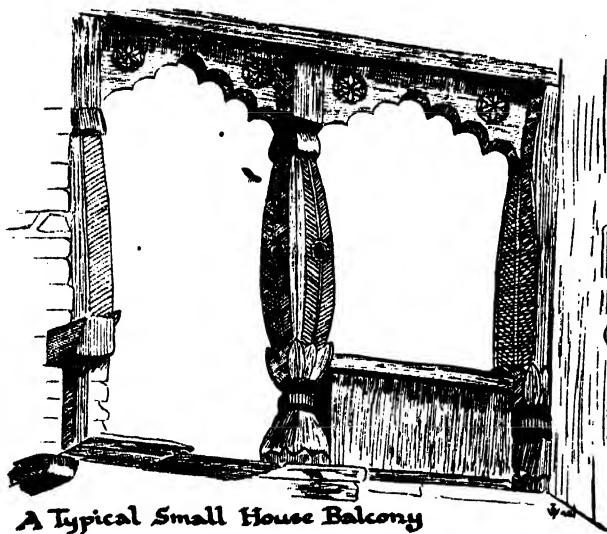
The more humble dwellings, included in Group (b), are the homes of the Doms, or labouring classes, and may be found in association with the previous types or as a separate community. These also are built of rough blocks and may be covered with slate as before or more often with straw thatch resting on a framework of rough branches. Internally they are divided into a reception verandah, totally enclosed apart from a small doorway, from which a similar doorway leads into the living room. An identical structure is used for the cow-houses which are erected on a series of upright posts dividing the interior into a number of "bays." One of the end bays has a smooth, beaten earth floor which is slightly raised and serves as a dairy: here the utensils are kept and the milk is boiled. A narrow portion is separated from the rest by a low wall of upright slates behind which fodder is stored. The remainder of the space is devoted to cattle which are tethered to a low rail running the length of the hut. Wooden racks are also provided to hold the fodder. The central portion of the front is open and leads onto a paved yard which allows of much greater cleanliness.

The most striking feature of these dwellings is the beautifully carved woodwork which must have occupied hundreds of hours of patient



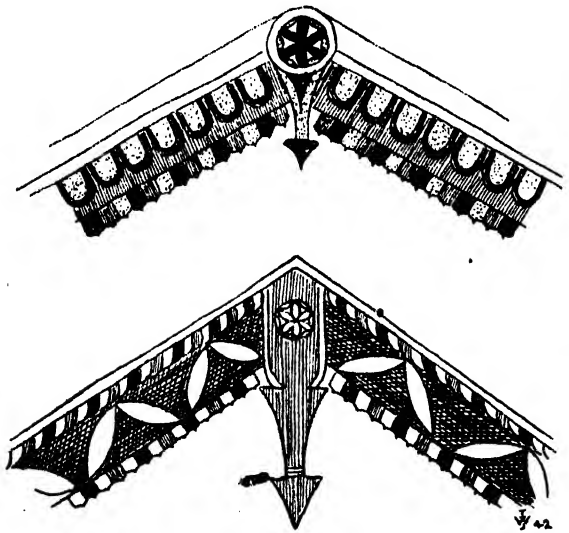
Simple upland cottage of stone and thatch

labour, for almost every available square inch of exposed woodwork is richly decorated. The verandah balcony is the most conspicuous feature consisting of from three to over twenty beautifully carved pillars carrying curved brackets to form a series of arches. The brackets themselves are usually decorated with



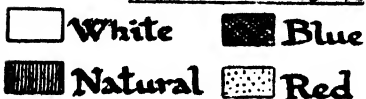
A Typical Small House Balcony

circles containing the series of six petals which so readily present themselves by drawing a series of arcs with the compass point on the circumference. Many elaborations and developments are noticeable and the craftsman rarely repeated the same pattern. It seems a great pity, too, that such marvellous work should remain hidden from the world in general. This is particularly true



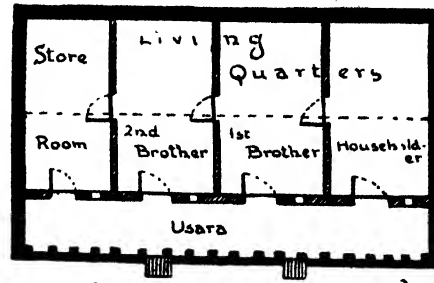
Barge Boards.

Colour Scheme

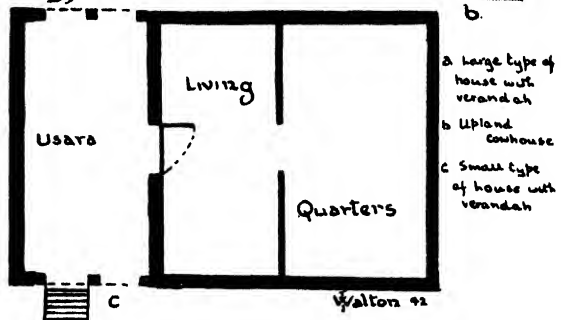


of the door-ways which are invariably hidden in the deep shadow of the verandah so that their half a dozen or more floral and geometric border patterns can only be seen with difficulty. These fine craftsmen seem, however, to

belong to a distant age, for little, if any, similar work is being done to-day and the villagers seem to have no idea when or by whom it was carved. Apart from the doorways and balconies the carving is not subject to any generalisation but the usual circular patterns may often be seen on the boards which compose the walls of the upper storey. Many houses also display gaily patterned barge boards at the gable ends. These, like the wall boards, were all brightly coloured in reds, yellows, blues and



Sketch Plans of Tehri-Garhwal House Types



white, a custom which seems to be falling into disuse, although here and there it is still maintained. Generally speaking, floral and geometric patterns formed the main stock-in-trade of the woodcarver and his efforts at representing animal life are crude and primitive although they display a freedom which is quite pleasing and refreshing. This applies only to the incised carving of human beings, animals and birds for when he carved an animal from the solid as a termination to a projecting beam his work was of high quality. As typifies all good craftsmanship, the woodwork is not merely beautifully decorated; it is soundly fashioned from sal wood and is remarkable for its solidity, strength and durability.

A CALL FROM INDIA'S PAST

A Message from Stone

By G. N. DAS

OF the civilisations of the ancient world, several have gripped the attention of history. Mighty civilisations which had their dwelling places in Central America, Egypt, Babylonia, India and China have been dramatically brought to light with the aid of the spade. But the glory of Egypt and the grandeur of Babylonia are memories of a past which have to be traced through their possible reactions on the civilisations that followed them. India alone, with the possible exception of China, has survived the onslaughts of time and preserved her cultural heritage in the teeth of military hurricanes and political maelstroms. The artistic and architectural monuments of a country are beyond doubt important elements characteristic of her mind and soul, or as Lethaby puts it, "architecture is the matrix of civilisation."¹

"To such a definition," says Percy Brown, "it may be added that viewed historically architecture remains as the principal visible and material record, through the ages, of man's intellectual evolution. Each great cultural movement has made its own particular contribution to the art of building so that the aspirations of the people and even their way of life stand revealed in substantial form for all to see. And in India, man's ideals have found expression in numerous noble monuments showing that few countries possess a richer architectural heritage. To the student the value of these productions needs no emphasis, for from such achievements it is possible to reconstruct much of the past and to visualise the social and political conditions of the country as phase succeeded phase, and one period merged into another."²

They undoubtedly represent a heritage that is calculated to be of the utmost significance to us and it was to appreciate that great legacy by a closer approach to some of the extant monuments that we set out on a trip which was headed by Dr. P. K. Acharya, Professor of Sanskrit and Head of the Oriental Departments, University of Allahabad.³

We left Allahabad on the night of December 24 last and arrived at Jubbulpore the next morning. About 15 miles from Jubbulpore there is a famous bathing place on the Narmadā named Bhērā Ghāt which we visited. It is situated at the confluence of the Narmadā with

a small stream, elsewhere known as Bāngangā but as Saraswatī at its junction with the Narmadā. We learn from epigraphical notices that kings and queens frequented the place for performing their ablutions. For the modern, however, Bhērā Ghāt is important chiefly for the famous marble rocks which rise above the confluence in vertical strata on both sides of the Narmadā and feast the eye by their serene majesty. Close by Bhērā Ghāt is a small temple made partly of brick and stone, which is popularly known as the shrine of Gaurī Sankar but which Sir Alexander Cunningham thinks to have been dedicated to the Chaunsath Jāginīs, or "sixty-four female demons," the attendants of Kālī.⁴ Nothing is known about the date of the temple, but from the style of architecture Cunningham is inclined to assign it to "any period between 900 and 1200 A.D."⁵

We left Jubbulpore on the evening of the 25th of December and arrived the next morning at Bombay. Situated at a distance of about 6 miles from Bombay Harbour and reached by the sea are the famous Elephanta Caves (in the island of Elephanta or Ghorapūrī included in the Colaba District) which we visited on the morning of December the 28th. The island was so named by the Portuguese from a large stone elephant that stood near the old landing place on the south side of the island and which is now to be seen in the Victoria Gardens, Bombay. The caves number 7 in all, 2 of which are situated a little apart on a different hill. The chief interest, however, lies in the Main Cave where again what is most remarkable is the colossal three-faced bust of Siva, generally called Trimūrti.⁶ It occupies a recess 10½ feet deep and is 21 feet 6 inches in width, rising from a base about 2 feet 9 inches

4. Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 62.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

6. For illustration, see Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Pl. CXVII. Rao is of opinion that the figure represents *Mahesamurti* and not *Trimurti*. For his reasons, see *ibid.*, p. 382 ff. Havell, however, thinks that the reasons "given are not artistically convincing." "It is difficult to understand," says he, "how a triple-headed figure in relief can be supposed to represent a five-headed figure in the round, and how six arms can be said to stand for the ten which are ascribed to the *Mahesamurti*."—*Handbook of Indian Art*, pp. 188-9.

1. *Architecture*, Home University Library, p. 2.

2. *Indian Architecture*, 1942, Vol. I, p. 1.

3. His interest in archæological excursions is as unflagging as his love of learning.

in height. The central figure represents Siva the Creator; his face looks mild and tranquil and he holds in his hand a *kamandalu*. To the spectator's left is the face of Siva as the Destroyer, represented with the cobra round his wrist. The third face of the Trimūrti, that to the right, has been generally regarded as Siva in the character of Vishnu the preserver, holding in his right hand one of his emblems, a lotus flower.



The Author

Nothing has been recovered from the site except a copper jar, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay, to help fixing the date of this "cathedral" as Sister Nivedita styles it, but the consensus of opinion among archaeologists is to assign the Main Cave and its figures to a period between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D.

We left Bombay on the morning of December the 29th for Nāsik arriving there at noon. Nāsik is a place of hoary antiquity and is associated with the story of Rāma who is alleged to have spent part of his exile at Pañcavatī, a suburb of Nāsik. The first to call our attention was a series of 24 caves situated on a hill close to the Bombay road and about a dozen miles from Nāsik. All the caves are Buddhist *Vihāras* or monasteries, one, Cave XVIII being a *chaitya* or Buddhist church. Apart from the architectural interest of the pillars of Gautamīputra Vihāra Cave III, Nahapāna Vihāra Cave VIII and Chaitya Cave XVIII,⁷ the caves contain valuable inscriptions which throw welcome light on a little known period of India's ancient history by giving the names of several kings, e.g.,—Krisnarāja of the

Satavāhana race; Nahapāna the Ksaharata Satrap; Usavadāta, his son-in-law; Sātakarni Gautamīputra; Śrī Pulumāyi Yāsisthiputra; Yājña Satakarni Gautamīputra; and King Virasēna, son of Sivadata the Abhīra.⁸ Besides these caves, miscalled the Pāndava Caves, we visited the spot in the rocky bed of the Godāvarī where the nose of Sūrpanakhā was chopped off; the Pañcavatī of the Rāmāyana fame; what is popularly called the Sītā Gumphā, being represented by the local people as an underground shelter originally meant to hide the real Sītā, the one taken away by the demon king of Lankā being a false one (?)⁹; and the Rāmachandra Temple.

We left Nāsik at midnight and arrived at Aurangabad in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions on the morning of December the 30th. About 12 miles east of Aurangabad are situated the famous caves of Ellorā which we visited the same day. They constitute the largest and most varied group of "Cave Temples" in India consisting as they do of some of the largest and



A cannon on the top of the medieval fort at Daulatabad near Aurangabad

Photo: K. J. S. Parihar

finest examples of all the three sects—Buddhists, Brāhmanas and Jains. The standard of architectural skill required for excavating two- or three-storied caves and the quality of modelling and relief in the round as exemplified in the representations of deities of all the three sects leave upon the spectator an abiding

8. For the text of the inscriptions, see Sir (then Mr.) R. G. Bhandarkar's paper, "The Nasik Cave Inscriptions," *Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1874, p. 306 ff.

9. Will some competent authority kindly throw any light on this point?

7. For illustrations, see Codrington and Rothenstein, *Ancient India*, Plates VIII, VII and V, respectively.

impression which only personal inspection can acquire.

What is, however, deserving of the greatest praise at Ellora is the Kailāsa (or Kailāsanatha) Temple excavated by the Rāstrakūta king Dantidurga in the 8th century A.D.¹⁰ Apart from the decorative quality of the pillars of the main shrine, the sheen of the black granite with which the floor of the shrine is paved, and the high relief of the Siva figure at the ceiling of the central shrine,¹¹ it requires the effort of a personal visit to realise and appreciate the high architectural and artistic genius manifested in the construction of an edifice out of perpendicular rock, associating it with five *parivāra-devatās* each in his own respective shrine.



General view of Ajanta caves
Photo: K. J. S. Parihar

depicting the numerous episodes of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata in sculptured panels on two opposite sides of the central temple, flanking it on one side by a long corridor containing figures "showing throughout the same admixture of Saiva and Vaishnava mythology which characterises all the Brahmanical temples",¹² crowning it at the top with a *nrityamandapa* or stage room with some of the finest carved pillars—all cut out of sheer rock, hard and impenetrable, without a shade or shadow of curved lines or disproportionate and unbalanced workmanship, representing in truth a standard which the modern mason can well emulate, if not surpass. The Kailāsa Temple is

indeed a poem in stone. As an European authority puts it:

"It far exceeds, both in extent and in elaboration, any other rock-cut temple in India, and is and must always be considered one of the most remarkable monuments that adorn a land so fertile in examples of patient industry and of the pious devotedness of the people to the service of their gods."¹³

We left the Ellorā caves on the evening of December the 30th for Aurangabad. Next day we visited the Ajantā caves, some 68 miles away. They are 29 in number and are excavated 'in the face of an almost perpendicular scarp of rock sweeping round in a curve of fully a semi-circle.' The mountain scenery is superb and is admirably suited for a secluded monastic retreat. Besides the architectural and sculptural interest, of the caves,¹⁴ the chief interest lies in the painted 'frescoes'¹⁵ with which the walls of many of them are adorned. The walls, ceilings and pillars of nearly all the caves appear to have been originally adorned with paintings; but only in 13 caves are any remains found, and the fragments which are of special interest are in caves I, II, IX, X, XVI, and XVII. In all of them the walls, the pillars and ceilings are covered with paintings. I will not enter here into a description of the paintings in the individual caves.¹⁶ Suffice it to say that apart from the representations of the *Jātakas* (stories of the previous births of the Buddha),

"the everyday life of the people—buying and selling, cooking, feasting, drinking, love-making, singing and dancing—is fully displayed."¹⁷

"The ceiling show a kaleidoscopic variety of motifs and devices representing floral scrolls, jewellery designs, geometric patterns, mythical figures, both human and animal, acrobatic competitions, animal fights, snake-charmers and Bacchanalian scenes."¹⁸

The paintings on the whole represent a joyous outlook on life;—the joy, however, is not

13. *Ibid.*, p. 462.

14. For a presumed chronology of the Ajanta and Ellora rock-architecture, see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 1942, Vol. I, p. 189.

15. For reproductions in colour and monochrome of some of the frescoes, see Lady Herringham, *Ajanta Frescoes*, India Society, 1915. Also see J. Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples, Khandesh, India*, 2 Vols., London, 1897. Griffiths considers the picture of the dying princess in Cave XVI (size 4 ft. 11 inches by 4 ft. 3 inches) to be the best piece of painting now remaining at Ajanta.

16. For an up-to-date account of this, read G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Parts I and II, a publication of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.

17. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 1.

18. G. Yazdani, "Wall Paintings of Ajanta," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1941, p. 26.

10. See Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, p. 462.

11. It will look at you from whatever direction and angle you look at it.

12. Fergusson and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

wanton or frivolous as in some Italian works of the Renaissance period but is saturated with a deep and pervasive spirituality.

Lest anything that I may say by way of generalisation on the quality of these paintings may savour of patriotic bias, let Laurence Binyon, a foreigner and great connoisseur of art, be cited as witness.

It is, says he, "an art unmatched for its fulness, its spontaneity, its glow and diversity of living forms. Groups, lovely and animated in their natural movement and repose, single figures of strange majesty, of ineffable compassion, attract the eye and haunt the memory . . . Primitive these paintings might be called, in the sense that they are unsophisticated and fresh in their attack on pictorial problems; but what astonishing ease, what freedom from stiff, accepted formula these artists had! . . . If one were asked to put into one word the secret of these paintings—the secret of their continuing power to impress and charm us—one might well answer life; for they affect us in the same way as the living movements of men and women, children and animals affect us; with a deep content and unconscious sympathy. And it is not merely a sort of extract from life that they yield—a mood of pleasure, a mood of sadness or bitterness, a mood of devotion or a mood of frivolity,—it is just life itself, all life, with its joyous impulses of body and spirit, the forward stride of adventure, the haltings of the mind, its abandonment to sorrow, its renunciations, its victories."¹⁹

We left the Ajantā caves on the evening of December the 31st for Aurangabad. We left Aurangabad on New Year's Day and arrived at Sāncī in the Bhopal State the next morning. At a short distance from the Sāncī railway station is situated on a low hill, less than 300 feet high, the Great Stūpa²⁰ with two similar stūpas²¹ rising nearby. Writes Sir John Marshall:

"As it now stands the Great Stupa consists of an almost hemispherical dome (*anda*) truncated near the top and surrounded at its base by a lofty terrace (*medhi*), the berm of which served in ancient days as a processional path (*pradakṣiṇa-pāṭha*), access to it being provided by a double flight of steps (*sopana*) built against it on the southern side."²²

The crowning glory of the Great Stūpa are the elaborate and richly carved *tōranas* or gateways which are four in number situated in all the four directions.

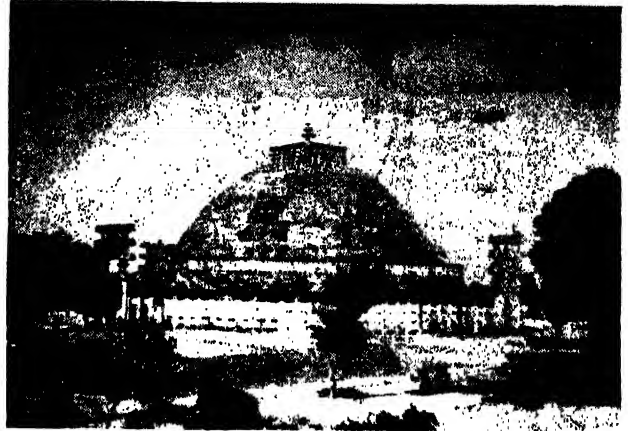
19. Laurence Binyon in a foreword to Mukul Chandra Dey's *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh*. A writer in the *Hindustan Review*, April, 1942, p. 443 considers Ajanta "the first and foremost wonder of the world."

20. For a complete description of Sāncī remains, read Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, 3 Vols.

21. A *Stupa* is a raised mound of brick or stone of hemispherical shape containing the relics of the Buddha considered worthy of worship by the Buddhists.

22. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 19.

"An outstanding feature of the gateway sculptures which accords well with their religious purpose, is their pervading spirit of calm and dignified composure. Be the figures at rest, or borne along in surging crowds, or dancing with exuberant joy, the effect they produce is invariably one of quiet, assured orderliness which adds immeasurably to the impressiveness of the whole. And this effect is all the more remarkable, because, among the whole galaxy of sculptures, there are scarcely two by the same hand, and there is not a question, moreover, but that their execution must have been spread over a number of years."²³



The great Stupa at Sanchi
Photo: K. J. S. Parihar

In fact the springtime freshness and stately tranquillity of the gateway sculptures have attracted world-wide attention and the models of the gateways are exhibited in the principal museums of Europe, like the British Museum in London, the Musée Guimet in Paris or the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.²⁴

We left Sāncī the same day at 4 P.M. and in 15 minutes arrived at Bhilsā²⁵ in the Gwalior State. Situated at a distance of a dozen miles from there are the Udayagiri caves which we saw. Except for the existence of two inscriptions, ascribed to the reign of Candragupta II., found in two of the caves, and the remains of an alleged Gupta temple, there is nothing of great antiquarian or historical interest in them. The top of the hill affords, however, a magnificent bird's eye view of the outlying greenery and is well worth the steep climb.

From Udayagiri we proceeded to see the

23. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

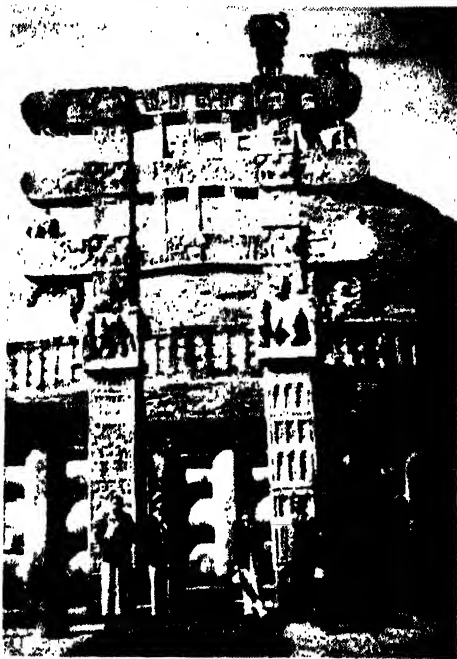
24. It is related that Emperor Napoleon III of France requested the Great Sikander Begum for one of the richly carved gates. The Government of India, however, refused to allow it to be removed, and, instead, plaster casts were taken and sent to Paris. *The Modern Review*, 1922, p. 735.

25. The same as the ancient Vidisa.

Heliodorus Pillar situate in the village of Besnagar.²⁶

"The shaft of the column," writes Sir (then Mr.) John Marshall, "is a monolith octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle, and thirty-sided above with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions; the capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type, with a massive abacus surmounting it; and the whole is crowned with a palm-leaf ornament."²⁷

The Pillar was discovered in 1877 by Cunningham²⁸ but the inscription on it was read



East gate of the great Stupa

Photo : Author

for the first time by Sir John Marshall in 1909²⁹. The inscription when deciphered showed that the memorial was a *Garudadhvaja* set up in honour of Vāsudeva by Heliodorus, the son of Dion, a Bhāgavata, who came from Taxila in the reign of the great king Antialkidas. The inscription has been assigned by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel to the second century B.C.³⁰

This inscription is a great object-lesson. It shows, in short, the assimilative power of Indian religions and Indian culture. And numerous instances can be cited to bear this out.³¹ In

26. That was the last item of tour which terminated on January 3 last.

27. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 1053.

28. *Archaeological Reports*, Vol. X, p. 41 ff.

29. For a complete description of the Pillar and the text of the inscription, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 1053 ff. Also see *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908-9, p. 126.

30. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1908-9, p. 127.

31. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper, "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, p. 7 ff.

truth, great civilisations do not grow in the narrow bounds of a local culture; nothing is more childish, more false, more harmful than the mean conceits of a narrow nationalism which pretends to reject or to disown anything coming from outside. A civilisation is great on account of the part of humanity included in it and expressed by it and the larger is the part of humanity it could absorb, the more is it fit to appeal to general mankind. That is indeed the burthen of the Heliodorus Pillar Inscription. That is indeed an attribute with which the Aryan genius has made the greatness of India. But that is not all. When we visit or examine any of the artistic and architectural monuments of India we are struck not only at the prodigious skill, sense of proportion and balance and, above all, the imagination of the early Indian builders, but also at their profound patience and assiduity displayed in the cutting to shape of chip after chip of stone to bring out temples, effigies, pillars, arches and the like. Nothing in fact is more eloquent of the genius and capacity of the Indian people than the artistic and architectural monuments, dotted about the length and breadth of this great country, which have relentlessly withstood the ravages of time for a period rolling back into the dim past. But here we are facing the dark side of Indian genius. Our people have for a long time deliberately ignored or forgotten their past, with the melancholy result that what once were proud monuments have crumbled or are in the process of crumbling into pieces. Is it too much to expect that at a time when the whole of this country is pulsating with resurgent forces, India's people would honour and cherish their ancient monuments which are so glorious a legacy of the past and save them from utter destruction and ruin? Is it too late for the people of this country to shake themselves of their lassitude and sing with Sister Nivedita in the following strain?

We hear them, O Mother!

Thy footfalls,

Soft, soft, through the ages

Touching earth here and there,

And the lotuses left on Thy footprints

Are cities historic,

Ancient scriptures and poems and temples,

Noble strivings, stern struggles for Right.

Where lead they, O Mother!

Thy footfalls?

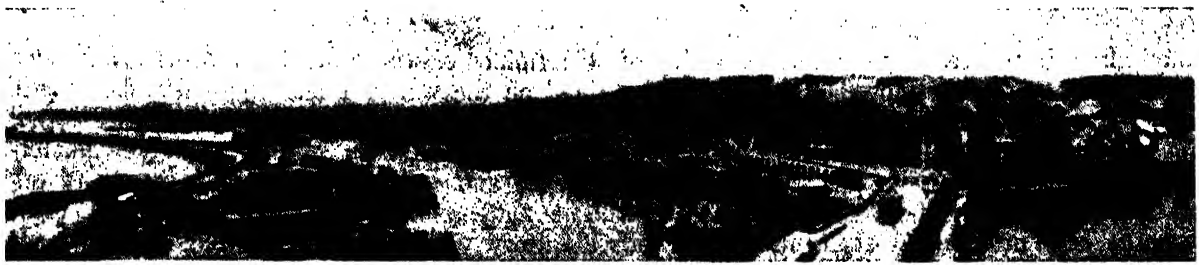
O grant us to drink of their meaning,

Grant us the vision that blindeth

The thought that for man is too high.

Where lead they, O Mother!

Thy footfalls?



Panoramic view of the Port of Algiers

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

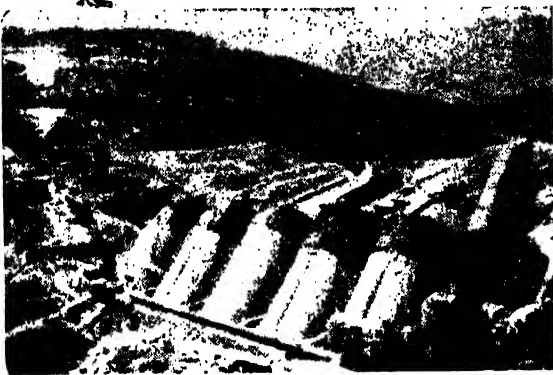
SIGNIFICANT changes have occurred in the war situation within the last month. For the first time since the start of this war, British arms have won a victory over Germanic forces in a major engagement. No doubt the British had considerable aid from their allies, notably from the American airmen, but when the calibre of their opponent is taken into consideration, and the resultant rout into which he was thrown, the magnitude of the advantage gained becomes all the more prominent despite such details. General Alexander has succeeded in freeing Egypt from the Axis menace and the Middle East again becomes a safe area for the United Nations. Further to the West a historic event is slowly developing, namely, the entry of the United States of America into the Western theatre of war. This move, brilliantly executed as it was, not only succeeded in its initial objectives which were the occupation of the strategic ports and areas of French Morocco and Algeria, but it brought into play a further chain on events, all in favour of the United Nations and all to the great disadvantage of the Axis. France and the French possessions can no longer be treated by the Axis as "buffer states," with the added advantages of serving as pools of reserve materials and labour. Almost overnight they have become grim liabilities, adding greatly to the embarrassment of the Axis High Command. In this way now Rommel faces a pincer movement in North Africa and von Runstedt the possibility of the creation of a real Second Front in which the invader may have the maximum assistance from the people belonging to the soil where the invaders land.

There can be no denying that the coming of the Americans has carried with it a message of hope to the peoples of occupied Europe in a manner that no other move by the rest of the United Nations could have done. The forcible

occupation of Toulon by the Axis and the resultant destruction of the French High Sea fleet units—complete or incomplete as it might be—by the gallant sailors of France who would serve no other master than their beloved, "patrie," carries but one clear significance. It means that even in this sordid dictator-ridden world, infested as it is by the foul worshippers of Mammon under many guises and bound as it is by the manifold chains of oppression and suppression, the value of Freedom is still put at a far higher count than anything else that matters in creation. It further means that America carries the brightest beacon of hope for all the distressed people of the world. It remains to be seen whether those who guide the destinies of the United States of America possess the clarity of vision, the sincerity and fixity of purpose and the skill of organisation which would enable them to muster all the forces of liberty and equity in their support and thus transform a vision into reality. Seoffers would say that that would indeed be a miracle. We would content ourselves by saying that nothing but a miracle could bring this present world-wide conflict to a successful and a definite end.

In Eastern Europe the grim days of the Russian winter have ended the Axis campaign of 1942. Now the valiant and indomitable warriors of the Soviets' are beginning the initial moves of the winter counter-offensive. Too much should not be expected from them as their losses have been grievous, indeed many times more so than that of the rest of the United Nations put together. If they can prevent the Axis from disengaging any forces from the East to serve elsewhere and if they can wrest some points of vantage from the grip of the Axis that in itself would be achievement indeed. We hope we are underestimating the strength of the doughty fighters of the Soviets' armies but we

cannot find it in reason to predict a series of major axis reverses or indeed anything beyond some substantial strategic gains and a considerable blow at the Axis morale. The most that can be hoped for the Russians is a more substantial amount of recoupment and re-organisation with the help of a major scale outside aid—if that be forthcoming. For a year and a half the Russians have borne the full brunt of the combined might of all the Axis land and air forces. They have twice fought to a halt the mightiest and the most well-planned drive the world has ever seen and they have fought alone and with



Beni Badhel dam. Oran, Algeria

little outside aid. It is time that the other partners bore a more substantial part of the burden, now that the stemming of the tide has been done once again and the enemy substantially weakened through losses in men and in equipment.

In the Far East the situation remains obscure. The Generalissimo's men have wrested some gains after a considerable amount of hard fighting. The fighting is still being conducted under great handicaps by the soldiers of Free China as substantial reinforcement of aerial, mechanized and artillery equipment has not been possible as yet. Indomitable courage, skill and an inflexible will to win has achieved all it can, but in the ultimate flesh and blood cannot completely overthrow the massed weight of steel and fire. The trials of China are not over yet but there can be no doubt that the position is no longer so desperate as it seemed at the beginning of this year.

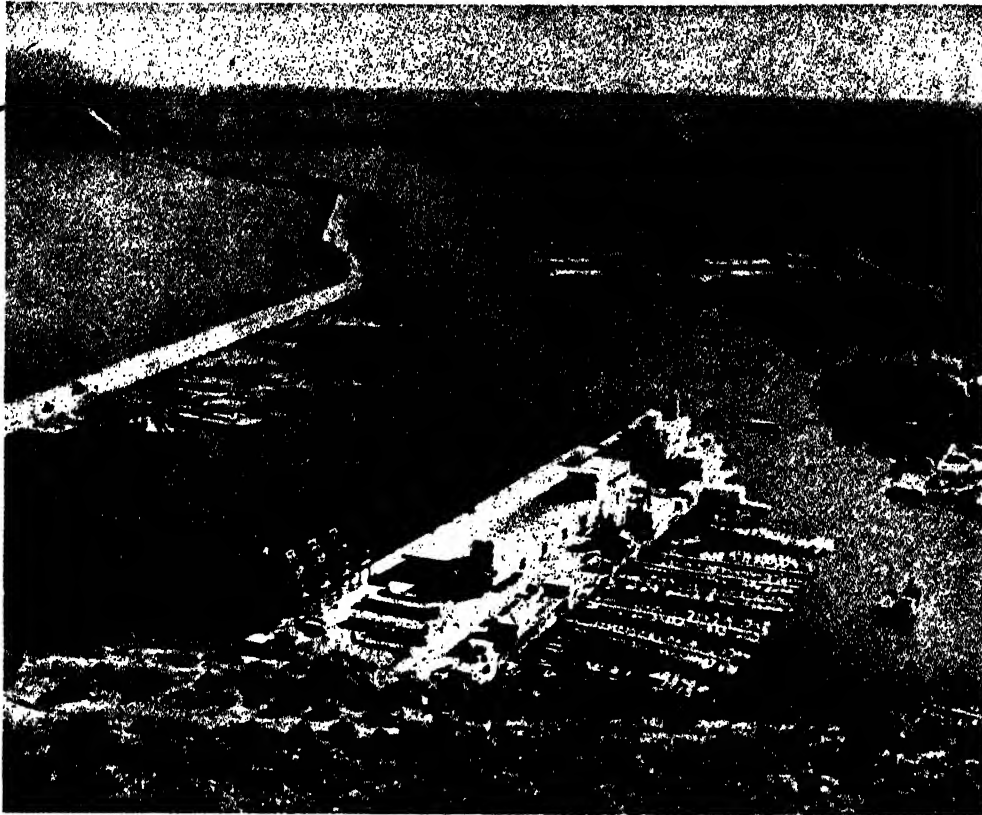
In the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean the American Navy is fighting hard to break the Japanese control over the seas round those regions. The reports that have been coming in from the Solomons indicate that the Japanese Navy is still on the aggressive and is making

determined efforts to break the American Navies' hold on the waters round those islands. Uptill now the advantage lies with the Americans, but it is evident that the results are as yet indeterminate and the final count is a long way off. The fighting around Guadalcanar has become desultory with both sides licking their wounds and waiting for further reinforcements.

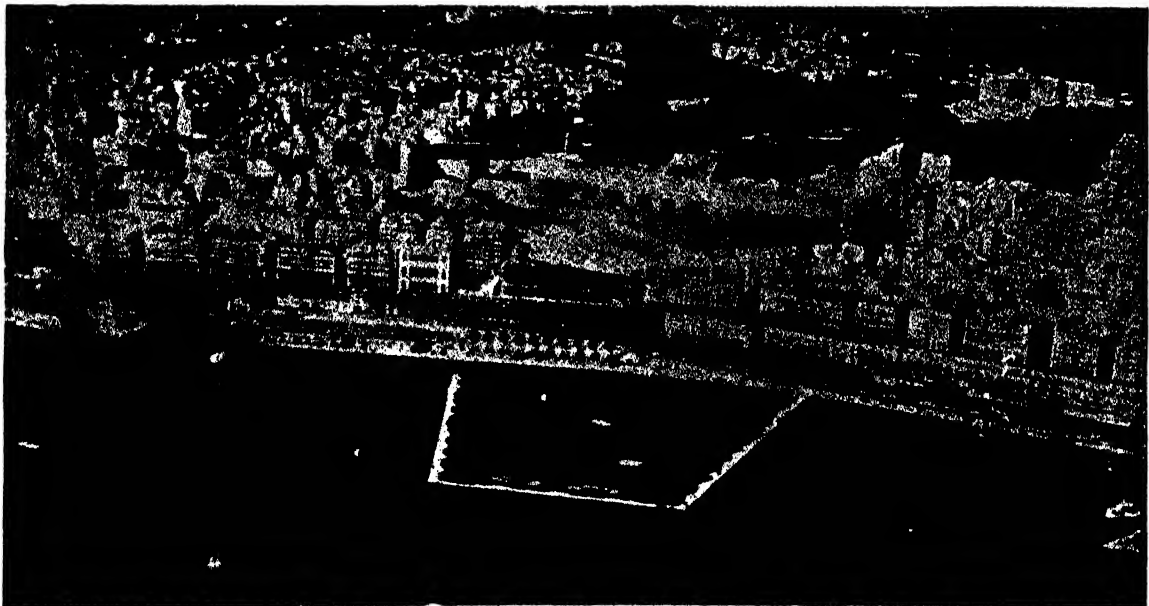
In New Guinea, considering the terrain the Australians have made brave going and for the time being at least the threat to Australia has been staved off. The offensive initiated by General MacArthur has yet a very long and arduous path to go before it bears any substantial fruits but the immediate gain in time and morale cannot be overestimated.

In general it can be said that November has brought in a distinct change in favour of the United Nations. But it is not yet time to determine whether this change is real and substantial or it is transitory. In the past on several lesser occasions a great deal of over-emphasis was laid on transitory gains. It is to be hoped that the news that is now coming in from many quarters does not bear that illusory quality. It should be borne in mind that the events in North Africa though they may carry great portents for the future, they in themselves do not constitute a definite turn of the tide. The main bulk of the Axis strength in the West lies on the continent in Europe. Breaking the Axis hold on Africa would therefore be a mere preliminary to the real task. And as yet even that preliminary job is not finished. Rommel has been beaten but not annihilated and the real struggle in Tunisia and Tripolitana still lies ahead of the Allies.

It would be fitting to point out in this connection that all the three winters of this war have been spent by the western members of the Axis in planning, recouping and regrouping. The end of each winter has brought in an unpleasant surprise for the democracies. Japan on the other hand fought her fierce and intense campaign in the tropical and sub-tropical regions during winter, spring and summer. Ambassador Grew has given ample warning that Japan is indeed very far from being spent or beaten. On the other hand evidence is not lacking that she is straining every nerve to consolidate and bring into use the war-potentialities of the areas she has overrun. Therefore the time has not come as yet for the United Nations to cheer. Their main work has only just been taken in hand.



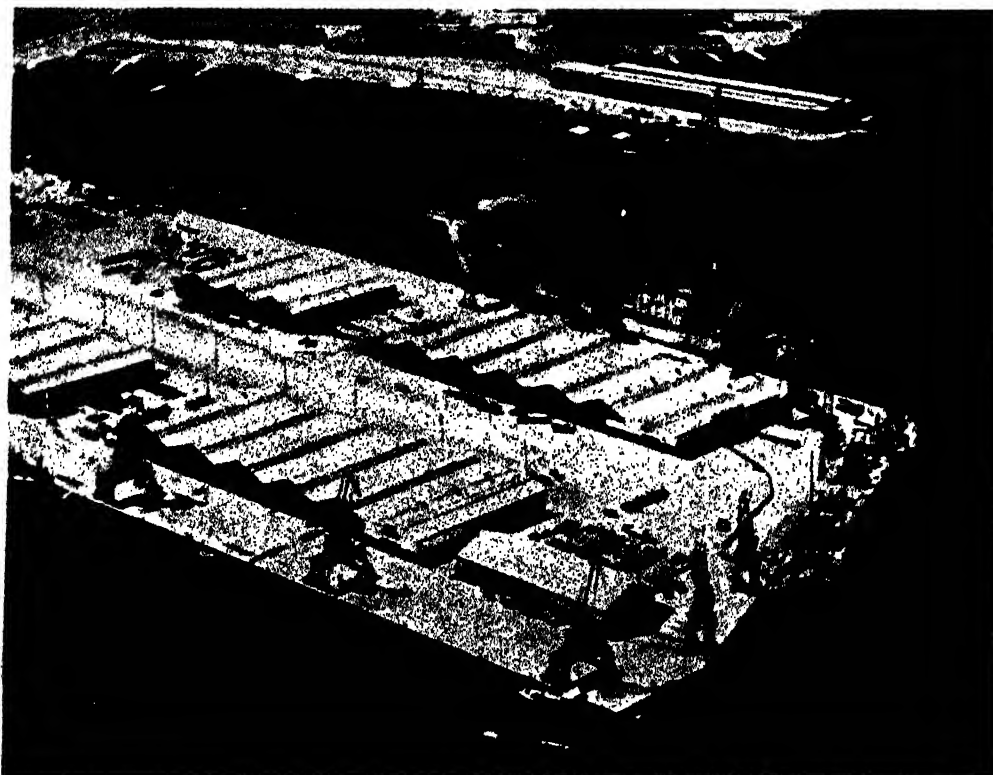
Port of Oran. Algeria



Port of Algiers. Algeria



Cyclone in Midnapore. The devastated village of Chandramehr, two miles from Tamluk



Port of Casablanca, Morocco

MAHADEV DESAI

By K. G. MASHRUWALA

ON the 15th of August at about 8-30 P.M., Sevagram was informed over the phone by our Wardha friends that they heard over the radio the following communique of the Government of Bombay :

"The Government of Bombay regret to report the death, about 8-40 a.m. on Saturday, of Mr. Mahadev Desai, who was recently detained under the Defence of India Rules.

"Mr. Desai was engaged in conversation with Col. Bhandari, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Prisons, and two of his fellow prisoners when he complained of giddiness. Col. Bhandari advised him to lie down and he found that his pulse was low and that he seemed cold. Dr. Sushila Nair, who is detained in the same building, was sent for and she arrived at once. As the Civil Surgeon could not immediately be found, another I.M.S. officer was summoned.

"Injections were given to stimulate the action of the heart and everything else possible was done to keep up Mr. Desai's strength, but he died from heart-failure only 20 minutes from the time when he first complained of feeling unwell."

Though the information was fairly detailed, the three or four persons who first got it were altogether unwilling to believe it, and pressed me not to break it immediately to Durgaben and Narayan (Mahadevbhai's wife and son respectively). Infructuous attempts were made to register trunk calls, and at last it was decided that while telegraphic confirmation should be sought from the prison authorities, the news should be communicated to the family as it was. For a long time they refused to believe it. Both of them urged, "We are unable to feel the shock, which such news ought to give us. Hence, we feel that it must be false." Others concurred. I was alone to feel otherwise. It was a difficult situation for me. Within a short time they were bound to be disillusioned. But should I say that this was wishful thinking? I kept silent and allowed them to express themselves.

At about 10-30 P.M. a condolence telegram was received from Bombay, followed shortly after by another from the Inspector-General of Prisons, giving the barest text: "Regret Mr. Mahadev Desai died suddenly this morning of heart-failure—Prisons."

The telegram was dispatched at 10-5 P.M., and yet it does not say whether and how his body was disposed of subsequently. To the time of writing this, there is no further information,

as indeed there is none about Gandhiji himself. But even before this confirmation had come, the usual mental process had gone on, and within a few minutes tears gushed out of their eyes unvoluntarily, and the mother and the son began to assure and comfort one another that though the information must be false, even if it were true, they should face it bravely.—Narayan urging, "Father has died at a time and in a manner which are most enviable, and which we shall always remain proud of."

HE DID IT

At the time when Mahadevbhai was, unknown to us, expiring at Poona, some of us at Wardha were considering the local and general situation, and contemplating to take some steps involving risk to our own lives. But not being used to take quick decisions, and still less to take action, we thought and ruminated over non-violent methods of creating the force which will make India free. We thought and dispersed, not knowing that at the other end, Mahadevbhai had already done it and finished his part of the programme. A satirist amongst us remarked light-heartedly that it was not given to everyone to die gloriously. It must be deserved. He himself did not realise that he was uttering a profound truth. But within a few hours after the conversation, we received the proof in a manner which will never be forgotten.

When a few days ago I wrote my article on "Death as a Force of Life" Mahadevbhai was unwilling to publish it immediately, because he felt that it might encourage indiscriminate 'fasting unto death.' But as Gandhiji had approved it, he observed silence. While to me, as the writer, it is still a mere idea. Providence chose Mahadevbhai to give its fullest demonstration. He did not talk, he just did it.

FAST UNTO DEATH

Mahadevbhai could not agree to make Gandhiji's fast unto death a topic of detached discussion. He could tolerate it no more than you or I can tolerate in a detached manner the idea of being deprived of all oxygen for a few hours. Gandhiji was like oxygen to his lungs, and any such suggestion produced the same

visible effect upon him as suffocation might have upon us. He often told me that he could not contemplate the situation of being a survivor of Gandhiji, and earnestly prayed that he should die at the feet of Gandhiji rendering service to him, till the last moment. God has granted his prayer so fully.

SILVER JUBILEES

Some months ago, Gandhiji used to get almost daily requests for messages and blessings on the occasion of the silver jubilee of this or that institution. I remarked to Mahadevbhai that there seemed to be no end of silver jubilees this year. Mahadevbhai reminded me that we too could celebrate one if we liked; for it was in 1917—just 25 years ago—that Kaka Kalelker, Narhari Parikh, Mahadev and myself had joined Gandhiji. He was junior to us all. I knew that he had completed 50 years this very year, and I reminded him that his golden jubilee could also be included in the programme! So, it happens that he dedicated full one-half of his short life at the feet of Gandhiji. The readers of *Harijan* know how complete his dedication was.

How shall I attempt to describe the loss which Gandhiji has suffered? Who can console Mahadev's most devoted wife and son, and the rest of the family? A gloom is cast over the

whole Ashram as it must have also over the hearts of the hundreds of his Indian and foreign friends.

A friend wrote to me last week that Providence seemed to demand the price of Gandhiji's own life for the freedom of India, but that if a few of us did it, perhaps he could be saved. I wrote back saying that if Providence so wished it, then it would be possible if the combined price of all other lives was, if not absolutely, even nearly equal to that of Gandhiji. I did not know that Mahadevbhai contemplated to close the bargain with Providence, but he did it. Who will deny his right to be a fitting substitute for Gandhiji? He had represented him, so many times during his life-time, that he had earned the right to act for him in Death also.

Mahadevbhai has obtained his peace. May the forces of Friendship, Devotion and Service, concentrated in him and now set free by his physical disintegration, enrich the hearts of all those who knew and loved him. He had international connections and he longed to see good relations established amongst peoples of all countries in the world. May that Force now work through us all.

Sevagram, 16-8-42

THE NEED FOR AN ALL-INDIA ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS

By PROFESSOR BINAYBHUSHAN RAKSHIT

THE need for an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters has been voiced forth from time to time by some of the leading lights of the country in the English as well as the Vernacular press. While no tangible results have so far come out, its urgency at present cannot be overestimated. The present war has indeed brought other and complex issues to the forefront and there is little leisure or composure for the pursuit of the arts of peace. But at the same time no country can afford its *literi humanioris* to suffer a decadence or its finer instincts to waste and languish. The future would be dismal indeed if any did. Every step must be taken now, if ever, to provide the necessary stimulus, especially in a country like ours, to the eminent thinkers, artists and writers to keep up the cultural level of the country on par with that of other parts of the civilized world. Further, inasmuch as India is culturally a single world-unit in spite of its diversity of linguistic and racial interests, it is

an undeniable necessity to provide and maintain an authoritative All-India body which will link up the separate linguistic units and interpret the mind and thought of India to the other cultural centres of the world. Its duty should be somewhat similar but not equal to those of the French Academy or the Royal Academy of Britain and it should be deemed a special distinction on the part of an author, poet or artist to be admitted a member of the proposed academy. Among its aims and objects may be included the consideration of the merits of deserving thinkers and artists in the different provinces of India, and giving them suitable recognition and impetus and where possible, bringing them to the world's notice.

The idea of such an All-India Academy originated with Dr. J. H. Cousins who in 1923 had actually formulated a scheme and circulated it in the various provinces, but unfortunately the matter fell through for want of sufficient

response. Later, in 1923, Mr. J. A. Chapman of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, revived the idea through a letter in the columns of the *Statesman*. Dr. Edward Thompson of Oxford also voiced the same idea in 'A Letter from India' (1932). Subsequently the idea has received the sympathy and support of several eminent Indians and of some of the leading Indian journals as well. Mention may be made in this connection of Dr. Kalidas Nag's appeal in the *India and the World* (1935), Mr. Atulananda Chakravarti's article in *The Modern Review* for July 1936, the editorials in the *Times Literary Supplement* (February 1, 1936) and *The Indian P. E. N.* (March 1936), advocating literary awards for India, among several others. The Nagpur session of the Indian Philosophical Congress (December, 1937) adopted a resolution favouring the establishment of an Indian Academy; and the All-India Oriental Conference too adopted a similar resolution in 1937 and its General Secretary issued a Questionnaire on the subject through the *Indian Antiquary* (January 1939).

The idea of creating such an Academy is therefore not a new one; it has been in the air long enough. There seems to be reason why leading luminaries from the different provinces should not put their heads together at least now and make the Academy a reality. It may be encouraging to all who are interested in the question that the idea has been given a fresh impetus by some workers in the literary field in Andhra. My humble effort in this brief article is to invite the attention of our cultural leaders all over India to the fresh start that the movement might get on this account. Mr. D. Visvesvara Rao of Vizianagram, has, I understand, put himself into touch with Dr. Cousins, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and other leading figures and has been touring through Madras and Andhra with a view to enlisting the sympathies of our leading intellectuals as well as patrons of culture, in this movement. The responses which Mr. Visvesvara Rao has so far received, verbal and financial, are somewhat encouraging, and they lead him to expect the possibility of arranging a preliminary conference of its sponsors and supporters at some cultural centre of India in the very near future.

The first thing that a conference of this kind may do is to sift and scrutinise all the

information so far collected, and, if possible, to draft a kind of working Constitution. It may also be useful to draw up a provisional list of the constituent bodies or institutions which have so far signified their sympathy with the objects of the movement. The idea is too big and comprehensive to be given effect to by stray individuals here and there. It needs and certainly merits the concerted efforts of some of our best intellects all over the land. The preliminary Committee should be fairly representative of the different provinces.—indeed, of all the linguistic and cultural units. Dr. Cousins has in a letter to Mr. Visvesvara Rao (dated 24-8-41) outlined his ideals of the matter briefly, promising to give them in detail after the movement has reached the stage of defining a Constitution.

"A couple of years ago," says Dr. Cousins, "the Oriental Conference made a move in the direction of an Academy which I had to criticise drastically because of its fundamental error in taking the British Academy as a model. The British Academy covers about one of the Constituent Academies that I proposed as sections of a Central Academy. An Indian Academy can only be compared to a future European Academy in size and the variety of its linguistic and cultural sections. It is a vast undertaking, yet essential to the true welfare of the country. Worked out on the basis of unity of spirit in variety of expression, it might well become a model for the future political organisation of India."

The Academy, as Dr. Cousins has visualised it, is to be not only an intellectual tribunal for the whole country but will through its provincial and sectional organisations serve to give impetus and encouragement to the many struggling and unrecognised poets and artists of the different linguistic areas. Each province of India has its own literary luminaries and the productions of some of them are not inconsiderable in worth and volume; but it is a pity that there is no means at present, of establishing any contact between, for instance, the Urdu writers of the Punjab and the Tamil and Telugu poets of the South. The proposed Academy while establishing such contacts will not only make known the literary output of different areas of the country to one another, but also try to win for some of them the laurels of recognition at the great Republic of Letters of the world. It is a great desideratum and the attention as well as the active endeavours of our leading men may well be directed towards its fulfilment.

Cocanada

THE CHINESE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

By SHANTI SWAROOP MATHUR, M.A. .

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Oriental nations were faced with the alternative of either adopting some form of Western organization or else accepting some form of Western domination. Japan alone among her neighbours chose the former course and proved herself so apt a pupil that today she is challenging her masters at their own game. China which possessed a more ancient and highly developed culture and was more or less sufficient unto herself decided to remain in seclusion. But it is no more possible for a nation than an individual to escape from the modern world. At first the Westerners tried to coax the Chinese authorities into granting them permission to trade with them, but when persuasion failed they resorted to the argument of force to which the Chinese had no effective reply. They began by demanding admission to opium trade but when this was refused they went to war and forced China to cede Hong Kong and open five other ports to British trade. Other nations were not slow to profit by this example. By slow degrees she was deprived of her right of controlling her foreign trade and the prerogative of imposing customs duties was delegated to an International Maritime Commission and most of the revenues thus raised were pledged to meet foreign loans which China had in foolish ignorance accepted from these foreigners. A more ignominious position for a great nation cannot be imagined. The upshot was that a feeling of resentment against the foreigners spread throughout the country which culminated in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. True, the rebellion was easily suppressed but the mask which the foreigners had so far worn as the saviour of the Chinese nation was effectively exposed before the whole world. To every sane-thinking Chinese it now became clear as daylight that the Manchu dynasty was hopelessly inadequate to meet the Western menace. A revolution followed and the Manchu dynasty gave way to a Republican Government.

The collapse of Manchu dynasty was for a short time succeeded by anarchic conditions until a new leader arose in the person of a brilliant Chinese scholar Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, a Christian by faith and a socialist by conviction. Under his inspiring leadership began an all-round drive for resuscitation of Chinese life

popularly styled as the New China Movement. A people's party, the Kuomintang, was formed with Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen as its President. The military atmosphere of Peking was found uncongenial to its growth and its headquarters were shifted to Canton in the South.

The Kuomintang from the outset was divided into two rival schools of thought though the split did not come to an open head until after Sun-Yat-Sen's death. The more moderate members of the Kuomintang desired to see their country liberated from foreign domination and have in its place a parliamentary government on the lines of Western democracies. The left wing was however inclined to Communism and desired to see sweeping land reforms for which the members of the right wing who mostly depended on land for their livelihood had little interest and sympathy. The rift came early after Sun-Yat-Sen's death. The right wing under the leadership of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek established a provisional Government at Nanking while the Communists deserted by right wing leaders shifted themselves to the adjoining province of Kiangsi.

Of these two parties, the Communists proved themselves the more active and agile agent in the revival of Chinese life. Wherever they went they rooted out landlordism, abolished serfdom, and prohibited illegal exactions. They also gained noteworthy success in their efforts to promote literacy among the Chinese masses. Schools by thousands were opened where the children learned the three R's and thus became ready material for the inoculation of Communist principles. Community singing was revived, new slogans calling attention to the peasant's poverty were devised and plays with ameliorative motifs in the background were staged in rough and tumble shelters.

The Nanking Government, on the other hand, was more or less a military dictatorship headed by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. Its strength rested on a highly organised army trained on European lines by German officers. Chiang gave it practical experience by employing it against the numerous war-lords whose petty principalities dotted all over the country. One by one they were all, barring the most powerful among them, were run over and China

at last acquired a semblance of political unity. This unity was consolidated by simultaneous development of transport facilities. Roads were built, railway lines were laid down and aerial navigation was introduced. Simultaneously a far-reaching programme of reconstruction touching all phases of Chinese life was embarked upon under the aegis of the National Economic Council in which the League of Nations nobly co-operated by lending an army of experts and advisers to help and guide the Chinese workers.

The progress and strength thus achieved by China, however, seriously alarmed Japan who aspired to be an Imperialist power and wished to dominate China as Britain dominated India. She also apprehended that if she delayed, Russia who too cast covetous eyes towards China may strike the first blow. It was, however, only with the accession to power of Baron Tanaka that Japan entered, upon a course of aggressive foreign policy. In 1927 Tanaka declared that Japan would be compelled to act in self-interest if the Chinese army which was then in hot pursuit of Chang-Tso-Lin, the warlord of China, entered Manchuria. As luck would have it, Chang-Tso-Lin was killed a few days later and was succeeded by his son Marshal Chang-Hsueh-Ling who at once made peace with the Kuomintang Government at Nanking. This was a bitter pill for the Japanese to swallow but for three years they kept quiet. Then suddenly in 1932 without any provocation she declared war upon China and swiftly over-ran the Manchurian provinces. Helpless China appealed to the League for help but the Great Powers, what to say of employing military force, even shrank from applying economic sanctions.

The Manchurian success became an incentive for further Japanese aggression. In 1935 the Japanese General Tada and Colonel Doihara opened negotiations with the Government of the five northern provinces of Chahar, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi and Suiyuan with an eye to setting up an autonomous regime in North China. They were however only partially successful. For Marshal Chiang Kai-shek got wind of these negotiations and ordered the governor to break them off at once. The Japanese however were able to organise an Autonomous Political Council and an autonomous regime in East Hopei under a puppet governorship.

The loss of East Hopei proved a blessing in disguise to the Chinese. They now realized with alarm that they were in imminent danger of being enslaved by the Japanese. A wave of

nationalism spread throughout the country. The student world by demonstrations and slogans roused the entire country-side. A lucky incident at this time paved the way for reconciliation of the Kuomintang and Communist leaders. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek had deputed Chang-Hsueh-Ling to keep the Communists penned in their mountain refuge in far-off Shansi but all of a sudden Chang-Hsueh-Ling deserted over to the enemy. Chiang Kai-shek was seriously alarmed at this defection of his subordinate and flew over to Shansi to probe the mystery personally. He was however made a prisoner by the Communists and was released only by the timely intervention of his wife and brother-in-law Mr. T. V. Soong. What actually transpired at their meeting is not known but from that moment the Communists shed away their anti-Kuomintang bias and likewise the Kuomintang also dropped its anti-Communist refrain. As later events were to show, this unity was achieved not a moment too soon.

On July 7th, 1937 the Japanese and Chinese soldiers exchanged shots on the borders of Peking. Even while the negotiations were in progress the Japanese smuggled large forces in Peking. The Chinese were caught napping and before they had time to mobilise their army, the Japanese had over-run the northern provinces. The Japanese who are obsessed by the German tactics of encirclement next launched a great pincer movement. The Northern Army was to march south by way of the Peking Valley while the Southern Army at Shanghai was to march north and effect a junction with the Northern forces at Suchow. Their plans however miscarried. The Japanese forces in the North advanced too quickly. Their forward units were cut off from their bases by the Chinese and utterly routed at Taierchwang. Their drive in the South was however an uninterrupted success. On the highly navigable waterway of the Yang-tse-Kiang they carried their troopships and warships right up to Hankow.

About this time another disaster befell the Chinese. The Japanese leaders had been long pressing for a naval landing in Canton. The Government had so far successfully resisted this demand fearing that an attack upon Canton carried with it the risk of hostilities with Great Britain. The impotency exhibited at Munich however decided the hands of Japanese militarists. A naval landing was successfully effected and as expected no opposition from Great Britain was encountered. With the fall

of Canton China lost its last foothold on the Chinese seaboard and to all intents and purposes was now virtually cut off from the outside world. Chiang and his army retired to west defeated but undismayed.

So much so for the struggle that China has waged on her own account against Japanese aggression. Before concluding, we may pause to ask what help have the Western democracies rendered in this epic struggle for human freedom. It is sad to relate that Britain, France and America from whom help was most expected have proved most disappointing. The only nation that whole-heartedly helped China was

Russia whose sympathies and interests were equally involved. Only when the democracies saw that Japan was meditating a stab in their backs too, they realized the imperative necessity of sending all-out help to China. The Burma road was hastily improvised and American troops and munitions were rushed off to China's help. But it was a futile race against time. The Japanese had already struck at their Eastern possessions and even before they had time to grasp the full significance of the fact they had been forced to withdraw helter-skelter to India. Too late did they realise the truth of Litvinoff's dictum that peace is indivisible.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AS ARTIST

By S. I. CLERK, B.A.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE at the age of sixty-seven flung a surprise on the world. The exhibition of his paintings at Paris in 1927 announced him to be an artist of colours and lines. He must have felt the inadequacy of the words (prose and poetry) to express himself.

"They (pictures) express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say."*

And what unique pictures are his! They belong to no school nor are they at all philosophical. They claim to have no hidden meaning, nor any message, but are merely a play of brush and colours. They are limited neither by any national boundaries nor by any time limits. In them the artist is not concerned with the technique. They are created not to prove the relative merits of a particular way in which their creator has created them.

Almost all of Tagore's pictures are spontaneous and intuitive. We agree with Dr. Coomaraswamy that the Poet "simply did not possess any training." Dr. Coomaraswamy regards the pictures of the Poet as just the results of "his playful vision." No doubt, some art critics do not agree with this point of view. They try to discover some philosophical truth or deep meaning behind these pictures. For these highbrows, we may as well quote Tagore himself :

"People often ask me about the meaning of my pictures. I remain silent even as my pictures are. It is for them to EXPRESS themselves and not to EXPLAIN. They have nothing ulterior to their own appearance,

and if that appearance carries its ultimate worth then they remain, otherwise they are rejected and forgotten even though they may have some scientific truth or ethical justification,"

thus wrote the Poet when his pictures were exhibited in Moscow in 1930. His pictures appear to be the expression of his untrained childlike vision—something quite distinct from his highly trained imagination we find in his poems or his transcendental wisdom in his prose writings. His pictures are neither photographic nor artificially and deliberately distorted versions of nature. To appreciate them requires no especial aptitude or training but only a lack of artificially fostered artistic sense.

Tagore's first pictures were created from the erasures on his manuscripts. Of this he writes :

"And therefore when the scratches in my manuscripts cried like sinners for salvation, and assailed my eyes with the ugliness of their irrelevance, I often took more time in rescuing them into a merciful finality of rhythm than in carrying out what was my obvious task."†

Tagore abandons his creative impulse to sheer accident. He could give no titles to his pictures.

"To give names to the pictures is absolutely impossible. I tell you the reason. *I do not draw after thinking of a subject.*" (italics are mine).

Nor is his theory of art pedantic in the least. He writes in his *Chitralipi* :

"Love is kindred to art, it is inexplicable. Duty can be measured by the degree of its benefit, utility by the profit and power it may bring, but art by nothing but itself."

This is not necessarily a theory of art for art's sake. It may be said to be that of art for

* Ramananda Chatterjee : *The Golden Book of Tagore.*

† R. C. Tanden : "Paintings of Rabindranath Tagore," an article in *S. P. Shah, In Memoriam.*

self-expression. And why should such a simple exposition of art be made into something grandiose? Those who attempt to do so have obviously failed to understand the spirit behind his pictures and his conception of art as such. There is no necessity to make his pictures look as serious studies when he himself maintained that they are not.

There is an interesting article by Rabindranath Tagore on "The Meaning of Art" (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, April, 1926). Therein he describes art as :

"For art is Maya, it has no other explanation but that it seems to be what it is. It never tries to conceal its evasiveness, it mocks its own definition and plays the game of hide and seek through its constant flight in changes."

And then we have his own definition of art :

"What is art?—It is the response of man's creative soul to the call of the real."

The artist like God creates. How can there be any question of imitating the nature? Had he lived a few years more, he would have revolutionized the entire conception of art. For the spirit underlying his picture is something strange, mysterious, something uniquely original. His pictures represent not even any scheme preconceived in his mind.

Tagore is veritably a unique artist. His paintings are the least representational, and yet they are the most natural; for they are spontaneous and creative. With them what seems to matter is not what they remotely appear to represent, but just the rhythm of the various lines and the colours. They are the poetry of lines and colours as his poems are said to be pictures of words. His art ought to be judged as such and no attempt should be made to distort the motives and the spirit underlying it so as to justify it in the light of the various well-known art techniques. Any such attempt must simply imply an utter misunderstanding of the spirit of Tagore's pictures. His art is too original to be classified into any 'ism.' It is a school in itself—a school so original and personal that it cannot have any followers; it must cease to exist when its creator can no more work.

Tagore's pictures reveal that what matters in true art is not the technique but the final work. To-day undue importance is given to technique—how a picture is done. We have art-critics who are more interested in the material the artists or the sculptors work on, in the various brush strokes, for instance, than in the design or the subject-matter, and perhaps least in the spirit of the picture or the statue.

We forget that a real artist does not in the least care for the technique. His pictures are too spontaneous for him to bother about the technique in which they are created. The artist who is very much absorbed in the technique of his pictures is an artisan or a draughtsman rather than an artist. Technique is a secondary thing. A picture is immortal not because it is the perfection of a particular technique, but because it has an intrinsic ultimate worth. Consequently, we may as well go to the length of maintaining that it must matter little as to whether a picture is done in the Indian style or the Western style or any other style, so long as it is spontaneous, sincere and genuine attempt on the part of the artist at self-expression. If it has the ultimate worth, it will remain and perhaps even be immortal, otherwise whatever its technique, it will go. I believe that little importance ought to be attached to the technique of a picture while attempting to criticise it. Naming various techniques and classifying the pictures accordingly may be useful to the art connoisseur, but it only makes difficult a true appreciation of the spirit underlying the pictures.

Somehow, Rabindranath Tagore as artist has not been paid the attention he deserves. Perhaps this may be because we are very much occupied with Rabindranath Tagore as poet, dramatist, and philosopher. Even the publishing machinery of Santiniketan has done little on this score. It has published *Chitrālīpi*, an album of his eighteen paintings but except one or two of these, others are certainly not his characteristic pictures. Even Mr. O. C. Gangoly at the end of his review of this album (*The Modern Review* for December, 1940) wants

"a second Collection of his typical Drawings of the 'weird' and 'fantastic' type, which appear to have been left out in this Collection. . . ."

Santiniketan is publishing Tagore's complete works in Bengali in a series of volumes called *Rabindra Rachanavali*. There is no reason why all his paintings should not be similarly published in a number of albums. I am sure that such albums (assuming them to be in English) would be very much appreciated both in India and abroad by the artists, the art-critics and also by the common admirers of Tagore. We want Santiniketan to give proper publicity to Tagore as artist. His pictures through reasonably priced but exquisitely brought out albums should enter our homes and show us an altogether new conception of art, besides making us aware of the grandeur of the artistic side of his almost versatile genius.

“ SACRED MEMORIES ”*

By AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

BIOGRAPHICAL literature has yet to reach its level in Bengali; there are solitary exceptions, but generally speaking, we have not yet achieved a fine fusion of the art and science of biography. The modern age demands an undeviatingly precise interpretation of great lives. At the back of our reluctance, there may have lain India's natural reverence for humanity which precludes a prying curiosity into the details of personality—and biographies must to a certain extent deal with details—so that we have allowed legends to grow round the favourable and essential aspects of our men of genius, rather than display a variety of facts lest false emphases be placed on the non-essential. Fear of abuse has led to the disuse of a literary form. But this attitude also betrays a lack of historical sense, and of eager human interest. Rabindranath himself commented on this lacuna, which springs from other-worldliness and defeatism, so alien to the vigorous spiritual traditions of India.

This book is a rare exception. The reader is struck by the true historical insight which has dared to face “ordinary facts” in a context so very extraordinary; authenticity has been gained by a candid inclusiveness. The author knew that Rabindranath's greatness needed no rarified mystery-mongering, it carried its supreme mystery in full daylight before the eyes of fellow-beings, and the highest praise would be a bare record of the poet's life. There is no evasiveness, nor any special pleading here to wish away some human trait or a passing mood in Rabindranath's mind; he was not super-human, but truly human, and therefore more possessed of divinity than most men are. We see Rabindranath's radiant personality, know him as a spiritual teacher, as a friend of the author's father, as a loving and much endeared member of the large family which is Santiniketan—not to be geographically limited, of course—and the stream of reminiscences flows evenly, taking us through years and days of affinity and nearness to a supreme man. The dominant theme is, however, the creative work of

Rabindranath, and the book is steeped in literary lore. It reveals the excitement of modern Bengal which not only witnessed a great artist at work, producing varied perfections, but actually saw him grow, and transcend his greatness by some yet greater achievement. A crescendo of literary and artistic interest, traced through these reminiscences, makes this book—particularly the early part—a biographia literaria of permanent interest. The great events are the new-coming of a song, or the writing of a drama. The first pages of *Gora*, an epitome of an age in Bengal, penned in the poet's fine hand, came as breathless wonder to the editorial office of *Prabasi*,—and to the editor's home. Each instalment was an occasion of supreme moment. Indeed, the editorial office of the famous journal is responsible for a number of fine sketches of the poet; Rabindranath would drop in there to meet the author's father, Ramananda Chatterjee, or go upstairs to visit the family. Such an event was rare but memorable. The sudden advent of the poet to the historic lane in Cornwallis Street was like the visitation of a dweller from another star—for the poet was always a man apart—and yet circumstantial details, such as the poet's long walk to the house from his ancestral residence in Jorasanko, or his ride in a hackney-carriage hailed in the street, show him in a refreshingly mundane and less known early context. The author, herself a creative writer, felt drawn to the exact circumstances attending the origin of a literary work of art, or of a great speech; and it is not only an unflinching and trained habit of accuracy but passionate interest in whatever the poet did and wrote and was, which serves to make this book truly historical.

As an instance of important historical evidence, one could mention the description of the famous Town Hall meeting in 1912, where eminent Bengalis gathered to celebrate the poet's fiftieth year; the aged Gurudas Bandyopadhyaya himself getting up to read a poem which he had addressed to youthful Rabindranath decades ago. The atmosphere, and the details which created it, the image of Rabindranath as he was then, are engraved on our mind. The 11th Magh Ceremony of that year, celebrated

* *Punya-Smriti* (Sacred Memories) by Sita Debi, Prabasi Press.

as usual in the courtyard of the Tagore house, is typical of many such annual celebrations, never more carefully described than here. The incidents connected with Rabindranath's postponement of a European voyage, his illness and mental tensions preceding that great visit which led to the publication of his English "*Gitanjali*" and world-recognition, are graphically portrayed. We have a homely and most absorbing personal background to the days when the poet did his English translations, partly in order to lighten the time of waiting before the voyage. An episode which has often been the subject of conjecture and misinterpretation—connected with the visit of eminent men, by special train, to Bolpur after the poet's recognition by the Nobel Prize Committee, and Rabindranath's own reactions—is, so far as I know, described in this book with greater accuracy and detachment than anywhere else. We are grateful for all the details, even of the food, and decorations, and the incidentals of the railway journey. A correct resume is given of the poet's noble and extremely sensitive answer to a well-meant but curious procedure which seemed to attach a melodramatic importance to the conferment of the Nobel Award to their own poet. The fact that he had been writing in their midst for nearly half a century, giving of his best, was, obviously, to some at least a matter of lesser consequence than extra-Indian publicity. There were, also, a number of bitter critics whose appearance by special train was due to non-literary reasons. The full facts are stated, and there is beauty as well as truth in the telling of them. Future writers on Rabindranath's life will have to come to this book for verification as well as the discovery of many such events. This is the scientific side of a good biography, and it is admirably illustrated in "*Punya-Smriti*."

But the artistic side, as I have pointed out, is often synchronised; many pages and paragraphs—particularly those dealing with the early evolutionary period of Santiniketan—are written with delicate charm. Pages eight to forty-nine, for example, give us an exquisite picture of Santiniketan as seen for the first time by young and eager eyes; the late arrival in Santiniketan,

with bare meadows and trees lit up by a waning moon, the morning in the *ashram*, the songs and festivals create a nostalgia for a Santiniketan and for an entire age of humanity which seem to have vanished. The poet who represented the spirit of that glory has also left us, but his presence shines undimmed in these pages. A wealth of details, minutely observed and delineated, will recapture a lost world for us—and also make it possible for us, who knows, to rediscover it in the Santiniketan of to-day and in our new future. The reality is there and this reminiscent volume makes us realise it.

The author's chronicle covers mainly the period from about 1899—when she first saw Rabindranath in her own infancy—to 1923. In 1923 she left for Burma, after having lived in Santiniketan for a long period and visited it frequently; then there are references to the poet's trips to the Far East, and to the East Indies when he passed through Rangoon. The main story is resumed in 1930, though the last years are sketched all too briefly.

The narrative moves and gathers force, making the reader identify himself with the poet's life as seen by the author. This is what a biographical and autobiographical study is meant to achieve.

One would plead for certain excisions; passages which came naturally to the pen at a time when Rabindranath's death was immediate and overwhelming could bear pruning; some condensing of material would also heighten the literary value. But there is the greatest justification for writing frankly and immediately in the personal reminiscent form—it is necessary to introduce our own personal background into the picture. How can a diary be otherwise? It is surely the duty of every writer who knew Rabindranath to contribute his memories while they are fresh in his mind; time may discard much of it but suppression of first-hand living testimonies would be a failure of duty and might well proceed from egoistic reasons. This book is entirely free from egoism because it is truly personal, and it is lit up from within by deep devotion to one whose name is a blessed memory.





Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

MY INDIA, MY AMERICA: *By Krishnalal Shridharani with an introduction by Louis Bromfield.* Published by Messrs. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, U. S. A. Pp. xx+648.

Shridharani, the author of more than half a dozen books in Gujarati, his mother-tongue, made his first appearance before Western readers by the publication of his "War Without Violence," a study of Satyagraha published in the United States. This, his second book in English, is a personal narrative divided into four parts—Personal, Social, National and Political.

The author tells us that his education commenced as a boarder at one of the Dakshinamurti chain of institutions situated in the outskirts of Bhavnagar in Gujrat. These were the first to adopt the Montessori method in the primary and the Dalton plan in the secondary stage. The teachers were familiar with the most recent educational theories and had sufficient ability and capacity to utilise them in their daily work. Though belonging to an orthodox high caste Hindu family, he made friends here with two untouchables. Only one who has visited Gujrat may appreciate all that this means. These had been admitted into the school because it was one of those which had accepted and given effect to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi regarding the treatment of untouchables. It is from here that we find the author coming under the Gandhian influence.

At the end of high school education, Shridharani, in opposition to the wishes of some of his relatives, joined the Gujrat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, then in the plenitude of its glory. He tells us how he enjoyed the visits paid to it by Mahatma Gandhi whose Sabarmati Ashram is within less than two miles from it. We are also informed that what he enjoyed most was Gandhiji's series of discourses delivered to the students on the Sermon on the Mount. This he regards as marking the beginnings of his allegiance to non-violence.

Taking part in the celebrated Salt March to Dandi and conducting propaganda among the rural folk, the author was one of the sixty *padacharis* who accompanied Mahatma Gandhi. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and was sent to Sabarmati Jail close to Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram. He has not failed to point out that there was a needless interval of two months between his arrest and his trial and that these two months were spent behind the bars.

When Shridharani came out, the Gujrat Vidyapith was still closed under Government orders and he joined Tagore's Santiniketan where he graduated. The reader who is desirous of learning how his character was mould-

ed in this centre of Indian culture and learning is referred to the book itself. From here he went to America to join the Columbia University, where he secured his doctor's degree.

The personal touch Shridharani was able to establish with two of the greatest of Indian leaders has enabled him to give very readable accounts of not only Tagore and Gandhiji but also of their close associates. Thus his descriptions of Nehru and of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan are very interesting. The sketches of Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajagopalachari, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, M. A. Jinnah and Mrs. Naidu, necessarily short, are full of many interesting facts generally not known to the ordinary Indian.

Obviously a man with a keen sense of humour, Shridharani has pulled the American leg and pulled it hard in the chapter headed "Hindus are Human Beings," where he has dealt with the American conception of the Hindu. After informing his readers how every Indian is regarded as either a fortune-teller, a magician, able to disappear into space or as a Maharajah, he tells us how unscrupulous Indians make capital out of this ignorance of even some cultured Americans.

After giving us India through American eyes, the author presents America through Indian eyes to his readers. This chapter is equally characterised by bright and sparkling wit. Incidentally, references have been made to the ways in which bureaucracy operates in the land of freedom and in India, confessedly a dependency of Britain.

In the chapter headed "Other Lands, Other Ways" in which he compares and contrasts American and Indian ways of life and the ideals which lie behind them, Shridharani is not only amusing and clever but has revealed remarkable acumen in observing and commenting on them. One instance of the very clever and yet very amusing if not cruel way in which he makes his point is found in the characterisation of the Englishman and the Indian in the following terms:

One Englishman—An idiot.
Two Englishmen—Two idiots.
Three Englishmen—The greatest power in the world.
One Indian—A philosopher.
Two Indians—Argument.
Three Indians—Confusion.

In the fourth part devoted to the discussion of the political issues now pending between India and Britain, Shridharani has put the Congress point of view very clearly thus proving that he has retained his youthful loyalty to Indian nationalism. His remarks on the communal problem are worth study and consideration. The reviewer also recommends the section dealing with the

menace to India from her eastern borders and desires to state in that connection that it was written long before any one, including the leading statesmen of the west, had even dreamt of the Japanese invasion and occupation of Malaya and Burma and their unavoidable implications. Here the writer has not failed to point out the folly of the British Government in not trusting India sufficiently to give her children military training.

Dr. Shridharani is a nationalist, which is inferable not only from the account he has given of the institutions where he was educated in India, by his analytical study of Satyagraha in his "War Without Violence" but also by the fact that when it was published in America, he described himself in the title page as "Disciple of Gandhi." Written with an eye to interest the general reader, the book is full of hard facts, the conclusions drawn from them being an exposition and a notable vindication of Indian nationalism.

Master of a somewhat ornate and colourful style, Shridharani wields it with effortless ease. The occasional use of Indian words, mainly Sanskrit, with appropriate translations imparts an additional charm and probably, so far as his western readers are concerned, communicates to it an exotic flavour which should be pleasing to them. The discreet use of stories taken from Indian Scriptures by way of illustration in order to convey the Indian point of view to the western reader is another noteworthy feature of the book.

Predominantly a personal narrative, the author has drawn upon his own experience for his materials and their interpretation which are presented in a very attractive form. The personal note, however, though present is never obtrusive.

The assimilation of what stands for the best in American life and culture by the author who is proud of his ancient Indian heritage and tradition has, as revealed in the book under review, produced a personality which should win the sympathy of both eastern and western readers.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA—RECENT SPEECHES BY "C. R.": Edited by A. Kaleswara Rao, M.L.A. Published by Rochouse & Sons Ltd., 292, The Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1.

This is a collection of speeches by Shri C. Rajagopalachariar, the well-known Congress leader during his Tamil Nad and Rayalaseema tour early this year. The main thesis of the speeches related to defence and the constitutional deadlock. With his usual lucidity "C. R." elaborates his thesis that participation in the defence of the country made an Indian 'national' government a *sine qua non*, that the Congress and Muslim League were united in their demand for independence, that irrespective of government the people must organise the villages as self-sufficient units and that the people of India can defend themselves, even unarmed. Since these speeches were delivered, the Indian scene has witnessed rapid changes, including what has been regarded as a *volte face* by "C. R." Yet, one can find in the speeches the lurking shadow of "C. R.'s" recent conversion to the tenets of some of his adversaries, and the editor of the speeches has appended a speech by "C. R." made in June, 1940 at a District Conference in his own presidency, evidently to emphasise the continuity of the speaker's mental approach.

It is, however, significant that the collection is prefaced by "C. R.'s" Lucknow University Convocation address, in which the German spirit and the recent German 'revival' under Hitler are extolled. The

speaker, again, often mentions the Japanese threat, but has no hard words against Fascists in Japan or Germany. It is the nationalist in "C. R." who apparently still guides his approach to the problems of a world whose destinies can hardly (*pace*—even the Congress Working Committee's resolution for the August, 1942 meeting of the A.I. C. C. at Bombay) be considered irrespective of a co-ordinated international scheme.

The Indian case however, could hardly be better presented, with so little heat, and with such admirable reasonableness and gems of humour and analogical anecdotes. The war can not be concluded, he emphasises, by an extermination of either side, but by "removing the causes of jealousy among the nations." "We, the unfortunate people of India, Africa, East Indies and the like, are the causes of this war. . . If the bones are removed the dogs will settle down. Therefore, it is, I say, that the freedom of India is the only possible conclusion to all this fighting."

This slender collection deserves a wide circulation amongst both those who seek to prove or to disprove the various "current coins" in the discussions on the Indian problem and the war, for "C. R." is suggestive and leaves too many gaps to be filled in. It is well-known that, but for the very wary, "C. R.'s" intellect has proved all too slippery.

The get-up and editing do considerable injustice to the contents and one wonders why the photographs of buildings and ruins and of other public men have been included.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE

JAPAN'S PURPOSE IN ASIA: By Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I. London. 1941. Pp. 61. Price 1s.

This highly interesting brochure written by one of the acknowledged authorities on Far Eastern questions was published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs only a few days before Japan declared war against Britain and the United States. It thus offers an admirable and realistic background in which the war in the Pacific has to be studied and understood. In this monograph Sir Frederick Whyte presents and analyses the principal elements of Japan's potentialities as a belligerent. This book seeks to trace Japan's course from the alliance with Britain to the new partnership in the Axis. It reveals her as having made great territorial gains and some economic advantages during the period when the other Powers were pre-occupied with their own problems elsewhere. It enumerates the component factors in the national balance-sheet of Japan, in an endeavour to estimate her decreasing assets and measure her increasing liabilities. The author's interpretations are objective and impartial. Taking the long view of the different economic and social factors and judging their combined effect on Japan's power and prospects as a belligerent, the author holds the view that no disabling crisis is likely to arise during the first twelve months of warfare. The rapidity with which difficulties would increase thereafter depends on the volume of reserve stocks actually held in Japan. This, however, leaves out of account the recent territorial gains since Japan entered the war. Besides, any estimate regarding stocks is bound to be elastic owing to the suppression of recent statistics.

The author warns the readers not to measure Japan's power and potentialities by material factors alone. The national psychology of the Japanese people is, according to the author, a highly important factor in appreciating Japan's total resources. Political propaganda has taught the Japanese people, for the past ten years, that they must tighten their belts in order to win their due place

in the sun. Grievances have been exploited to show that nothing but a supreme national effort could solve their social and economic problems. Expansion abroad has been preached as the only relief from pressure at home. Although there has lately been marked pressure on the standard of Japanese livelihood due to the steady rise in the cost of living, the author recognises that stoicism and patriotism of the Japanese are hardly exceeded anywhere. The author further points out that among the purposes and motives of "Co-Prosperity Sphere" there is a missionary spirit which is neither selfish nor brutal. The author believes that the Japanese way of life has within it a strong religious motive, more truly religious perhaps than anything to be found in the civilisation and thought of China. Reverence is one of the qualities of the Japanese spirit. The author considers the worshipping crowds in Kyoto, the mystical influence of the Shrine at Ise and the sacred motive in Japanese drama represented by the Kabuki Theatre and "No" plays as some of the outstanding witnesses of the permeating influence of religion on the Japanese national life. The author holds that these are gifts which Japan will not willingly lose. In many Japanese eyes, they are endangered by the invasion of the scientific spirit from the West. Hence the rally of historic Japan against the modernism of Europe and America. Hence the anti-Western and anti-democratic movement. Hence, too, the resistance to Soviet Communism. This complicated texture of Japanese idealism has produced a conflict among the ideologies of the youth. The war would undoubtedly aggravate the conflict. Is it not possible that a new and progressive generation would emerge out of this bitter conflagration in the land of the rising sun freed from the shackles of the Samurai?

MONINDRAMOJAN MOULIK

EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL: By Sushil Kumar De, M.A. (Calcutta). D.Lit. (London), Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Dacca. Published by the General Printers and Publishers Limited, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10.

Though Neo-Vaisnavism or Caitanyaism is slowly gaining ground among people of higher castes in Bengal, there is very little sign of a corresponding eagerness to know and interpret the import and implications of the teachings propagated by Caitanya and his immediate followers. In fact, later phases of the movement, generally expounded in easily understandable Bengali, have to some extent eclipsed its earlier and original aspect, enshrined in rather difficult scholarly works in Sanskrit, and have become more popular. In the present work the learned author has taken upon himself the laudable task of presenting the dogmas and doctrines of early Caitanyaism or the Vrindaban tradition as distinguished from the Navadvip tradition or later developments, mostly in the words of contemporary writers. He has for this purpose given critical accounts of the lives and activities of Caitanya and his direct disciples, including a comprehensive account of the "much-neglected" "abundant and versatile" literature produced by them. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri referred in the nineties of the last century to the regrettable want of a systematic account of the Vaisnava literature of Bengal and the present reviewer contributed a bird's-eye view survey of this literature which indicates a "desire on the part of the Vaisnava teachers to be self-contained from a literary standpoint by creating an independent literature for themselves, in the various branches, which preserved the peculiarities of the faith." (*Annals of the Bhandarkar*

Oriental Research Institute, Vol. I, p. 116). Dr. De has now quite satisfactorily removed the want with reference to the earlier period of this literature. He has summarised at length, chapter by chapter, all the important theological, philosophical, ritualistic and biographical works of this period and indexed the references to works and authors found in them. All this will be highly useful to future workers besides being helpful to a general scholar in forming his own estimate about the faith directly from the words of the propounders faithfully represented here in their proper setting and sequence. The work will thus be equally welcome to the students of literature, philosophy as well as religion.

Though there may be honest difference of opinion with regard to matters of detail here and there, two sections of the work dealing with some of the essential features of the faith, e.g., Caitanya worship as a cult (pp. 320 ff) and ethics of Bengal Vaisnavism (pp. 412 ff) will be read with special interest and profit.

The world of scholars will much appreciate if Dr. De continues this important work and some day gives a full account of other phases of Vaisnavism prevalent in Bengal, together with their literature including interesting works like the *Radhatantra* which seeks to interpret the life and activities of Krishna from the point of view of a Sakti-worshipper, so-called Tantrik texts demonstrating the divinity of Caitanya and the *Caitanyamahābhagavata* of Nrsimha, a newly discovered Sanskrit work on the life of Caitanya belonging to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and noticed in its journal by the undersigned.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1940: Printed by the Assistant Superintendent at the Government Branch Press, Mysore. 1941. Pp. i-x, 1-216. Plates I-XXVI.

This admirable report embodying the work of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1940 is divided into seven parts. The first part briefly deals with the administration of the whole department. In the second part, we find an account of the conservation-work carried out in the year. Among those monuments which have undergone repair, special mention may be made of the Mahalingesvara temple in Mysore district, the Mallesvara, Lakshmi-Narayanaswami, Kesava, Kallesvara, Virabhadra, Gopalakrishna, Chennakesava and Mallikarjuna temples in Mandya district, the tomb of Shahji, father of the great Sivaji in Shimoga district, Kala-Bhairava temple in Kadur district, Kolavamma, Somesvara and Amara-Narayanaswami temples in Kolar district. In the third part, we find many interesting and useful accounts of monuments and sites; and in this connection accounts of old Basti ruins, Mari, Basavanna, Mahadevesvara, Mahalingesvara, Ankanathesvara, Somesvara, Manjundeesvara, Tandavesvara temples in Mysore district, Fort in Bangalore district, Mallesvara, Lakshmi-Narasimha (Somanahalli), and Lakshmi-Narasimha (Devalapura) temples in Mandya district, Shahji's tomb in Shimoga district are of particular interest. The fourth part, which deals with excavation is most important and interesting. The excavation carried out at Brahmagiri is of great importance. Here a detailed and scientific account of this excavation is given. One of the most important points to be noted here is that this site serves as a link between the historic civilization of the Maurya age and the prehistoric civilization of the Deccan. There is also an interesting account of the excavations carried out at

Chandragiri. In the fifth part, there is an interesting account of the coins, mainly Pallava, Chera, Kadamba and Minor Kadamba. In the sixth part, there is an account of manuscripts which have been found. In the seventh part, there are altogether 48 new inscriptions of which the English translation and notes are given. There are also three appendices, the first dealing with the list of photographs taken during the year, the second, the list of prepared drawings and the last the list of books acquired for the library.

It is an excellent volume giving an authoritative account of the Archæological department of the Mysore State. There is nothing to speak ill of it except one. There is not a single article which is signed. The names of authors ought to have been given along with the articles to give personal stamp to them and also to encourage in a far greater degree the men who are responsible for them.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, Vol. II, Nos. 3 AND 4, 1939-40 : *Editor—Dr. B. S. Guha. Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 10 or 7s. 6d. per volume.*

The present number contains obituary notices regarding Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, two of the most celebrated anthropologists of modern India. It also contains the following articles : Studies on the Heredity of Palmar Pattern, The Practical Value of Social Anthropology, Notes on the Comparative Anthropology of the Christian Mukkuven Women of Travancore on the Palmar Prints of the Bengalis, Freiherr von Eickstedt and his Visit to the Andamans, A Contribution to the Anthropology of the Hindukush Kafirs, On the Megalithic Monuments of Cochin State, Kinship in the Vedic Period, Further Note on the Classification of the Nasal Elevation Index and Book Reviews. The subjects comprised thus range from Social, Physical and Applied Anthropology to Prehistory.

The standard maintained in the present volume is of a high order, and, we are sure, the Institute will continue its activities in the service of one of the lesser known sciences of India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE GITA EXPLAINED : *By Dnyaneshwar Maharaj. Translated into English by Prof. Manu Subedar, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.), London, Bar-at-law, Palli Hill, Bandra, Bombay. Price Rs. 5. (Paper bound Rs. 4-8).*

Sant Dnyaneshwar was a great Maratha Yogi, who flourished about seven hundred years ago. His discourses on the Gita, better known as Dnyaneshwari, has been a source of inspiration and guidance to the learned as well as the ignorant, to the seekers of spiritual truth as well as to the men of the world, of the Marathi-speaking people. The present reviewer came to hear of this book at Hardwar from a Sadhu who referred to it in glowing terms. Unfortunately this remained so long a sealed book to the rest of India on account of linguistic difficulties. Prof. Subedar, therefore, deserves our grateful thanks for opening to us this mine of spiritual wisdom by translating it into English from original Marathi. Any careful reader may feel at every page how the translator has struggled for the sake of accuracy and perspicuity.

The message of the Sant was the eternal message of Advaita, which is also the message of the Vedas and the Upanishads; but though the message was old, the method of exposition was original. He seems never to have lost sight of the fact that he was speaking to

the common people and therefore he spoke to them in the language which they could understand; and to bring his points home to them he used strings of similes and metaphors, either derived from natural phenomena or based on human experience. "I have introduced these comparisons, because they are necessary for a correct understanding of true non-violence," he remarked in one place and this is the method which he followed throughout his exposition of the Gita.

Though his standpoint is that of an Advaitin, he is not in agreement with the teachers of that school in all points. His exposition of the doctrine of Purushottama—the cardinal doctrine of the Gita—is practically original; as also is his interpretation of the various ideals of Karma, Yoga, Dnyana and Bhakti. In fact the reader may expect to come upon some new idea in every page of the book. To do justice to it in a short review is therefore impossible. But at the same time it will be worthwhile to quote only one extract, summing up the main teaching of the Gita, according to the Sant, and illustrating his originality and method of interpretation.

"O heroic Arjuna, make Me all-enveloping, the object of all your mental and bodily activities. Just as the wind is joined to the Akasha from all sides, so whatever action you do, do it for the love of Me. In short, make your mind My dwelling... In this way, you will secure My full protection. Then in this world, no third thing will exist for you and you will find complete unity between Me and you... When water is destroyed, the orb (of the sun) is joined to the original without any difficulty. On account of the existence of the body, there is the distinction between you and I. The moment this distinction is destroyed, you will assume My form. Do not have any doubt with regard to this doctrine."

ISANCHANDRA RAY

THE HOLY MOTHER : *Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas ten.*

In the book under review, the reader will find the story of the life of Saradamani Devi, the wife of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, a life which was lived so silently and unostentatiously that its very simplicity was bewildering and yet the depth of whose richness seemed unfathomable even to those who were universally respected for their spiritual greatness. She was the personification of humility and there was not the slightest trace of egotism in her. She always felt that she was nothing and the Master (Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa) was everything. Yet thousands of people flocked to her for guidance in the perplexing situations of their life. Her power to solve the intricate problems of spiritual life was remarkable. In her life was found a wonderful mixture of the human and the divine.

She was an essential part of the same Power that descended on earth as Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa to show light to the world and to guide humanity to the haven of peace and bliss. Her life was so rich in spiritual experience that even a partial glimpse of it is sure to bring infinite good to many.

The example of the life the Holy Mother lived and the message she left behind are portent means of transforming many lives and a source of strength and inspiration to a larger number of men and women.

We recommend this book for the reverential study of all those who can afford to do so.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

FUTURES TRADING AND FUTURES MARKETS IN COTTON : *By H. L. Dholakia, Ph.D. Published by the New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. 1942. Pp. 303. Price Rs. 10.*

The interest of this book is equalled only by its usefulness. Authoritative publications on Futures Trading and Futures Markets are fewer than what the importance of the matter should demand. The subject is complicated in itself and lack of dependable books of reference has always made its study rather difficult. In publishing this treatise Dr. Dholakia has not only broken new grounds but has thrown light on many obscure corners of the Futures Market. He has approached the problem from all aspects and made his treatment as comprehensive as could be desired. He has described the structure of the Markets, beginning from its origin, in India and abroad, analysed its essential pre-requisites, examined its organisation, referred to the clearing system and has given a most interesting description of the markets, as they have developed, with particular emphasis on the conditions obtaining in India. The merit and usefulness of the Futures Markets lie, however, in the formation of prices, in the allocation and distribution of the risks, and in insuring against seasonal fluctuations. How far the markets in India have been successful in meeting these ends and what have been their economic services to the traders as well as to the prime producers, have been ably analysed by the author, and while he has not hesitated to point out the defects he has shown that the existence of such markets is in the interest of every one who handles or is, in any way, associated with the trading in the commodity. Dr. Dholakia has some hard words to say against the inordinate speculation and one cannot disagree with him that such drastic steps as the shortening of the period of clearings, introduction of a system of maintaining a minimum amount of deposit with clearing houses, adoption of the compulsory marginal system for clients in proportion to the magnitude of the business put in, should be adopted. Another radical suggestion he makes is to ensure more effective and impartial control by the inauguration of a body recognised by the Statute, so that any breach of its bye-laws may be effectively dealt with and the conduct of the market can be based on just and equitable principles safeguarding the interests of all concerned. Dr. Dholakia has referred to the effects of the War on the Cotton Futures and concluded that the Market has stood up to its many embarrassments in a most befitting and noteworthy manner. Without differing from him, it is suggested that while its ability to meet the exigencies of the War is undoubtedly an evidence of its inherent strength, the near future will show its capacity for adjustments. Dr. Dholakia deserves to be congratulated for his patient study, critical examination and daring observations of a subject which, in spite of its admitted importance to the agricultural economy of the country, has not received from our economists the attention that it richly deserves.

MUKUL GUPTA

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING, PART I: By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (London). Published by the Author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. With two supplements: (i) Text and Translation of some laudatory verses on the Muslim Patrons of Sanskrit Learning, (ii) The Asafa-vilase-akhyaika by Jagannatha Panditaraja, ed. for the first time. Price Rs. 2-8.

We are glad to find that Dr. Chaudhuri has started a unique and timely series dealing with the cultural unity of the Hindus and Muslims in Medieval India. In the present volume, he has amassed facts that at once lead to the conclusion that there is no internal reason for any communal tension between the Hindus

and the Muslims; on the other hand, past history shows that there should prevail a time-honoured friendship between the two leading communities of India. Dr. Chaudhuri successfully proves here that there flourished in Muslim Courts such great Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians as Bhanukara, Jagannatha Panditaraja, Akbariya Kalidasa, etc., and many other poets. The exhaustive treatment of the development of Sanskrit Learning during Muslim rule is a very pleasant and interesting study. It is indeed no mean pleasure to learn from authentic and authoritative sources that many Muslim scholars, including members of royal families, devoted their whole-hearted energies to the propagation of Sanskrit Learning, and not a few of them have actually contributed to Sanskrit Literature. The two supplements also much enhance the worth of the work. The informations have all been collected, as in all other works of Dr. Chaudhuri, from a large number of unpublished manuscripts.

This pioneer work establishing the time-honoured fraternity of the Hindus and the Muslims, is indeed a most valuable contribution to Indian History and Culture. We have no doubt that like his other series, this too will be acclaimed both by scholars and laymen alike. We whole-heartedly recommend the book specially to those who are at present engaged in the task of bringing about a harmony between the two great communities of India.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

SANSKRIT

STOTRAGITA: By Umesh Chandra Chakravarti. Sri Sri Narayan Asram, Ramanath Bhavan, Mriga, Myseningsh.

Stabas and stotras are akin to hymns and psalms—songs of praise expressing our feelings of awe and reverence. *Stotragita* is a collection of such hymns in simple Sanskrit composed by the author, containing thirty-four stotras in praise of father and mother, gods and goddesses. Though the writer has in places departed from the rigid rules of Sanskrit prosody, some of the stotras are praise-worthy metrical compositions breathing of sincere religious fervour. The price has been mentioned as any donation towards the founding of a Kali temple in the author's native village. S.

BENGALI

ALEKHYA: By Sri Ramapada Mukhopadhyay. Published by Banga-bharati Granthalay. Price Rs. 2.

A novelist of repute, the author presents here some really enjoyable short stories. By keen observation of men and manners, he has culled his materials from everyday life, but never has he lost the sense of mystery that surrounds our existence. Life is inexplicable. He, therefore, does not seek to solve its riddles, but presents it in changing hues and amuses himself in its endless apparent contradictions. We feel, as we go through these stories; how often we err in our estimate of individuals when we evaluate their actions without the consideration of underlying psychological factors.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

FOSSIL: By Subodh Ghosh. Published from Navasahitya Niketan, 32, Baghbazar Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

The book is a collection of nine short stories in Bengali and is named after the first story 'Fossil.' Notwithstanding the fact that there are today many good writers of short stories in Bengali, his very first volume shows the author to be a powerful writer of short stories.

A variety of subjects, not usually traversed by other

writers of the day provides materials for Mr. Ghosh's stories, and he handles his materials in a masterly fashion. His characters, dialogue and setting—all combine to make the stories most beautiful and thoroughly entertaining.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

HINDI

VIDYAPATI KAVYALOKA : *By Narendranath Das Vidyalkar. Published by Mitra-Mandal, Laheria-serai, Darbhanga. Pp. 344. Price Rs. 2.*

After the "Vidyapatir Padavali" of the late Sri Nagendranath Gupta, which was the pioneer attempt that was made in presenting to the public in Bengal, the poetry of Vidyapati, "the Cuckoo of Maithili," no other standard book in any other Indian language on the subject (as far as the reviewer knows) was published for many a year. This was rather surprising because the great poet's influence, not only on the poets of his own province, but also on those beyond its frontiers had been at work for centuries. The present volume, therefore, is very welcome and will be widely appreciated by the students of Hindi literature. It is comparative in its spirit and comprehensive in its study.

Going through the book one is reminded of the well-known verses of Wordsworth :

"A voice so thrilling never was heard
In spring time from the Cuckoo bird."

For, Vidyapati's rhapsody on love suggests to the soul the presence of perpetual spring. It gives pleasure no doubt, but that pleasure is touched with the magic of mysticism. That is why like all great poetry, though his poetry "smacks of the soil" in which it was born in the fourteenth century, it has yet in it the "aspiring instinct of the pine that climbs for ever toward diviner air," and, one may add, towards timelessness, too. And so if his songs are woven into the very fabric of Maithili society, they have an appeal for and kinship with, what is fundamentally human. This is confirmed by the echoes of his vision and voice which one finds in the works of the Sanskrit, Bengali, Maithili and Hindi and English poets. The author has given many "parallels" between Vidyapati's sentiments and style of expression and those of Kalidas, Chandidas, Govind Das, Tulsidas and Shakespeare, thus proving once again, that true poets are "citizens of the world." No wonder, then, that the current of Vidyapati's melody of Love will ever continue to flow, for the sport of love between Radha (soul) and Krishna (oversoul) is eternal. And as love is the highest logic, there is many a moral maxim as well scattered here and there in his poetry.

Vidyapati Kavyaloka is a great achievement, a highly sympathetic and scholarly interpreter of the mind and message and music of the master-poet of Maithili.

ARYASAMAJ ZINJABAD : *By Rishideva Vidyalkar. Available from the author at 5, Hilton Road, Lucknow. Pp. 82. Price annas ten.*

A fervent and forceful plea for presenting widely the message of the Arya Samaj because the author believes that the teachings of Rishi Dayanand, the illustrious founder, have a certain life-giving quality in them. He would like to see the Samaj becoming, once again, a powerful leaven in the individual as well as in the national life.

G. M.

TELUGU

RASTRA PRABODHAM : *By T. Venkata Reddi. Printed at Sri Vidya Press, Vizianagaram. Pp. 12. Price annas two only.*

This booklet contains a long patriotic poem. The

poet reveals herein the glories of Andhradesa, past and present, in picturesque rhymed verse.

The poem is full of lyrical eloquence and fine sentiments.

ANJALI : *Published by Sadhana Samiti, Secundraabad. Pp. 34. Price annas four only.*

The book under review contains short poems by several young amateurs. Some of the poems are marked for their artistic development and expression.

This book is too fragmentary to give a correct perspective of the poetic thought in our present literature, yet one infallibly sees a bright future in days to come.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

MARATHI

CHAKORI-BAHER : *By Mrs. Vasumati Dharkar, G.A. Pub., P.A. Chitre, B.A. Almaram Printing Press, Kharibav, Baroda. Demi 8vo. size. Pp. 122. Price not mentioned.*

This is a collection of 9 short stories by the writer and is her first endeavour in the field of story-telling. It has a foreword from the pen of Mr. V. M. Joshi, the well-known scholar and literary critic. We agree with Mr. Joshi's remarks in it, that the sequence of events in some of the stories is not convincing, by which is meant that the conclusion to which they proceed is not always related to their denouement as event to cause. However, the stories are written with an earnestness which aims at exposing some of the evils in the society which is fast changing. What is specially worth noting in the tenor of these stories is that they do not bid good-bye to the basic moral values of the social structure, in a frantic zeal at over-modernisation. The language and the style are both chaste and appropriate. We wish the authoress greater success in her further attempts.

D. N. ARTE

GUJARATI

AKHO : *By Umashankar Joshi. Published by the Gujarati Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2.*

The Gujarat vernacular society, the premier body in Gujarat for literary pursuits, has recently opened a Research Department. Prof. Joshi is attached to that department, and he has brought out after considerable research and study of manuscripts and original material a remarkable monograph on Akho, the philosopher-poet of old Gujarat. Based on examination of all available materials, he has come to certain conclusions, which are an improvement on those already arrived at. He is of opinion that Akho is not an original writer but has been inspired by writers like Mandan preceding him, and it seems to be so. He rightly says that in order to understand a poet and his works, one must study the state of society when he wrote; and accordingly he has devoted one whole chapter to that subject and acquitted himself well. On the whole, it is a very creditable piece of research work and lays the foundation of still better work to come.

BE KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR : *By (the late) Mahadev Haribhai Desai. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1941. Paper cover. Pp. 110. Price annas ten.*

The "Two Servants of God" whom the writer describes in his inimitable and attractive style are Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and his brother Dr. Khan Sahab. Their simple and patriotic lives are narrated in detail and will repay perusal. This is the second edition.

K. M. J.

CALDERON

BY PROF. G. L. SHUKLA

Let me take you today to Spain—the country of moonlight and serenades. Here in 1600 A.D. was born Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca. He is considered to be the greatest lyrical poet of Spain, and it is safe to maintain that he is one of the greatest of all time. He wrote some 120 plays besides more than 70 *Autos Sacramentals*—which are one-act theological discussions “carried on exclusively by supernatural or allegorical personages.” His comedies were of the first vintage—sparkling and titillating. They were known all over the world and many a distinguished writer was attracted to practise what is mildly called plagiarism on them. Even Dryden, Goethe, Shelley and Bridges were under obligations to him. His *El Magico Prodigioso* is claimed to have anticipated Goethe's *Faust*. He enjoyed a monopoly of the hearts of the Spaniards and stood highest in their esteem. In deference to the wishes of the King, he came out of his religious retirement to write an auto. Immediately after he had finished the play, Death wrote “Finis” to his earthly career. Thus in the words of Cotareloy Mori, he died like the swan, singing. That was in 1681.

It is interesting to note certain parallels between him and Rabindranath. Both lived exactly for 81 years. Both were prolific in their writings. Both soared highest on the wings of poesy and revealed their imaginative splendour in poetry. The lyrics of both have found their way to the hearts of their countrymen and have woven themselves into the pattern of their every-day life. Both were regarded as the greatest figure in their country and both commanded unrivalled admiration. Both died in harness. But there is one difference and that is great. Calderon is austere and somewhat cold. Rabindranath is intense and has warmth. The one is a marble-slab; the other is a candle. Calderon views life as if from a belvedere; Rabindranath comes down, mixes with the masses and shares their laughter and tears. Detached emotionally from things wordly, the former is attached only to a strictly religious way of life. The personality of the latter is interwoven with the various facets of life, which are equally interesting to him. He is for ever trying to comprehend emotionally the world around him. Like the artists of Ajanta, he is at once sensuous and detached. With the one, detachment is exclusion; with the other it is non-indulgence.

For a full and correct appreciation of Calderon's works, it is necessary to remember that he was steeped in Christianity. “He showed himself a great Christian in a long string of dramatic sacramental acts (autos).” Of Shakespeare it has been said that “the hero of his Elizabethan tragedies is England” while “that of his Jacobean tragedies is mankind.” Of Calderon it may be said that the hero of his plays is Christianity. Even in his highly sentimental melodramas he digresses to throw in a Christian discourse. He dwells on the brilliance of life's candle, but does so with an ever-present consciousness of the snuffer. Unlike Chaucer, his aim is always to edify and only rarely to please. He would nod approvingly, when Wordsworth says: “High is our calling, friend.”

Had Calderon lived in our times, he would certainly have been awarded Nobel Prize for Literature on his comedy *La Vida Es Sueno*. I propose to present before the readers specimens of poetry from this play, for any one wishing to appraise him as poet must of necessity take up one or the other of his plays. It is rather unfortunate that the drama-mania of his age compelled him to throw all his lyrical poetry in a dramatic frame. This has served to obscure, in more places than one, the purely lyrical brilliance. In fact his title to fame lies not in his being a play-wright but a poet. His dramatic merits are not many. His plots are full of bombast which “confounds otherwise distinct outlines of character.” The arrangement of scenes reveals utter disregard for exigencies of the stage; “...violations of the probable, nay possible, that shock even healthy romantic license” and “repetitions of thought and images” are not wanting. His characters are, in the words of Goethe, as alike as leaden soldiers. Their creator is for ever looking over their shoulders and, like the guardian-angel, guarding them against all aberrations. The result is that, like a youth always conscious of the praying eyes of his mentor, they have become tame and anaemic not knowing what full-blooded life is. They can be likened to figures in a wax-museum, which move only when their creator takes them by the nose.

La Vida Es Sueno, which means “Life is a Dream,” has been compared to *Hamlet* and *Faust*. The story of the play, one of the most dramatic and entirely original, is easily told.

King Basilio of Poland is also an astrologer. He reads in the stars that his only son will be savage and wild and will end by trampling upon his own hoary head. The King decides to prevent this and secretly sends away the son as soon as he is born to a frontier-fortress, where he grows up to see nothing but vizored faces and bleak rocks. Clotaldo, a most faithful General in the King's service, serves as his nurse and tutor. The King, feeling awed at the tremendous responsibility he has taken upon himself, decides to give his son a chance. Segismund is brought to Warsaw drugged to sleep. In the morning he wakes up to find himself surrounded by splendour and luxuries. On learning his true story, he is greatly enraged with Clotaldo and his father and attempts to murder them. The King, convinced that his 'reading of the horoscope was correct, arranges to send him back to his confinement heavily drugged as before. The following morning he is told by Clotaldo that all that he had seen and heard was merely a dream, and that, though it was all unreal, he should not have behaved savagely as he did. He emphasises the Christian virtue of forgiveness. The army, however, revolts and frees him. For some time he does not know whether he is awake or dreaming. Then, remembering Clotaldo's words, he decides to forgive everyone.

It will appear that the subject was excellently suited to the temperament of the poet. Naturally it became "the occasion of a great flow of most admirable poetry." The title brings irresistibly to one's mind the beautiful lines from *The Tempest* :

We are such stuff,
As dreams are made on; and our little life,
Is rounded with a sleep.

The association of ideas is so remarkable that Edward FitzGerald succumbs to the temptation and actually calls his translation "Such Stuff As Dreams Are Made Of".

The story unfolds itself with the appearance of Rosaura accompanied by an attendant. She is a lady from Muscovy, who dressed in man's attire, comes to the Polish frontier prompted by a desire for revenge. It is evening. A storm is rolling away over a pass of rocks. In the foreground stands the fortress, wherein Segismund is confined. While Rosaura and Fife are in conversation, they descry Segismund fettered and carrying a torch. The Prince soliloquises. He passionately invites the elements to strike that "guilty piece of human handiwork and all that are within it."

Once more, you savage heavens, I ask of you—
I, looking up to those relentless eyes
That now the greater lamp is gone below
Begin to muster in the listening skies;
In all the shining circuits you have gone
About this theatre of human woe,
What greater sorrow have you gazed upon
Than down this narrow chink you witness still,
And which, did you yourselves not fore-devise
You registered for others to fulfill!

He is at a loss to make out the reason for his confinement. He wants to know his guilt, for which he has been punished :

By excommunication from the free
Inheritance that all created life,
Beside myself, is born to—from the wings
That range your own immeasurable blue,
Down to the poor, mute, scale-imprisoned things,
That yet are free to wander, glide and pass
About that under-sapphire, whereinto
Yourselves transfusing you yourselves englass!

The lines are instinct with the agony of a man, who has been deprived of his birth-right. His soul cries out against this tyranny. It is a noble passage expressing a noble sentiment—the love for freedom. Not only "Nature's guiltless life, but that which lives on blood and rapine" also enjoys unrestricted freedom of movement. "The tyrants of the air soar zenith upward with their screaming prey, making pure heaven drop blood upon the stage of under earth." Probably murder is "the law by which not only conscience-blind creatures, but man too prospers with his kind." He is too tired and confused to reason it out. He only knows that the stars are to blame.

Under your fatal auspice and divine
Compulsion, leagued in some mysterious ban
Against one innocent and helpless man,
Abuse their liberty to murder mine :
And sworn to silence, like their masters mute
In heaven, and like them twirling through the mask
Of darkness, answering to all I ask,
Point unto them whose work they execute!

Mark the perfection of the lines. Measures flow with the smoothness of a fountain. Apart from the beauty of the thought, how one likes to repeat the lines just for their rhythm!

Rosaura, who has been cursing her lot, melts into pity for the 'poor unhappy wretch.' She compares her case to that man's and is ashamed of her own impatience.

And I,

Who taunted heaven a little while ago
With pouring all its wrath upon my head—
Alas! like him who caught the cast-off husk
Of what another bragg'd of feeding on,
Here's one that from the refuse of my sorrows
Could gather all the banquet he desires!
Poor soul! poor soul!

Here is a fine example of what Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch calls the mastery over solidified sensativity. A concrete word-picture has been drawn and with such vividness too! It is visible, tangible. Mind receives it easily without stumbling.

Rosaura, disregarding the risk to her person, speaks out. Segismund implores her to come nearer so that he "may see who speaks so pitifully sweet." She laments her inability to do anything for him, and talks of her "poor presence." But her words have not been powerless. They have set up an electric current between the two human poles. The scheme of nature is not to be denied—not even when you have had the company of rocks only since your birth. On hearing a sweet, plaintive voice, all the male in him is roused. His subsequent utterance is dripping with desire :

Oh, might that be all !
But that—a few poor moments—and, alas !
The very bliss of having, and the dread
Of losing, under such a penalty
As every moment's having runs more near,
Stifles the very utterance and resource
They cry for quickest; till from sheer despair
Of holding thee, methinks myself would tear
To pieces—

Such is the desire of human body for human body and such is its attraction. Its presence alone is satisfying. And this we call human company. Segismund's is a man's desire for human company which has been heightened by the presence of a woman. Unconscious of the subtleties of mind he explains his feeling merely as hunger for communion with his kind :

Oh, think if you who move about at a will,
And live in sweet communion with your kind,
After an hour lost in these lonely rocks
Hunger and thirst after some human voice
To drink, and human face to feed upon;
What must one do where all is mute or harsh,
And even the naked face of cruelty
Were better than the mask it were beneath ?

When he says :

Across the mountain then ! Across the mountain
What if the next world which they tell one of,
Be only next across the mountain then !

his intense longing for freedom to move about and to see the world for himself becomes crystallised. We can also notice a sense of total frustration lurking in his utterances. And then how great a truth about our world is uttered by Rosaura :

Alas ! alas !
No angel ! And the face you think so fair,
Tis but the dismal framework of these rocks
That makes it seem so ; and the world I come from—

Alas, alas, too many faces there
Are but fair vizors to black hearts below
Or only serve to bring the wearer woe !

When the poet speaks of the dismal framework of the rocks making the face seem so fair, he achieves one of the most difficult things in poetry—a word-image concrete and clear-cut as a cameo.

King Basilio is beginning to have misgivings as to his decision. The stars never err, but he may. He would arrange for a verification of the verdict of the stars.

Segismund is accordingly fetched to the capital. News is brought to the King that he is beginning to recover from the effects of the potion. A person removed from all that goes to make up this huggar-muggar world is suddenly dropped in its centre, where life goes on whirling like a top. A lens, which has so far known only one impression, is suddenly exposed to a wild profusion of impressions. Naturally the mind reels, and comprehends nothing but a succession of confused, quick-moving images—a phantasmagoria. The moment is supreme and has been exploited by the poet with superb effect. Segismund is heard shouting within :

Forbear ! I stifle with your perfume ! Cease
Your crazy salutations ! peace, I cry—
Begone, or let me go, ere I go mad
With all this bubble, mummery and glare,
For I am growing dangerous—Air ! room ! air !

Then he remembers Clotaldo. His mind is yet infantile and, like a child that remembers its mother on finding itself in a situation to which it is unequal, he desires Clotaldo to be near him. And yet he dare not call for him, for the sense of freedom associated with this illusion is sweet and he might break the spell. He essays to feel strong without Clotaldo. Whatever it is—illusion or reality, he would hug it :

Why, that I,
With unencumber'd step as any there,
Go stumbling through my glory—feeling for
That iron leading—strong—ay, for myself—
For that fast anchor'd self of yesterday,
Of yesterday, and all my life before,
Ere drifted clean from self-identity
Upon the fluctuation of today's
Mad whirling circumstance !—And fool, why not ?
If reason, sense and self-identity
Obliterated from a worn-out brain,
Art thou not maddest striving to be sane,
And catching at that self of yesterday
That, like a leper's rags, best flung away !
Or if not mad, then dreaming, dreaming ?—well—
Dreaming then—

One is tempted to ask : Are we all not maddest striving to be sane in this mad world ?

But who will answer? Enter Chamberlain, who repeats that he is Prince of Poland—master of the palace and the people. He also tells him that he and Clotaldo have silvered in the service of King Basilio—his father. Upon this follows a flow of words as lovely as a butterfly and as iridescent:

Ay, so you said before, I think. And you
With that white wand of yours—
Why, now I think on't, I have read of such
A silver-haired magician with a wand,
Who in a moment, with a wave of it,
Turned rags to jewels, clowns to emperors,
By some benignant magic than the stars
Spirited poor good people out of hand
From all their woes; in some enchanted sleep
Carried them off on cloud or dragon-back
Over the mountains, over the wide Deep,
And set them down to wake in Fairyland.

It was not for nothing that Goethe wept repeatedly while reading Calderon. But though these words breathe beauty, they betray exhaustion. What weariness becomes obvious, when Segismund asks the Chamberlain: "You do not mean to mock me?"

And now comes Clotaldo, the only link between the world of yesterday and of to-day; for the first time during the day Segismund's feet touch solid ground. But when Clotaldo also goes down on his knees, he is irritated. By now his senses have rallied and Clotaldo's appearance serves to strengthen his mental grip on the new surroundings. The new world has begun to write itself on his mind's palimpsest. He is beginning to view things in their proper perspective. As soon as he is sure that all this drama is of the real world and is no "lie and phantom," anger wells up within his heart.

His first impulse is vengeance and Rosaura comes none too soon to prevent Clotaldo's murder. Lastly comes the King. Indignant with his father for having stolen away the golden years of his life, he makes a dash to stab him, but is surrounded by masked soldiers and carried back drugged to the fortress. The following morning he narrates all his experience to Clotaldo who cynically replies:

Ay—wondrous how
Imagination in a sleeping brain
Out of the uncontenting senses draws
Sensations strong as from the real touch:

* * *

Such dreams
Are often times the sleeping exhalations
Of that ambition that lies smouldering
Under the ashes of the lowest fortune;
By which when reason slumbers, or has lost
The reins of sensible comparison,
We fly at something higher than we are—

The whole is a most modern interpretation of dreams. Had Calderon been writing in these times, he would have gained little from Freud. Clotaldo regrets that, though a dream, he made a wild work of it. Segismund's retort that he "in dream revenged it only" brings forth the answer:

True. But as they say
Dreams are rough copies of the waking soul
Yet uncorrected of the higher will.
So that men sometimes in their dreams confess
An unsuspected, or forgotten, self;
One must beware to check—ay, if one may,
Stifle ere born, such passion in ourselves
As makes, we see, such havoc with our sleep,
And ill reacts upon the waking day.

* * *

One test, I think, of waking sanity
Shall be that conscious power of self-control
To curb all passion, but much most of all
That evil and vindictive, that ill squares
With human, and with holy canon less,
Which bids us pardon ev'n our enemies.

A noble test, this, of our sanity, whose senses are always half-dozed by the Whirligig of Life and who are only too prone to fly in a rage at some supposed wrong. When Segismund retires to sleep again, Clotaldo launches upon a soliloquy of inexpressible beauty:

And yet, and yet, in these our ghostly lives,
Half night, half day, half sleeping, half awake
How if our waking life, like that of sleep,
Be all a dream in that eternal life
To which we wake not till we sleep in death?

* * *

One man—like this—but only so much longer
As life is longer than a summer's day,
Believed himself a king upon his throne,
And played at hazard with his fellows' lives,
Who cheaply dream'd away their lives to him,
The sailor dream'd of tossing on the flood:
The soldier of his laurels grown in blood:
The lover of the beauty that he knew
Must yet dissolve to dusty residue;
The merchant and miser of his bags
Of finger'd gold; the beggar of his rags:
And all this stage of earth on which we seem
Such busy actors, and parts we play'd,
Substantial as the shadow of a shade,
And Dreaming but a dream within a dream!

Here are Leopardi and Heine rolled into one. The pessimism of one and the elusive, iridescent beauty of the other have been blended into a harmonious whole. There is a perfect rhythm and the words seem to tumble out of the poet's mind and arrange themselves as if under the touch of some magic wand. There is no flagging anywhere; sheer emotional elan carries the poet onwards. Here is no pinchbeck brilliance,

but the steady glow of a cut diamond. Here is pure lyric flight. Its music haunts the ears and its image lingers in the mind like the smell of lavender. In thought it reminds one of Hamlet's soliloquy. In language and rhythm it puts you in the mind of Marlowe singing:

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burn'd the topless towers of Ilium?

Or of Shakespeare's Prospero saying:

And, like the baseless fabric of this vision
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temple, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

Or of the song:

Thus with the year
Seasons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of Ev'n or Morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or Summer's Rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine.

We now understand how it was that Shelley read Calderon with "inexpressible wonder and delight."

The mutinous army frees Segismund from his captivity hailing him again as the King of Poland. Says he to the captain:

Begone! I know I must be near awake,
Knowing I dream; or, if not at my voice,
Then vanish at the clapping of my hands,
Or take this foolish fellow for your sport:
Dressing me up in visionary glories,
Which the first air of waking consciousness
Scatters as fast as from the almond-tree—
That, waking one fine morning in full flower
One rougher insurrection of the breeze
Of all her sudden honour disadorns
To the last blossom, and she stands again
The winter-naked scare-crow that she was!

One never tires of saying, "How lovely!" The comparison with the almond-tree is enchanting, ravishing, maddening in its beauty.

When the curtain rises on the last scene, we find the vanquished King prostrate before his son. The moment is tense. So tense that it is painful. Will mercy be forthcoming? Will they all receive pardon? And like an angel Segismund speaks;

And long ago I learn'd it from a dream
Expounded by this ancient prophet here:
And which he told me, should it come again,
How I should bear myself beneath it; not
As then with angry passion all on fire,

Arguing and making a distemper'd soul;
But ev'n with justice, mercy, self-control,
As if the dream I walked in were no dream,
And conscience one day to account for it.

The quality of mercy is twice blessed; it blesteth him that gives and him that takes. The play ends on a note of forgiveness, the noblest of all Christian virtues. Like *The Tempest* and *Measure for Measure*, *Life is a Dream* is essentially a play of forgiveness and worthy of the company. Lying side by side in the Elysian valleys on beds of asphodel, Blake must occasionally be squeezing Calderon's hand in warm approval, for did he not sing himself that the best of all religions is the religion of forgiveness?

And, whether wake or dreaming, this I know,
How dream-wise human glories come and go;
Whose momentary tenure not to break,
Walking as one who knows he soon may wake
So fairly carry the full cup, so well
Disordered insolence and passion quell,
That there be nothing after to upbraid,
Dreamer or doer in the part he played.
Whether Tomorrow's dawn shall break the spell
Or the Last Trumpet of the eternal day,
When Dreaming with the Night shall pass away.

These last words of Segismund elevate, while they exhilarate. How much better a place this world would be if we only remember so fairly to carry the full cup—so well—that there be nothing after to upbraid? Here is a message that comes in a stream of celestial music—tenuous, cool and murmuring sweet. Here are phrases, rounded-up and smooth, what Tennyson will call

"Jewels five words long,
That on the stretched fore-finger of all Time
Sparkle for ever."

Roy-Campbell defines a poet as one who can use words. In the light of this, Calderon is a poet *par excellence*.

Let the reading of Calderon be a journey to a moonlit landscape, with lilies blooming in the pond, wind whispering softly to the trees and nightingale singing. Let his works be read and re-read—not with a mind limping with intellectual burden but, with a mind which is light of foot and heart and which is eager to waltz with the fairy called Beauty. I have a reason in commending Calderon. His poetry exhales joy, and joy is so rare in the world!

[The quotations from *La Vida es Sueno* have been taken from Edward Fitzgerald's translation *Such Stuff as Dreams are Made of*.]

THEFT OF LIBRARY BOOKS

By BHUPENDRA NATH BANERJI, M.A., D.L.Sc.

Librarian, Public Library, Allahabad

THEFT of books from libraries is a vexing problem to librarians. All measures to prevent this crime have failed so far. Either by magic or throwing dust in the eyes of the staff the honourable reader manages to steal away a book from the library shelves. In this connection I shall quote a passage from the *Library and Community* by Jast :

"Losses by deliberate theft have always occurred in every type of library, and always will occur to some extent, be the safeguards what they may. The writer remembers a remarkable case in the southern suburbs of London, where one man had stolen books systematically from a number of libraries in the District. He was discovered when he attempted to steal a book from one of the branch libraries for which the writer was responsible. The police searched his house, and found there an accumulation of books not of the very few open-access libraries which existed at that time in the area named, but of the closed or indicator libraries round about. And most surprising fact of all, some of the books were large directories, which one could have thought too conspicuous to be safely conveyed out of the building."

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Whatever experience I have of libraries in India I know that books are stolen from almost all libraries. When I was a student of Library Science in the Punjab University Library, Lahore, a few persons were caught for stealing away books from that library. They were handed over to the police and punished by the court. The Punjab University Library has employed all possible means of safeguard, still books were stolen.

I have talked to many librarians over this problem but none could give me a satisfactory solution; they said they were hardly successful in their efforts. Book-stealing is a mania with some of the library users and they cannot control themselves though they try sometimes not to fall victim to this crime. Not only persons of limited means but those who can easily afford to purchase books have an inclination to steal books.

Those who will be great persons one day and responsible men in future life are the victims of book-theft. By this I mean that the people who are receiving proper education and can be called men of culture, are supposed to use libraries and a few of them form a habit of wrongfully removing library books and the greatest pity is this that for the few of them others who are honest persons, are also always suspected by the library staff. But the existence

here and there of the person who can penetrate it is not a valid argument for the penalizing of the whole body of the honest readers unless and until the loss by theft is on a scale which renders no other course, in their own interests, possible, which has not happened and which is not likely to happen.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, ALLAHABAD

When I was appointed Librarian to the Public Library, Allahabad, it was announced in the *Leader* that such and such person was appointed librarian to minimise further theft of books from the library. I was much perplexed to read this, as stopping theft of library books is a tough problem. The building of the Public Library, Allahabad, being quite unsuitable as a library building I had been very cautious since I took over charge of the library. One evening I was successful in catching a person red-handed when he was stealthily taking away a library book. As a librarian and public servant I had to hand him over to the police. The person caught, I am ashamed to mention, was an Intermediate student.

Many book-thieves have been punished by the court but the crime of book-theft does not seem to disappear. One may say that in spite of the police and criminal investigation departments crime in general does not stop. This can be accounted for. All other criminals are generally illiterate, bad characters or have adopted this as a profession; but book-thieves, i.e., men who steal books from libraries are none of these, and therefore their conduct can never be tolerated. Those who frequent libraries are presumably persons of responsibility, either receiving education in any big educational institution or holding some position of trust and if they remove books from libraries, their education and culture are of no worth.

Stealing of books may be of various kinds. In some cases the entire book is stolen, and in others a portion of it. Picture and diagram thieves are not wanting. Underlining and marking the lines and passages may also be considered a kind of trespass. Magazine and pamphlet thieves are innumerable. A few thieves are honest as well and they keep books with them for a certain period of time and return them quietly to the library escaping the notice of the staff. Those who steal library books are the greatest enemies of the society and their fellow beings.

It has been mentioned above that in spite of all possible measures against book-theft, it will be on some extent. It does not mean, therefore, that no safeguard should be tried. Librarians who have proper training in Library Science and administration can adopt various ways to stop theft; but partly because of lack of funds and partly for want of co-operation of authorities they cannot do so.

"The whole question of losses is to be regarded in relation to use, and in the advantages gained by the risks incurred. It is not the actual figures but the percentage of losses to the total circulation, which is the significant factor."

PLANNING OF DEVICES

Many devices can be planned to reduce the possibility of theft of books. I do not wish to enumerate all possible means of prevention which can be ascertained from library texts and safeguards adopted in various libraries. The most essential ones will be mentioned here, which, I am afraid, will not be relishing to the reading public but will be helpful to librarians, though all librarians are expected to know them.

1. The Reading Room and the Stack Room should not be at a distance.

2. There should be only one exit and one entrance both for the staff and the reader.

3. Janitors must always be at the gate.

4. The Issue clerk should always be at the issue counter.

5. Readers should not be allowed to take overcoats, wrappers, their own books and exercise books except a few sheets of paper and such other articles as may be thought objectionable by the library staff, inside the reading room.

6. Sufficient number of book-liters should be appointed. When one set is busy taking out books, the other one should invigilate in the reading room.

7. Doors and windows should have wire gauze.

8. The Librarian should have strict supervision.

9. Above all, the staff and readers must be honest.

In schools and colleges teachers should take particular care to infuse into the students a proper idea of honesty and public duties and it may even be useful to have an occasional extension lecture on etiquette and duties and responsibilities of citizens, so that it may ultimately put a check to book-stealing.

"It is to be expected that citizenship is taught in schools, that readers will act as the most watchful guardians of the corporate property and the corporate privileges. Murder can be in certain circumstances an understandable crime, but who steals a book from a library to which he is permitted free access is beyond the pale. It is one of the meanest and least forgivable of human actions."

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH BY INDIAN WOMEN

A Supplementary Note in Memory of Bhaba Sankar Datta

By J. J. SETHNA, M.Sc.

THE late Mr. Bhaba Sankar Datta compiled certain informations about the progress made by Indian Women in Science, and published them in the last April issue of *The Modern Review*. He was a mere boy of 17; and he could not be expected to know all about the scientific activities of Indian womanhood. It is unfortunate that he died so young. I wish all our boys and young men had the same painstaking habit and were trained in the same method of compilation and classification. It makes the task of future investigators easier. Just as observation and experiment are of the greatest use in the development of abstract-concrete and concrete sciences, so mere compilation and classification are of very great use to sociological workers and future investigators in formulating theories and in drawing broad-based generalisations. To supplement late Mr. Bhaba Sankar Datta's paper we append below short notices of the scientific activities of Indian women.

Two papers by Prof. D. M. Bose and Shrimati Bibha Choudhuri on (1) Photographic plates of *mesotron* showers, and (2) Origin and

nature of the heavy ionising particles detected on photographic plates exposed to Cosmic radiation have been published in *Nature*, Vol. 145, p. 894 and Vol. 147, p. 240 respectively. Mrs. Bibha Majumdar of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, is engaged in researches in Astro-Physics. She has worked out A Theory of Stellar Structure. The recent theory of Bethe on the production of energy in stars has got a very significant consequence on the future development of stellar physics. In her paper the theorem of Vogt and Russel has been reformulated in the light of Bethe's investigation, and the general formulæ for the physical characteristic properties of stars, such as effective temperature, luminosity, radius, etc., are obtained by the method of homologous transformation. The bearing of the present investigation on the theory of stellar evolution is also discussed. She has also investigated *On the Polytropic index and Convection in Stellar interior*.

In short we may say that Indian womanhood are recovering their heritage in Science as they have already done so in Arts.
Matunga, Bombay

THE MAKAR VYUHA STRATEGY PRACTISED IN MALAYA

BY CAPT. DR. K. G. KHANDEKAR, M.B. B.S.

THE appended sketch of Makar Vyuh is given from the comprehensive history of Java written and published by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles in 1817, when that island was returned to the Dutch.

The Javanese had fought the Dutch in this formation in one of the battles of the Mataram war when Hindu culture and traditions were still prevalent in this and the surrounding islands though their people had long been converted to Mahomedanism by the Arabs.

This formation has been described by Raffles as that of a Makara or crocodile but it is actually that of a sea lobster. This formation shows some of the features of the so-called modern warfare, the big pincers and the small pincers and how to support these pincers; being a lobster it is not a stationary formation but a mobile one.

Curiously enough we read of different Vyuhas in our Puranas and some description is given in the Makarand Niti but there is no sculpture or painting in any of the old temples or caves in India which shows that this mode of warfare had ceased to exist since a long time in India.

Incidentally it is found in this history of Java by Raffles that the Sepoys of the East India Company had tried to form their own Raj in Java with the help of the Muslim Rajas with their strong Hindu background in 1815 (vol. II. page 5).

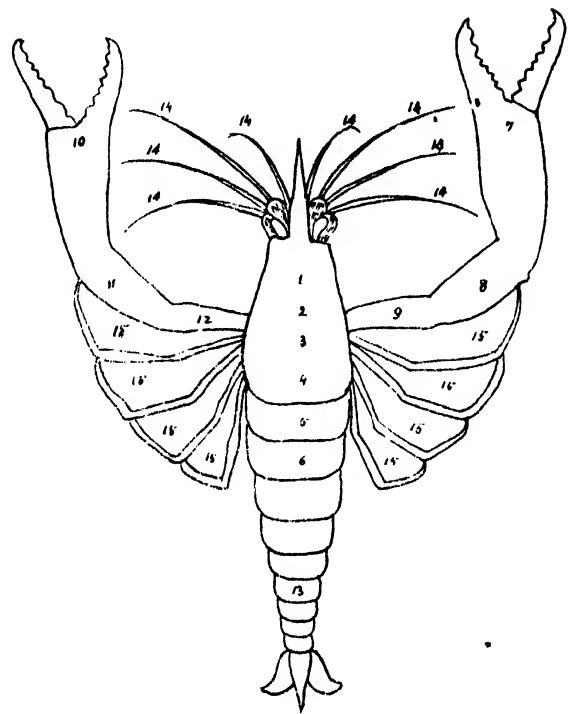
The English East India Company had occupied these islands from September, 1811 to August 1816. Their immediate predecessors were the French and not the Dutch. Though more than a century and a quarter has passed similarities in the then world situation and the present one are the same and are likely to remain the same as long as human nature does not change. Raffles writes in his preface to his history of Java that

"The English came to Java as friends. Holland had ceased to be an independent nation and for the time there could be but two parties the one English, the other French. The emissaries of the late ruler of France (Napoleon) had perverted the minds of the majority. Many were doubtful on which side they should rally."

And hence the massacre of the English at Amboina by one party of the Dutch which gave the pretext to the English to occupy these islands while Mr. H. W. Muntinche, the President of the Supreme Court of Justice at Batavia and Mr. J. C. Crauseen, President of the Bench of

Seppence were selected by the Earl of Minto to be Members of the British Council in Java as the "Free" Dutch.

The lot of the smaller peoples in this world has been always hard. Not only the Dutch have been overwhelmed at this time by the Nazis but Spain and France had also over-run it in the



The Mangkara buhia representing the supposed disposition of the Javan Army in the Mataram war

1. Mantris, 2. Senapatis, 3. Princes and relatives of sovereign, 4. The sovereign, 5. Pangiran Adipati (their Apparent), the left wing was commanded by the Panambahan of Madura, 6. Pini Sepah elders of Rank, 7. Bupiti Bumi, 8. Wadana (eng en), 9. Mantris of the sovereign, 10. Bupati Mancha Nagara, 11. Wadana Kiwa, 12. Mantri Katanggung, 13. Majegan, 14. Prajurit or Troops of the Senapati, 15. Prajurit or Guards of the Sovereign and their apparent and the right wing by the Regent of Surabaya

past. In 1677 Louis XIV over-ran Holland and the Dutch were thinking of shifting the whole people, about fifty thousand families, to Java rather than becoming a subject people.

If the Dutch had to suffer so much the people of Java and the surrounding regions had to suffer more and will have to suffer still more unless they come into the natural orbit of a stronger power. Historically and culturally India and not Japan should be their centre of gravity.

Even if Holland were to gain its freedom, these islands should cease to be in their possession. They can never defend them. The future security of India also would not be established unless Afganistan, Indo-China, Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Fiji Islands, the Philippine Islands, Burma, Ceylon, Aden, the British interests in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the British and the Portuguese East Africa (what is said about the Dutch is also equally applicable to Portugal which has been but a dependency of the British for the last three hundred years), if not all those regions where Indian troops have been sent in this war and the last war, should be brought into the federation or union that is coming to India after this War. Siam will be then secure of its independence.

It should be said that the British have brought the present weak state of the military situation in the East upon their own heads when since the abolition of the East India Company they have been systematically separating Malaya,

Cape Colony in Africa, Ceylon, Burma, Aden, etc., from India.

Suez and Singapore could not become India's frontiers unless Indians assume the responsibility of their defence and they cannot assume that responsibility unless they have living interest in these places. The British while extending India's frontiers in the military sense have been systematically narrowing its political and economical frontiers. Indians cannot assume the defence of these lands until the existing and would-be discriminations against them are abolished and they are given the same opportunities as are given to the other people of the British Empire. As long as an Indian can never become a planter and an Australian become a cooly in Malaya—Malaya would remain a prey not only to the Japanese but to China even at a future date.

It is by inclusion of these lands with their Mahomedan population in the Indian Union or Federation that the necessity (?) of a Pakistan for the Indian Mahomedans will disappear.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Secondary Education in Bengal

I have read with interest, the article, "Secondary Education in Bengal," by S. Smarajit Dutt, M.A., B.T., in *The Modern Review* for October, 1942. There are some inaccuracies in it, which should be corrected. I, also, find some debatable points, which require discussion.

Before beginning his subject proper, he makes a short discussion about the system of Primary Education in Bengal. He writes—"But athwart the path of his (child's) natural development there are soon to be thrown shadows—English, Arithmetic, Hygiene, the whole of Indian History, the whole of world Geography, etc."—p. 344. Here, some inaccuracy has crept into his statement. In the primary course, the lives and achievements of some of the heroes of Indian history and the lives of some Indian saints are prescribed and this is included in the Bengali text-book. Some fifty pages are allotted to history, in a book of 150 pages. The systematic history of India begins from Class V. In H. E. schools, also, this syllabus is followed.

After this he comes to his subject and with reference to the present Matriculation examination, writes:

(1) 'Questions are to be set in English—not excepting those in the major Vernacular!'—p. 345. But this is not true. Questions in the major Vernacular, e.g., in Bengali, are set in Bengali.

(2) 'Essays and substances of unseen passages in English, which were the only reliable test of the candidates' knowledge of English, are conspicuous by their absence, from the New Syllabuses.'—p. 345. This is, also, not true. When the new Regulations came in force in 1940, it was so. But the syllabus has been revised and substance-writing has been included in English Second Paper. Questions on substance-writing will be set, with effect from 1943.

Sj. Dutt suggests that the present system of day

school, should be replaced by morning and afternoon classes. He writes—"The day should be divided into morning and afternoon sessions, specially in view of the deterioration of health of the student community, living in a tropical country. A poor meal snatched in haste, followed by a double quick march—in some cases from a distance of 3 or 4 miles—to attend school in time, cannot but lead to a gradual breakdown."—p. 346. It is true. The existing system is defective and highly detrimental to the health of the students. But I think, the scheme is practicable only in residential schools or in schools, where all the pupils, live in close proximity of the school premises. In other cases, the scheme will be a failure. In rural areas students come to attend their classes from long distances. A student coming from a distance of 4 miles will have to walk 16 miles a day and out of this 16, 8 miles when the sun is high. The tropical sun with its burning rays will certainly tell upon the health of boys of tender age. In the rainy season also, in rural areas, the roads become impassable, under knee-deep mud, at some places. It would be a regular torture and injustice to them if they are made to walk longer, under such conditions.

I think, a better and more practical suggestion would be to hold schools as usual, in winter months and in the morning, in the rest of the year, with a curtailed list of holidays. Of course, on their way home, from morning schools, the students will be under scorching rays, but they will get time, to get off their exhaustion, after taking meals.

There is no denying of the fact, that, the present system of secondary education is not at all suited to them, for whom it is intended. It requires radical revision and re-modelling, consistent with the tradition, culture and social requirements of the people of the province.

KSHITINATH SUR



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Renaissance of China

In the course of an article under the above caption *Science and Culture* observes :

When, after nearly half a century's struggle, the Chinese got rid of their Manchu rulers in 1911, their leaders, like the majority of political leaders of India today, were under the impression that the introduction of popular government on European model would enable China to emerge as a great and free modern nation. They were however completely disillusioned by the subsequent turn of events. The psychology of the North was different from that of the South and Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Revolution who was from the South magnanimously resigned the post of the President of the Republic to make way for Yuan Shi-Kai, the most powerful military leader of the North in the hope that this step would promote internal unity. Events, however, showed that the confidence was misplaced. The latter, an unrepentant imperialist, who had previously played the traitor and nullified measures of reform introduced by the Manchu Emperor in 1896, gathered all the forces of reaction round him and tried to sabotage the Revolution. Though Yuan Shu-Kai passed away in 1916, this brought no relief. There was a period of unrest in which military governors of China's numerous provinces, backed sometimes by a spirit of provincialism but mostly from personal ambition tried to assert themselves.

China was enveloped in a welter of civil discord between forces of progress (represented by Sun Yat-sen and his party) and the forces of reactionary warlords.

Apparently the only parties to profit from these troubles were the various imperialistic powers, who extorted trade and commercial concessions at the expense of the Chinese, sometimes by diplomacy, but more often by following the *Gunboat* policy. Nor were the revolutionaries including the Sun Yat-sen party united by a common ideal. Some advocated a policy of back to the villages and to village crafts. Others advocated complete 'westernisation.' Some advocated 'communism,' others different forms of democracy. China was in a whirlpool of confused slogans with no unitary direction.

The much needed direction was ultimately given by Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic and the father of the Revolution just before his death.

During the years of 'internal turmoil' and heartless exploitation from foreign imperialistic powers (1911-1924), Sun Yat-sen had a hard job in trying to keep his party together, and with his fresh experiments at government-making. But unlike other leaders, he was a great scholar and whether in China or in exile, he tried to discover by quiet study and reflection, the causes of China's political weakness and disunion. Even before 1911, while he was an exile in England, he read widely in history, economics and political philosophy.

He was one among those revolutionaries to whom the reading room at the British Museum, as in the case of Marx half a century earlier came to be almost a home. In 1913 due to Yuan Shi-Kai's treachery he had again to become a political exile.

"This failure caused in him a moral or rather a spiritual collapse. It is perhaps more correct to say that the visionary, whose dreams had come to him so much apart from his own people, now awoke and saw for the first time that he had been dreaming. . . His earlier admiration of the West, however, was seriously affected. The years of his retirement coincided with the years of the Great War, and when he emerged from that retirement with his changed outlook, he came back to a world which also was radically different."

In 1925, when the whole of China was tired to death of civil wars, and foreign bullying, Sun Yat-sen was invited to Peking to try and bring all parties together.

But he was a sick man and died in a Peking hospital. Just before his death he bequeathed to the Chinese Nation the product of his life-long experience and reflection : the San Min Chu I, or the Three Principles of the People, in the form of six lectures each on (1) The Principle of Nationality, (2) The Principle of Democracy, (3) The Principle of Livelihood.

In a Will, he asked his countrymen to follow the Principles laid down in San Min Chu I.

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

The work of the Revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my "Plans for National Reconstruction," "Fundamentals of National Reconstruction," "Three Principles of the People," and the "Manifesto" issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive on earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favour of the convocation of a National Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heart-felt charge to you."

Eire in War Time

In war time tempers grow irritable, so it is not surprising that Eire's insistence on her neutrality has resulted in all kinds of attacks and misconceptions. R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

For convenience we can separate the essential factors into the contemporary and the historical.

The historical influences are not just a matter of brooding over old wrongs or ancient enmities. They form part of the living present. For generations Ireland was engaged in the struggle for independence, an independence substantially won with the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. But even then the separation of the Six Counties from the rest of Ireland left an unhealed wound. The London Treaty was not so much negotiated as imposed, and a civil war resulted for which Britain was blamed. Like all countries whose independence is of recent attainment Eire is sensitive about her national status. Allied to this is the fact that, in pre-independence days, anti-British slogans entered deeply into the consciousness of the people, who were brought up on such sayings as "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity."

Today these sayings have no meaning. But there is always a time lag and opinion is still coloured by them. What is surprising is that the section influenced by such prejudices remains so insignificant. There is, it is true, a small illegal body organised on military lines which persists in regarding Mr. de Valera as the tool of England. Such a view is a corrective to the more reactionary Tories in Britain. This intransigent element claims that Irish independence is not yet won and uses the border issue as a means of fomenting discontent.

Faced with that situation Mr. de Valera has proclaimed Eire's neutrality.

Any other line—even if he had wished to take it—would have split Ireland into warring fragments and put a powerful lever into the hands of his enemies at home. The wisdom of such a stand is evidenced by the support Mr. de Valera has received from practically every responsible section of the community, including those who are bitterly anti-Nazi.

It must be remembered, too, that when Mr. de Valera talks about being neutral he means just that. Long before hostilities began he announced that he would never permit Eire to be made a base for any hostile activities against Britain.

It would be idle to claim that the Irish view of democracy coincides with the traditional British view.

Democracy is not regarded as imperative in the conduct of national affairs. So it follows that a call to defence of the principles of democracy does not make such a strong appeal as it does in Britain where, for generations, no other method of conducting national affairs has been known.

Eire's decision not to play a belligerent part in the world conflict if this can be avoided, Britain should understand, does not imply hostility or favouring the Nazi cause. The fate of other small nations does not encourage a break away from this policy.

Freedom of Press Essential to Independence

The following extracts are taken from a speech delivered in Bombay by B. G. Horniman, and published in *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

If freedom of the Press goes you may say good-bye once for all to freedom of the country and to independence. The two things are inseparable.

Mr. Horniman traced the evolution of the Press

in England and other European countries and said that it occupied an extremely important position as the champion and the protector of human liberty. It stimulated people to think and make them remember their rights and privileges. This was why it was called and recognised the fourth estate of the Realm, the King, Parliament, and the Church being the other three.

But the battle for the freedom of the Press in India was not so old. Perhaps that was why a law existed in India by which a Press was required to be registered as well as a host of other restrictive laws. In no other civilized country, like England or France or America did such laws exist.

The press had to fight for its very existence with the bureaucracy every now and again, whenever there was a crisis. The present times were an instance in point.

The Press in India recognised the Government's right to censor all news which might be useful to the enemy. Beyond that they could not go. There were times, when it was in the best interests of the Government that news ought to be published. But this was not always done. Due to such short-sightedness, the Government, often enough suffering enormous moral damage, for the suppression of news gave cause to rumours and whispering campaigns.

Newspaper offices were full of files, from the Naval and Military authorities, from the provincial as well as the Central Government asking editors not to publish this and that. The greater part of such restrictions being unnecessary, it resulted in loss of more useful time to newspapermen.

The Government could reasonably censor one category of news only, that was information likely to be useful to enemy. But, in India, it had deteriorated into political censorship.

Mr. Churchill's recent speech on India, was received with wide disapproval in America, but such opinions were not allowed to reach India.

Undue Optimism

The New Review observes :

As our readers, like none less than Mr. Churchill, do not shun a free discussion of our deficiencies and defeats, they will welcome a summary of the war in the Pacific. Our disasters are well-known, their causes are instructive and point to a trend of easy-going optimism, which we always deprecated with a view to building up a sound public morale and preventing any depressive anti-climax.

In the Pacific area, over-confidence, lack of preparation and underestimate of Japan's resources have indeed been largely responsible for our failures.

Pearl Harbour : over-confidence of the naval and military command. Admiral Kimmel, as late as November, 1941, said : 'Honolulu is the safest place in the world.'

Midway Island : here resistance was successful because it was prepared and a fully commissioned fortress had been built by the summer of 1941.

Wake Island : futile resistance as fortifications were still under construction.

Guam : immediate surrender; Congress had refused to vote due appropriations.

Hong-Kong : quickly captured; the vital water reservoirs had been located without any foresight of air bombing.

Manila and Luzon : here we note an overestimate of our own power of resistance and an underestimate of



Calchemico's

TU-HIN-A THE BEAUTY MILK

Contains the essential beautifying properties of Milk, used by Indians from time immemorial as the best beautifier. Improves complexion, removes and prevents chafing and roughness of the skin, so common in winter days.

LA-I-JU LIME CREAM GLYCERINE

The ideal hair dressing that rules the unruly hair. Makes the hair look glossy and smart.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL

Japanese strength. The information supplied by the Intelligence Service led General MacArthur to tell the Philippine Government in October, 1941, that any invasion would be repelled: 'We know almost to a ton what shipping Japan has available; they can move at most 150,000 soldiers.' In fact, Japan moved some 450,000 soldiers before Christmas, landing them all over the Pacific and always in overwhelming numbers.

Malaya and Singapore: over-confidence, bad judgment and underestimate of enemy strength. 'No modern army can advance through the Malayan jungle; the Singapore fortress can resist six months at least; Australians could safely be sent to Libya.'

Netherlands East Indies: miscalculations again, not in Batavia but in London and Washington; to the Batavian requests, the answer was old rifles, 20 tanks from Britain instead of 200, none of the 600 tanks which Washington had promised but despatched to Russia.

But the leading miscalculation was in remaining blind to Japanese preparations for a southward move (fortifying Bonin, Marianas, Carolina and Marshall Islands into a string of fortresses), and in supplying her with raw materials. The necessities of other war zones, the apathy of the general public and the repugnance of labour to war production in peace time can be brought as valid excuses, but do not justify the mood of complacency which has been the main moral deficiency of the Allies. The Japanese are not better at war than our soldiers, they have no superior armament; but they outdid us not only with their duplicity and craftiness but also with their preparedness. The lesson is that it would be wrong and fatal for us to relax our efforts and be remiss in our preparations until final victory.

War Operations

The same Review observes:

In Russia, the fighting is dying down. Stalingrad is in ruins and the Germano-Rumanian troops occupy 24 out of the 26 municipal districts; the city's doom was tolled weeks ago when a one-thousand bomber raid destroyed three quarters of the town; the battle then resolved itself into fierce skirmishes for individual streets, and finally into the actual fight to the death for the Volga crossings and the factories in the northern suburbs. On the whole front, the line is being rectified for winter security.

In Africa, the bombing of communications foretold the flare-up on the Alamein front. But the landings of American troops have not yet revealed their strategic bearing.

*In the Pacific area, the Japanese are on the defensive in the Aleutian Islands and in New Guinea, and on the offensive in Guadalcanar.

Finally, rumour has it that the Burma offensive is due to start in the near future. The tide is on the turn.

The New World of Man

Shelley's anticipation of "the new world of man" has an application to contemporaneous world-affairs that is urgently needed as a contribution to thought on what is called the New

World the history serves Dr. J. H. Cousins in his article in the *Indian Review* :

In the year 1933, the year in which Hitler succeeded in establishing himself as dictator of Germany, I published a book in which I summarised the study over many years of the substance of Shelley's poetry, and particularly of his drama, "Prometheus Unbound."

I summarise here, on the basis of the book mentioned, the extraordinary world-wisdom on human relationships that the English poet expressed through the mythical personages and events of the ancient Grecian mind in the drama of "Prometheus Unbound."

The situation at the opening of the drama is that, under the provocative restriction of Law in its most extreme form (personified in Jupiter), Humanity, impressed by its higher self (personified in Prometheus) finds ways towards achieving the freedom that Prometheus claimed for it. But the "alleviations" of civilisation can take it no further; for its higher self is shut away from participation in the arts of life by the chaining of Prometheus to a rock by command of Jupiter. "All best things" are "confused to ill," and must remain so until Prometheus proves himself superior in virtue to Jupiter and breaks the tyrant's power by what must surely be the most superb expression of the spiritual law of non-violence formulated by the human imagination. The breaking of Jupiter's tyranny is duly accomplished. The sufferings inflicted by Jupiter on Prometheus (in non-symbolical terms, by the restrictive elements in life on the expansive impulses of the soul of Man) draw out and strengthen his wisdom and compassion; and in the destined hour, the fore-knowledge of which had carried Prometheus through his tortures (as it should carry the wise through the experiences of today), Jupiter, dethroned by triumphant Love, acknowledges Prometheus as "the monarch of the world." By allying himself with eternal Love, Prometheus (humanity in the highest) rose above the limitations of temporal Law. By Love (in the language of India) Man can free himself from the laws of action (*karma*). "By the accident of good fortune a man may rule the world for a time, but by the virtue of love he may rule the world for ever," said the Chinese sage Laoze six centuries before Christianity enunciated Love as "the fulfilment of the law."

So much for the general teaching of Shelley's drama, that true freedom is unattainable while the higher powers are inoperative in life. It may be added that the struggle for human freedom has more subtle bindings than frank restriction, in deflections away from the release of the higher powers, through semi-dark insistence on the lesser freedoms of legislation, economics, and the like.

But the drama has, in addition to its general significance, an intimately human import. The triumph of Prometheus not only released himself from the rock to which he was bound, but released the inner powers of the humanity of which he was the generalised type. The "Spirits" sing :

And our singing shall build
In the void's loose field
A world for the Spirit of Wisdom to wield.
We will take our plan
From the new world of man,
And our work shall be called the Promethean.

The Spirit of Science

In tracing the cause of India's downfall in *Prabuddha Bharata* Dr. N. R. Dhar observes :

Through the personal charm and influence of the greatest Indian, Gautama Buddha, and through the teachings of him and his disciples, a new life and ardour for the improvement of suffering humanity was created in our land. This great man, in his acts, speeches, and discourses insisted on doing good to others, and this was regarded as the greatest virtue and morality. He never bothered very much regarding what happened to humanity after death but he inculcated the doctrine of removal of human suffering as of paramount importance. This doctrine of service gave a tremendous practical impetus to the creation of new knowledge and its application for the benefit of humanity and its regeneration. In his teaching kindness to animals was also inculcated.

A tremendous step was taken in the development of practical sciences and medicine for helping men and animals.

Perhaps, the great sage was lucky in his followers. Notably, the great King Ajatashatru, King Bimbisara, and the merchant princes of Northern India were the true disciples of Gautama Buddha. These well-to-do people were followed by generations of princely Buddhists, who readily supplied the means and wealth for creating practical steps in the fulfilment of their Master's teachings. With the wealth of his disciples universities for the highest form of education and learning and hospitals for the alleviation of suffering men and animals were created throughout the whole country.

• Big seats of learning were established where new knowledge was created and its application utilized for relief of suffering beings.

In hospitals treatment of a very high order was available. As a consequence of these creative influences India produced first-class scientific work, for example, preparation of caustic alkali from lime and mild alkali, preparation of the best quality steel, and the medicinal application and internal use of mercury and iron compounds. These discoveries were adopted in European countries *in toto* much later. The great French scientist Professor Le Chatelier in his public lectures in the University of Paris declared that the quality of steel used in the Ashoka pillar at Delhi and its forging were an achievement of the highest importance and its rustless properties still cause wonder to the steel industry of Europe.

The Buddhist period, in which our country made such a tremendous progress in science, medicine, and industry, was the brightest chapter in the history of our land.

The votaries like Nagarjuna and others pursued science and applied it with great zeal and devotior and with a true scientific spirit. In this tremendous progress of our country the Buddhist kings and merchant princes played a very important role and this was a most happy association. I have always felt that the great progress of Christianity and its humanitarian applications have been made possible chiefly because of the fact that Europe with its creative civilization and wealth adopted the Christian religion. Similarly Mahatma Gandhi has also been lucky in his disciples and his doctrine has been given effect to by his disciples, the great merchant princes.

After the overthrow of Buddhism the scientific spirit and the tremendous effort for

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alleviating human suffering and the pursuit of science and its application were almost given up in this land.

The intellectuals gave up experimental pursuits and those requiring manual training and dexterity turned to more abstract thinking and discussion. In this way the material prosperity which is due to science and its applications declined considerably. With the lack of material prosperity true intellectual progress became difficult and India became poor and helpless both morally and intellectually. Although the country is producing first-rate thinkers and religious men and practically-minded people like Raja Rammohun Roy, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Rabin-dranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Sir J. C. Bose, and others, in average standard of efficiency it is lower than Europe.

The experimental method is the background of the European civilization. Unfortunately for India, this wonderful method and its application which achieved important results during the Buddhist period when Europe was steeped in darkness, were not followed in this land as in Europe.

Post-War Reconstruction

While the war is proceeding with all its fury and painful devastations, and the military authorities are carefully scheming their future strategy and manoeuvres, the rear expert committees are probing into the problems of post-war reconstruction. "The Cynic" observes in the *Joint-Stock Companies Journal* :

How could England regain and retain her overseas trade interests in the face of progressive colonial development, particularly in India and how she could secure a share of international trade large enough to ward off the effects of her multiplying national debt? On this point Lord Keynes has been outspoken and positive. The noble Lord in his Manchester speech recently declared :

"The future prosperity of this country depends on a great expansion of our trade. With that assured, the rest is comparatively easy. Without it our good hopes for the future are sunk. It simply must happen. We must increase the volume of our exports by at least 50 per cent. compared with 1938. *It will be for other people to order the economic relations with the rest of the world that these goods can be marketed and Lancashire receives a reward.*"

We don't know if the noble Lord, in co-operation with others, in high official circles have already chalked out a detailed plan; but the opinion he has expressed, with its implications, is sufficient to cause real apprehension among the industrial and commercial interests in India. It is not quite probable that Keynes' proposal will find much enthusiastic support in America and other Allied countries like Russia. It is less possible that any such scheme will be agreed upon which envisages one way advantage, by the sovereign countries. So it is almost evident that the countries of the Empire, particularly those of subordinate constitutional position will have to bear the brunt mainly. If there be any arbitrariness in the matter and undue coercion, the economic progress and industrial development of the colonial countries will suffer a serious setback; and this we are afraid, may even cause much ill-feeling which

will be a positive negation to our ideal comradeship amongst the partners of the Commonwealth.

Needs of Economic Diversity and Orientation

For the unity and health of a nation there is needed diversity of resources and technics. In the course of an article in *The Indian Journal of Political Science* Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee remarks :

Agriculture should supplement industry and trade and *vice-versa*. For the development of agriculture are needed forests in the mountains, pastures in the mountain-slopes and market-towns on the rivers. For urban ways of living are necessary the rural. Above all, there is needed a rational balance of the different economic procedures and their developments. There is an organic inter-connection between the various economical uses of land in a given country. Scientific agriculture in the fertile plains, forestry in the hills and pasture-farming in poor and cheap lands help one another. On the other hand, the ascent of agriculture to the hill-sides and depletion of forests, excessive or indiscriminate grazing in pasture lands and continuous encroachment on marshes and streams spell the economic decline of the nation as much as the development of a few giant cities or metropolises. Between the different economic procedures in the various regions or sections of a region a definite orientation and organisation are essential. The economic planning movement aims at achieving this integration through the rational direction of all the available resources distributed among the various sections of a country.

The inter-articulation of a country according to agricultural regions, cereal zones, raw produce zones, stock-raising zones, forest zones, or mineral regions and manufacturing regions underlies a far-sighted agricultural planning, as that of Russia.

In countries like Russia, the United States or India with their vast expanses of territory, unmarked by political boundaries or tariff lines, the locality or natural region is free to develop in a manner quite impossible in Western and Central Europe. In a considerable part of Europe political boundaries thwart the orientation and development of economic regions. This has aggravated occupational disbalance which has been responsible chiefly for the evils of unemployment and over-population. Protection and inflation have been the twin political weapons used to promote industrialisation under economic handicaps, and the more there has been over-production, the greater has been the demand for raising the tariff wall. The sub-division of homogeneous economic regions into distinct political states, over-industrialisation, under-production in agriculture, and over-population have been linked together in a vicious circle in Europe from which there can be no escape until there be a fundamental readjustment of political and economic organisation. In a divided Europe, over-populated and lacking political and economic balance, there is perpetual fluctuation of the balance of power, and struggle is perpetually renewed by the insurgent forces of racialism and nationalism bringing the entire continent into periodic political upheavals.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Communism in China

The following extracts are taken from *China through Catholic Eyes* by Thomas F. Ryan as reproduced in *The Catholic World* under the title, 'False Friends':

Communist influence first came into China at a time when the youth of the country was alive to change. Dr. Sun Yat-sen sought the help of advisers and organisers from foreign countries. One country after another refused them. Their reasons were varied. They could not send these advisers unofficially, their going would be a gesture of friendship and of support to the new Republic, but they knew that that before long someone in China would ask how this friendship was consonant with Unequal Treaties, territorial "Concessions" and extra-territorial rights. There were trade interests at stake. There were relations with other Eastern nations. So they refused. Soviet Russia, however, accepted. It sent advisers, able men who came with an established reputation, and rendered for a time most useful services.

Unhappily for China, these Russian advisers did not keep their promises. They abused the confidence reposed in them and used their opportunity to carry on subversive propaganda, until at length the Chinese leaders were put to the painful necessity of driving them from

the country. The foothold which Communism gained by the treachery of these false friends has been maintained to the present day.

The political side of Communist activity is at the present time mainly confined to political indoctrination.

The party's organisation has been extremely weak on the political side during all the time it has existed in China. It maintained a Red state in Kiangsi for some years, and it set up a record of bad government worse than anything to be found in Chinese history. The Soviet system, which was long established in Russian experience before it was coupled with Marxist Communism as a national form of government, is utterly foreign to all Chinese ideas, and the attempts to establish it utterly failed. Completely ignoring this failure—just as Communism ignores its failure to establish order, prosperity or justice in Russia—the Communist political leaders devote all their skill to the training of young men for propaganda and future leadership.

Propaganda is beyond all doubt Communism's strongest weapon, and its use of it has been unscrupulous and masterly. There is probably no place in the world where a dollar spent in the production of printed matter goes so far as in China. The Communists have seized the opportunities which this affords, and have flooded the country from end to end with books and papers and magazines preaching Communism, teaching its tenets, and singing its praises, till the youth of the country, the chief reading public, is saturated with it.

It is this propaganda that has produced the second large division of the Left in China: supporters of Communism in theory.

There are then the opponents of Communism. Some are completely opposed to it both in theory and practice and look upon it as an active danger to the country. The great majority of people, however, who are opposed to Communism are ready, as in the United States, England and the British Dominions, to allow it to exist as a political party and to carry on its own propaganda and organisation, provided that it engage in no actual active work which is harmful to the State.

Conditions, therefore, with regard to Communism, are very similar to those which exist in Western countries, with the solitary, but important, exception that there is in China a Communist army which has shown itself, in spite of promises and engagements, hostile to the State and hopes one day to threaten its supremacy. The mere fact that this army exists is regarded by some people in other countries as a proof that the Government has made a bargain with Communism, is in fact in secret alliance with Soviet Russia, and awaits only the appropriate moment to institute a Communist regime. This view is picturesque and sensational, but it is false. The Government is opposed to a Communist form of Government, it will not bow to the Communist army, and while it is determined to do everything possible to avoid a Civil War, it is ready to face this extremity if necessary rather than allow any minority

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to challenge the supreme authority of the State. In this it would have the support of an overwhelming majority of the people.

Jawaharlal and Jinnah

Under the heading, "I know these Indian leaders," Giralda Forbes describes in *The Catholic World* her impressions about Jinnah and Nehru, two of the most noted and conspicuous personalities of modern India:

I do not know how the "ridiculous stories of the extravagances of this young man came to be so widely advertised. That he was fastidious is true, and that he spent money freely in London when he was studying law there, is true too. It was the outpouring of a generous nature that had the means to satisfy its impulses, but never, after he returned to India, and witnessed the poverty of his people, did he ever spend more than was needed on himself." Later he gave all his fortune, as well as himself to the cause of India. The story of how he sent his laundry to Paris is as untrue as it is nonsensical. He was incapable of such pretentious behavior. Not that he scorned the luxuries of life, nor the privileges of birth and position, but he had heard India calling, and seen the desolation of his race. This is what compelled him, with a brilliant career before him, and everything that wealth and position could offer, to turn from it to embrace *Satyagraha* (sacrifice) and give his all to the service of his country.

I met Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the All-India

Moslem League, in Lahore. He is as different from Jawaharlal Nehru as two men can be.

He holds his tall slim figure as erect as a ramrod, and clothes it in the best tailored suits from Bond street. He used to part his hair in the English fashion, down the side, but now he brushes it straight back from his forehead in the modern manner. He is not dandified, but he is always spick and span, and except for his dark skin could pass for an Englishman of the aristocrats. It is said that he once sported a monocle, but I do not think that his admiration for Western fashions ever carried him that far.

Mr. Jinnah is very much the lawyer; affable, but cold and businesslike. If he feels any emotion over the subject under discussion, he does not show it. Jawaharlal Nehru is not afraid to let any man see into his mind, or his human side; in fact, he is all human, and it makes him a very lovable personality, but Mohammed Ali Jinnah, except on very rare occasions, holds himself with a tight rein; and keeps the man subordinate to the politician. But he is sincere and unright, and he may always be relied on to give of his best, once he has undertaken a responsibility. I do not think that the All-India Moslem League could have a better man to guide it. He is ambitious for India, and he is as eager for self-government as Nehru, but his vision is more imperial. Nehru is a Socialist, and dreams of an India of free peoples, as free from the inhibitions of caste, as from foreign rule. Jinnah wants to restore the ancient glories of the Mogul Empire. Mr. Jinnah believes that Hindus would get a square deal under the Moslems, but he is not so sure what a Hindu majority would give the Moslems.



and the Film

of the historic directors in India will do well to read the following remarks about films made by Alexander Shaw in *The Review* under the above caption :

know that India is a country of vast diversity of varied tongues, and, above all, of illiteracy. Most of its people are cut off from books and papers, except at second hand; radio is comparatively unknown, owing to the lack of money to buy sets. Its traditional entertainments—story-tellers, marionettes, plays, and dancing—are becoming more and more rare. It is a land of people who are cut off from the outside world, and with whom it is difficult to establish contact. There is one link, though, that can join people across many barriers of language and distance—this link is a pictorial one. A picture of a man represents a man in almost every part of the world, and a film can turn an idea into pictures. A film can be sent anywhere, it can be made to suit any audience, and, above all, it can be made in one part of the world and sent in a tin to any other part. An idea in a tin, and an idea which anyone, regardless of upbringing or language, can understand.

Today film production is a flourishing industry.

From the studios of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Poona come hundreds of films a year. The studios employ thousands of people. They have their own stars, their Press agents, their fan magazines, and their Packard cars for their managing directors. They have, from time to time, imported foreign technicians to assist them, and the quality of the films has improved. But unfortunately the films themselves have not improved very much. The men in charge of the industry are still mostly men of no taste and of little ability, except when it comes to balance sheets, mergers, and business deals. Sound film and many other modern technical improvements have come to their studios, but the film magnates still think that they are catering for imbeciles and that the greatest aim in life is to extract as many annas as possible from their audiences. They are still far behind their public, as their many costly failures show. The educated section of the public despise the Indian film and go increasingly to American- or English-speaking cinemas. And this is not just intellectual snobbery; the banality of the average Indian film is good enough reason.

But there is another side to this rather gloomy and sordid picture. The Indian film industry of which I have been speaking forms, it is true, the major part—they make films which are bad ethics, bad entertainment and bad film craft, and they show no signs of getting any better. But there are exceptions which show great promise for the industry as a whole, if it can put its house in order.

Scattered throughout the studios are directors, actors, and technicians of great ability and integrity. There are even one or two studios who put the excellence of the film before everything else.

Films made by Messrs. Prabhat, of Poona, and New Theatres, of Calcutta, have great merit. The direction of "Sant Dnyaneshwar" by Dhamle and Fatehlal, of "Aurat," by Mehboob, the acting of lovely Devika Rani and Nawab and Sardar Ahktar, the camera work of Irani, the script of "Padosi," the sound recording of Chandri-

kant, the equipment of studios in Madras—all these show that excellent films could be made in India. India could make films which would really express the spirit of a great country.

I am not suggesting that the making of films should be a matter of art for art's sake—if a film does not entertain first and foremost, it has not done its job—but I do suggest that there are different levels of entertainment. America and England have proved that good taste and good entertainment and good box-office returns go hand in hand.

The Story of Lac

Lac or shellac is practically a monopoly of India. It is a great industry dealing with a raw material of unique properties in great demand in many industries. A. J. Gibson, special officer, lac enquiry, London Shellac Research Bureau and formerly of the Indian Forest Service, writes the story of lac in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, from which the following excerpts are taken :

Lac, or shellac as this raw material is often popularly and erroneously known, is unique in the fact that it is the only known resin of insect, that is to say, of animal origin. It is practically a monopoly of India, and has been known for many centuries past. Its uses are many, and modern research is adding to these uses almost weekly.

The insect *Laccifer lacca* belonging to the family of Coccidae, is small, less than 1/20th of an inch in length, soft-bodied and feebly motile, with a life-cycle of from four to six months. It feeds on the sap of its host tree by means of a hair-like proboscis inserted through the thin bark of the twigs, and produces therefrom a protective covering, which is lac resin. Although over sixty species of trees are known to support the lac insect, some five or six account for the bulk of the primary raw material produced, that is, sticklac.

In Dr. Watt's famous dictionary of the economic products of India, the account of manufacturing methods employed is of special interest because of O'Connor's description of machine-made shellac in a factory at Cossipore, near Calcutta, in 1853, the earliest record of the application of Western methods in substitution for primitive Eastern ones in lac manufacture. That factory is still in being and although the United Kingdom has unaccountably lagged behind, there were in 1939 three factories in Germany turning out high-class machine-made lac products, using in part none too promising Indian raw material for the purpose, namely, *Kiri* or refuse lac.

During and immediately after the last great war, the Government of India realised all was not well in the lac industry.

An enquiry was ordered and the result was an able and comprehensive report on the conditions of the industry with recommendations which were promptly carried out and which are having far-reaching effects. A small lac export cess was legislated for and passed, and the funds so raised were devoted to the building, staffing and maintenance of the Indian Lac Research Institute, near Ranchi, in the province of Bihar. The Institute embarked on a programme of fundamental research on the entomology, biology, biochemistry and production of lac.

